

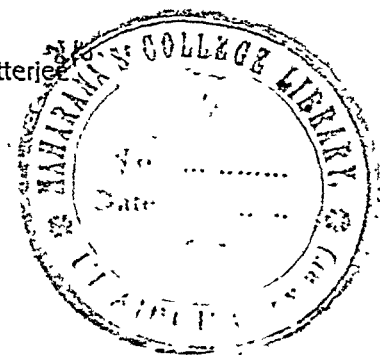


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INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO JAPANESE PROSPERITY

An Examination of the Movements of Indo-Japanese Trade

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

A survey of Indo-Japanese trade is of special interest at this moment.

For a considerable time past the owners of cotton mills in and near Bombay have been unable to meet the competition forced upon them by yarn and cloth imported from Japan. The Government of India still preponderatingly non-Indian in personnel has recently declined to intervene in favour of our industrialists. In so doing it has turned a deaf ear to the advice proffered to it by a body of its own creation.

The refusal upon the part of our rulers to come to the aid of our most important industry can be explained only upon the hypothesis that the raising of the tariff from 11 to 15 per cent, might hit the English cotton industry in Lancashire, which retains

the largest share of our cotton import trade. The only way in which the British can safeguard Lancashire interests would have the appearance of directly discriminating against Japan. If preference were to be granted to the English cotton industry, that grant would, moreover, follow in quick succession the special concessions lately made to the British steel industry, and, therefore, would prove doubly awkward.

II

A superficial examination of the statistics pertaining to Indo-Japanese trade is likely to inspire the belief that we are by far the greatest gainers from such dealings. Japan buys from us much more than she is able to sell us. The balance of trade, in other words, is heavily against Japan, as is apparent from the following table*

Year	Imports from India into Japan	Imports from Japan to India	Balance in favour of India
1913	173,173,861	Yen 29,873,414	Yen 143,300,447
1914	160,324,460	26,048,337	134,276,123
1915	147,585,310	42,202,460	105,382,850
1916	179,461,593	71,617,454	107,847,139
1917	223,941,304	101,364,154	122,577,150
1918	268,185,185	202,522,289	65,662,896
1919	319,477,561	116,878,729	202,598,832
1920	394,930,201	192,249,085	202,681,116
1921	210,365,194	84,503,635	125,861,559
1922	251,088,879	97,203,898	156,884,981
1923	305,718,603	99,619,096	206,099,507
1924	387,791,935	135,373,129	252,418,806
1925	573,563,812	173,413,207	400,150,605

* Throughout this article I have preferred to take the figures from Japanese sources, namely, the *Financial and Economic Annual of Japan*, the twenty-sixth number of which was recently issued by the Department of Finance in Tokyo. This Annual is invaluable to students of economics and

publicists in general. The information pertaining to public finance, banking and money-market, agriculture, industry and commerce, and communications, is authoritative and is lucidly set forth.

† A Yen may roughly be taken as equal to 2s. 0. 582d, or say one and one-third rupees.

The balance of Indo-Japanese trade, it will be seen from this table, has varied considerably during the thirteen years for which I have given figures. It has, however, been in our favour and against Japan all along. That was the case in the year preceding the outbreak of the hostilities in Europe. It remained so throughout the course of the war. It has been so even during the period of post-war depression, and also through the years when she was hard hit by the terrible catastrophes which played havoc with her capital, her largest port, and other parts of the country.

III

An examination of the figures for import and export elicits certain interesting facts:

The value of goods purchased by Japan from us has, with few breaks, been steadily increasing during the thirteen years under review. There was a slight regression during the year the hostilities commenced in Europe and cast their sinister shadow over all the world. The fall became a little more pronounced the following year.

During 1916, however, the Japanese capacity to absorb our products and to pay for them reasserted itself. It continued to grow in strength for four years.

In 1921 there was a considerable falling away. But the Japanese purchasing capacity improved the very next year, and has kept on doing so until, in 1925, it reached an unprecedented height. They paid us for the goods they bought of us in that year more than three times the money that they had spent similarly in the year preceding the outbreak of the war.

The value of the goods sold by Japan to us has shown somewhat more pronounced variation. There was a slight set-back in the initial year of the war. Then she began to sell to us goods which, in another circumstance, we should have continued to buy from Britain, Germany, and other countries.

During the closing year of the war Japanese imports into India rose to a height (Yen 202,522,289) which they never since have approached. During 1920 it looked as if they would do so, but in 1921 there was considerable regression.

Imports into India from Japan showed a small tendency to improve in the two years but even in 1922-23 they were less than half of what they had been in the closing year of

the war. The falling off in Japanese imports was no doubt due partly to our depreciated purchasing capacity and partly to the reviving power of Britain and other nations which had been more or less incapacitated industrially during the war to compete once again in our market.

The hope entertained in Britain and other countries that Japan would not be able to retain the gains she had made during the war failed however to be fulfilled. During 1924 the Japanese imports into India increased appreciably, and they registered further increase in 1925. The value of the goods sold by Japan to us in 1924 was almost six times that of her exports to India in the year preceding the outbreak of hostilities.

Putting the value of Japanese exports and imports together, the Japanese trade with India was never so large as it was in 1924. Nor was the balance of trade so adversely against her as in that year.

IV

Despite this adverse balance, it pays Japan to trade with us. Why? The most cursory examination of the principal items in the list of commodities imported from India into Japan and the goods sent to us by that country reveals the reason.

The following table of imports from India into Japan contains no more than eight items; but they tell the tale:

Imports into Japan from India	
	Yen
Cotton (raw)	475,663,000
Rice	48,624,000
India rubber, etc.	5,992,000
Pig Iron, etc.	5,172,000
Flax	4,993,000
Oil Cake	4,426,000
Beans and Peas	4,027,000
Leather	2,774,000

All but two of these items consist of raw materials, or at least bases for the manufacturing industries of Japan. The two exceptions are rice and oilcake.

Rice continues to be the staple article of diet in that country. The land available for food production is inadequate to the needs of the large and rapidly growing population, and hence the necessity for supplementing it with imported cereals. The supplies of rice drawn from us, it may be added, are about five-twelfths of those obtained by Japan from other countries.

Oilcake, it hardly needs to be pointed out, is needed for the dairy industry which the authorities are taking special pains to build up.

The raw materials which Japan imports from India are vital to her industrial system. Raw cotton, which constitutes something like nineteen-twenty-thirds of the total Indian exports to Japan, forms the life-blood of the Japanese cotton textile industry.

As will be seen from the next table relating to exports to India, cotton imported from India supplemented with cotton obtained from other sources enables Japan to drive a thriving trade with us. It plays an important part in the Japanese trade with China, Asiatic Russia, the Dutch East Indies, the Malay Straits Settlements, Africa, Australia and other countries. It even enables her to drive the yarn manufactured in Indian mills out of the Far Eastern market.

Cotton yarns and tissues exported out of Japan in 1925, indeed, totalled Yen 571,474, 591 in value. They constituted the second largest item in the export list, being exceeded only by silk yarns and tissues. It must be remembered that rather more than half of the cotton which went into the making of these exports was derived from India.

The other raw materials imported from India, though not so important as cotton, nevertheless play an important part in Japan's industrial scheme. She converts them into goods which she needs for her own use, or which she exports at terms as advantageous to her as possible.

Both Japanese capital and labour, in fact, find profitable employment in the exploitation of the raw materials imported from India. That, indeed, accounts for the fact that she has not hesitated to incur an increasingly heavier bill for the purchase of Indian commodities, even during the years when she was hard hit by cataclysms of nature which forced her to seek loans abroad.

These disasters, instead of acting as a check upon the movement of raw materials from our country to Japan, have on the contrary, actually accelerated it. Japan has been drawing upon our cotton and other industrial products in increasing quantities so that she could send out more manufactured goods than ever and through that means make up the losses inflicted upon her by act of God.

V

The notion prevails in India that Japan works up the raw materials that she imports

from us and sends them back to us as finished goods. That impression is correct only in a very limited sense.

As indeed it has already been indicated, Japan makes our cotton, usually mixed with American or Egyptian cotton, the basis of her trade in manufactured goods with many countries other than India. The same is true to a greater or less extent in respect of the other raw materials which she draws from our Motherland.

India gets back, in the shape of finished goods, only a relatively small volume of the raw materials which she exports. But that small volume she receives at a cost far higher than she was paid for the greater bulk of the raw materials. Japan naturally makes a charge for the process of manufacture and transportation and allied services.

VI

As will be seen from the following table the Japanese exports to India consist almost entirely of manufactured goods:

JAPANESE EXPORTS TO INDIA IN 1925

Cotton yarns and tissues ...	Yen 78,701,000
Silk yarns and tissues ...	12,656,000
Knitted goods ...	9,496,000
Potteries ...	3,476,000
Matches ...	1,791,000
Glass and glass-ware ...	824,000
Buttons ...	808,000
Silk handkerchiefs ...	352,000
Coal ...	260,000
Portland cement ...	146,000

I have incorporated only the principal items in this table.

Coal, alone, can properly be described as a raw product. Its value, in any case, is almost negligible.

Portland cement is only a building material: but the greater the quantity imported from abroad, the less the scope for that industry in India, and still less the incentive for the expansion of that industry. The value of the amount imported from Japan is, however, still quite small.

Cotton yarns are only semi-manufactured and actually constitute the raw materials for our hand weaving industry. The extent to which they are imported, however, represents the displacement of orders which our own mills would, in another circumstance, receive.

All the other items consist of fully manufactured goods. Most of them are the products of large industries.

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VII

There can be no question that these manufactures from Japan exercise a depressing effect upon our industrial movement.

The largest item, namely cotton yarns and tissues, competes with the largest industry in Indian hands, and confessedly to the disadvantage of that industry. Some of the other items compete with industries which have been recently started in India, or which can and should be established in our country.

The competition forced upon our industrialists by Japanese imports other than those of cotton is not a matter that can be lightly dismissed.

Some years ago, when I was in Calcutta, for instance, I learned of the serious complications that Japanese glass and glass-ware were causing for a young friend of mine who after qualifying himself as an industrial chemist, had set up glass-works in a suburb of that city. He told me that he was kept guessing the whole time as to exactly where the blow would fall upon him next. One time he would find that Japanese glass-ware would be dumped in a small town 250 miles from his factory and sold at rates which would damn his wares in the sight of the traders of that place for evermore. A few days or weeks later he would learn to his dismay that similar tactics had been pursued in a town perhaps 500 miles from there, in an entirely different direction. He could be sure that the very centres which he was trying to interest in India-made glass-ware would be subjected to such attacks. Had he not possessed pertinacity he would soon have been driven out of glass manufacture, but with all his pluck and perseverance he could make little headway in the face of this policy of dumping.

As this instance shows, there can be no question as to the severity of the competition which the import of manufactured goods from Japan forces upon our industries. If cotton, our oldest industry, finds it impossible to meet such competition, how can industries which have recently been started—and in many cases, unlike the cotton industry, started on a small scale—effectively meet such competition.

Yet while pressure is being exerted upon the Government to shield the cotton industry from Japanese competition, no thought is being paid to the protection of the other Indian industries hit by imports from Japan,

and, for that matter, from other countries. If need for taking such action in respect of cotton is admitted, why should it not be of an all-comprehending character? It may further be asked why the scope of such action should be limited to Japan, when she, by no means, is the only country whose exports to India handicap us in consolidating and expanding our existing industries and setting up new ones.

VIII

25946
If India is ever to become industrially great she will have to follow the example of other countries and build a tariff wall high and solid enough to protect her industrial system until they can do without protection. Japan, the United States and Germany have all had to provide such shelter for their infant industries. Even Britain has not, in the case of some industries hesitated to employ such devices, nor, if the need were to arise tomorrow, would she hesitate to do so more extensively.

Protection does, of course, raise the price of commodities within a country. For that reason it is hard upon the poor. That is especially the case with a nation which is still in the agricultural stage of development.

In every country agricultural labour is paid at a relatively lower scale than industrial labour. Agricultural products, moreover, have to be sold in an open market, which means low prices. A people overwhelmingly engaged in farming operations are, therefore, doubly hit when compelled to buy the manufactured goods needed by them in a protected and necessarily high-priced market.

Unfortunately, however, no means anywhere nearly so effective as protection is available to enable India to become industrially great. That is the lesson to be learned from nations, both Eastern and Western, which have achieved industrial prosperity. Every one of them knew that protection would inevitably raise prices and thereby work hardship upon its poor: yet not one of them set its face against the employment of that expedient. If India, by listening to the specious arguments advanced by individuals belonging to nations which now industrially exploit her, permits herself to be swerved from following the example of other nations which, within living memory, have achieved industrial greatness, she will continue to remain in the agricultural stage of development, and her

sons and daughters will continue to receive poor pay, and with that poor pay to patronize the Japanese, Americans, Britons, and other Europeans, who by engaging in industrial work of one kind or another, earn comparatively higher wages and are able to maintain a much higher standard of life.

IX

So far, however, our demands for a protective system that would accelerate the pace of Indian industrialisation so as to enable us to become a great industrial nation in something like the period it took Japan, the United States, and Germany to achieve their industrial ambition, have, however, not been met. And no wonder. We not only constitute Britain's "sacred trust" but also her "best market".

Even "discriminating protection" has been conceded to us grudgingly. Its application, as, for instance, in respect of steel, does not shield that industry from the competition of imports from Britain. Protection on similar principles has been denied to the owners and managers of our cotton mills.

X

If a discriminatory tariff were to be conceded, it is said, Japan might retaliate. Would she do so?

It is to be doubted if any one in Japan would be so unwise as to propose the enhancement of duties on the raw materials imported from India. Such action would tend to raise the cost of production in the Island Empire and *pro tanto* would make it difficult for that country to compete in the world-market. It would be tantamount to Japan cutting off her nose to spite her face.

When an industrial nation is dependent for the supply of its raw materials upon another country in the sense in which Japan is dependent upon India for raw cotton, it is not easy for that nation all of a sudden to arrange to secure its supply from another source. That fact is established by experience all over the world.

For years and years, for instance, the English manufacturers in Lancashire have talked bravely of throwing off the yoke of the cotton kings of America and using only cotton grown under the British flag. All sorts of schemes have been mooted. Some of them have been put into operation with

State aid—disguised or otherwise. The machinery of the Colonial office has been utilized to accomplish that purpose. But the mill-owners in Lancashire are still a long way from the attainment of the goal they set before themselves.

Similarly, for several years past the Americans have been bitterly assailing the British ring which according to them, is artificially keeping up the price of rubber. They have been vowing vengeance, and advertising schemes that would make them independent. But the actual accomplishment so far has fallen woefully short of the requirements.

Japan's efforts to render herself independent of Indian cotton are likely to prove about as successful as have been the attempts of Lancashire and the United States to shake off hampering conditions in respect of securing their raw materials. She will indeed think twice before she permits a retaliatory mood to drive her to take action that might raise the cost of her raw materials upon which, to no small extent, depends her industrial prosperity.

Japan cannot, likewise, afford to put heavy taxes on the import of rice from India. To do so would mean increasing the cost of living and thereby adding fuel to the fires of discontent which are already burning among the working classes.

These no doubt are the reasons which have prevented the Japanese from threatening retaliatory action along such lines. They have, however, threatened to buy up as many cotton mills as they can persuade the Indian owners to sell, and failing in that endeavour, to set up new mills of their own in India.

That is not an idle threat. A Bombay mill has already passed into Japanese hands.

XI

The acquisition of Indian mills, factories and workshops by foreigners or the establishment of new industrial plants by outsiders, is, however, a tendency with which Indians have to reckon, whether a discriminatory tariff is set up and enforced against Japan or not. Moves in this direction are already being made and will be made by foreign industrialists with greater persistence.

A new era of industrial competition is indeed, opening. Industrially advanced nations are ceasing to be content with manufacturing goods in their own countries and

shipping them abroad. They are becoming more and more aggressive, and are actually setting up establishments for manufacturing goods in the very countries to which they hitherto were content to export their wares.

British industrialists have already taken steps in this direction. More will do so. It may, indeed, be confidently predicted that in the years to come the number of mills, factories and workshops controlled by Britons if not actually owned by them, will increase.

Japan is not likely to lag behind the British in this matter. She has already set up several cotton mills in Shanghai which are supplying the Chinese market. As already noted, she has even bought a cotton mill in the Bombay Presidency.

These are indications of what is coming. For this reason it behoves Indians to intensify their efforts to accelerate the pace of industrialization. If we lag behind others will step in. It will be a case of not only foreigners exploiting our raw materials by carrying them away to their own countries for purposes of manufacture there, but also of their setting up industrial establishments in India and exploiting Indian man-power as well as Indian raw materials. If we do not look out we may become a nation of coolies.

XII

In running an industrial race with Japan (and other countries) we, however, are severely handicapped by the fact that, unlike them, we lack a national government. That deficiency reacts upon every phase of our life.

Japan's industrial power has been both directly and indirectly developed by her national government. It is broad-based upon the policy of diffusing knowledge among the masses and providing technical instruction of every grade on a scale adequate to the needs of the nation. It has been acquired, to no small extent, by means of State initiative and active State assistance.

The foundation of the Japanese industrial system was laid through the despatch of large numbers of students to America and Europe for technical training, and even through the establishment of model mills, factories and workshops and their operation, often at a loss, by the national government. It has been fostered by means of encouragement provided through Government contracts and bounties of various kinds. Without such aids neither ship-building nor the merchant

marine would, for instance, have acquired the strength that they possess, and with ship-building and the merchant marine wanting, the Japanese cotton and other industries would not have pressed so hard upon our industries as they are now doing.

Our rulers, on the other hand, have confessed, again and again, their inability to cope with the problem of Indian illiteracy with anything like the vigour that Japan displayed in dealing with her cognate problem. According to the latest authoritative estimate, at the present rate of progress "it will take at least forty years more to collect all the boys of school-going age into school," while any "similar calculation for girls would be meaningless." *

Much has been promised us in the way of technical education during recent years by our rulers. But measured in terms of accomplishment India is still a long way from being put on par with Japan in respect of these facilities.

In the matter of setting up State mills and factories, our rulers have either professed conscientious objections or have given up, shortly after starting operations of that character, upon which they had entered timorously.

The bulk of the orders for the government departments and State-owned railways are still placed from London. Even the mail subsidy is not used to stimulate Indian shipping, and no effort in the direction of reserving India's coast-wise shipping for Indian enterprise has been made.

These and sundry other policies will have to be altered before India can compete on anything like even terms with Japan and other industrially advanced nations. The raising of the tariffs, though vital to our industrial existence, cannot, in itself, relieve us of all the handicaps under which our industries labour.

XIII

Only cohesion among our people can enable us to advance at this juncture. The industrial magnate must make common cause with the industrial worker. The capitalist and the clerk must pull together.

In the past Indians in the various walks

* *Education in India in 1924-25*. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch (1926).

of life have not seen the necessity of joint action. Some of our industrial magnates have not, indeed, hesitated to fling gibes at our political workers.

There has been even a disposition among our captains of industry to fly in the face of universal experience and expect India to achieve commercial greatness while she remains a political serf. It is to be hoped

that the straits into which our greatest industry has been driven has convinced them that the political factor dominates the economic issue. Given a national administration such as Canada possesses, for instance, we can easily meet the menace of Japanese (and for that matter any) competition.

Colombo, July, 1927

DUTCH SOUTH AFRICA

By C. F. ANDREWS

THERE is one thing that has to be recognised very clearly indeed if the South African Indian Question is to be properly understood. It is not an English problem to-day but a Dutch problem. Only when this dawned fully upon me was I able to get forward and understand the true situation.

Let me give some of the noticeable facts. The Dutch population came to South Africa and began its colonisation in 1652, when Van Riebeck landed with a colony of settlers. The English made no deep impression on the colony until 1820, when the famous group of English, called the 'English Settlers of 1820' landed. I do not mean, of course, that no English came before that date. On the contrary, Capetown was a port of call for every Dutch and British East India vessel, both going to and coming from the East. Many of these merchant sailors were so delighted with the climate and so tired of the sea that they settled at the Cape. Thus its dual population grew.

Something else was done in those early days. Slaves were brought on ships, both from West Africa and from Malaya by these Christian settlers. The Bushmen and the Hottentots were not enslaved to any great extent. It was cheaper to buy slaves; and imported slaves could not run away. It is interesting to note that Raja Rammohan Roy's visit to the Cape, on his way to England, almost coincided with the final abolition of slavery at the Cape. The Dutch, who had maintained the slave-system longest, were never wholly reconciled to the

Abolition. This led, more than anything else, to the 'Great Trek', which ended in the founding of the so-called Dutch Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. The name 'republic' is a doubtful one to use for a state, in which a tiny handful of white people hold down in complete subjection a vastly larger number of another race. In the Cape Province itself, the full-tide of philanthropy which followed the Abolition Movement brought with it sweeping changes. The marked difference between Cape town, where the coloured man has full political rights, and Johannesburg, where he has no political rights at all, is due chiefly to the humanitarian spirit in England during the Early and Middle Victorian era. If, when we read Raja Rammohan Roy's biography we are often impressed by his whole-hearted co-operation with Great Britain at that special epoch, we must remember that perhaps never in all her long history had Great Britain stood out so definitely for human freedom and human brotherhood as in the full sweep forward of those Abolition days. Man's history is full of hateful selfishness and self-seeking. But there have been certain generous moments which have redeemed much that is base. Among these, the Abolition Movement, with its many and varied after-effects of liberation, will stand out large in the annals of mankind.

The Dutch in South Africa were rarely cruel to their domestic slaves. But slavery is slavery: and freedom is freedom. The dominant spirit remained, as they trekked up country, and the gulf widened between

man and man. The first law,—the *grondwet* as it was called—of the Dutch Republics was written down—

"There shall be no equality between black and white either in Church or State."

The Dutch were God-fearing people. But they imbibed some dangerous lessons from the Old Testament. They learnt by heart, that the Africans were the children of Ham, of whose son, Canaan, it had been said: "Cursed be Canaan: a servant of servants shall he be." Thousands of Dutch farmers on the back veldt believe, even to-day, that this sentence is the word of God. The colour prejudice goes very deep indeed, when really good and kindly people justify it on the ground of their most cherished religious beliefs. It must be remembered that these religious Dutch people have lived away from the progressive regions of modern culture for many generations. They have been in a back water of human life.

I do not wish for a moment to imply that the British have emancipated themselves from colour prejudice and the slave spirit. They have fallen back since the Early Victorian days and are in many ways more prejudiced even than the Dutch. Especially those, who have gone out to South Africa and have quite recently seen inoculated with the colour hatred, have often proved more bitter even than those who have been born in the country. Just as converts to a new religion are almost invariably the most fanatical, so these converts to race-hatred prove in most cases the worst offenders.

One further point needs to be borne in mind very carefully indeed. The Bantus, who now are the predominant aboriginal race in South Africa, are themselves invaders and intruders into the southern sub-continent. The white people came to South Africa long before these Bantu warriors came down from Central Africa, leaving a desolation behind them and emptying the land of its inhabitants. The Dutch *Vortrekkers* were the first to meet the onset of these savage hordes. Thousands of them perished, while stemming these terrible invasions. The Hottentots and Bushmen, who were sparsely inhabiting the land, when the Dutch came three hundred years before, had been unwarlike and timid people. The Bushmen died out. The Hottentots submitted to hired service, and by intermingling with the whites have now become Eurafricans, or 'coloured' people, as distinguished from the Bantus,

who are called 'natives'. If the Hottentots had not come already under the service and protection of the whites, they would have been exterminated like many other tribes which crossed the path of the intensely warlike Bantus. It was during the so-called 'Kaffir Wars' against these invading Bantu armies, that the Boers became embittered against them with a bitterness that still shows itself on December 16th, Dingaon's Day, the memorial of a terrible slaughter of the Boers, along with their women and children, by the Bantu chief Dingaon.

There is another bitterness, which rankles in the hearts of these Boer farmers with almost equal depth. It is their dislike of the English. The memory of the Boer War is still fresh. In spite of all that has been done to redeem the past by giving self-government to the Dutch in South Africa in such a manner that they are the virtual rulers of South Africa to-day, nevertheless the bitterness of the past still remains. Above all, the memory of the deaths of thousands of their women and children in the concentration camps (towards the end of the Boer War) stands between the Dutch and English.

Only one brave English woman, Miss Emily Hobhouse, who exposed the evils of the camps and righted a great wrong thereby, has a place in the hearts of the Dutch people of South Africa. Her ashes are placed at the foot of the Memorial at Bloemfontein, which commemorates the women and children who died in the Boer War. I was in South Africa when the last rites in honour of Emily Hobhouse were performed at Bloemfontein by the Dutch National leaders; and my thoughts went back to one unforgettable day at Groot Schnur, when I was called by Mrs. Botha at the request of Miss Emily Hobhouse to come out and see her on the Indian question, in 1914. She, whose heart was ever with depressed peoples, all over the world, was ready to help to the utmost of her power Mr. Gandhi and his brave band of Passive Resisters, at the time when the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement was being framed. She lay back in her couch in Mrs. Botha's beautiful verandah, with Table mountain looming in the distance and the pine trees surrounding the house on every side. Her frailty was so great that she looked almost as if a gust of wind through the pines would blow her away. Yet within, there was the indomitable spirit which had reduced the War Office of Great Britain to surrender even in the greatest

heart of the war passion. Hated by her own countrymen, she was loved by the Boers. In certain ways, she did more than anyone else to make possible the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement; for both General Smuts and General Botha bowed to her command. And from her bed, as an invalid, she commanded them both.

We now come to the Indian problem itself in relation to the Dutch in South Africa.

First of all, it must be understood that the majority of the Dutch do not come in contact with the Indians in any direct way. More than half the Dutch people have not even seen them at close quarters. For there are practically no Indians in the Orange Free State. There are only a few thousand in the Cape Province and also in the Transvaal. Over eighty percent of the Indian community lives in Natal, which is a British Province. Thus, though the Dutch have been accustomed to dislike the Indians, and to rank them with 'coloured' people, and to call them 'coolies,' yet this dislike is rather abstract and theoretical than concrete and practical.

The presence of Mr. Sastri, with his perfect manners as a cultured gentleman and his dignity of outward form and status, was a revelation to the Dutch in South Africa, far more than to the English. It opened up to them a new kingdom of knowledge and illumination. For that reason their newspapers, day by day, when the question of an Agent General from India was brought forward, said in so many words, 'Give us Sastri, and no one else.' Indeed, so emphatically was this said, that I am quite certain there would have been a grievous disappointment if he had in the end refused.

One other fact is slowly dawning upon the minds of the Dutch in South Africa. It is this, that the people of India have suffered under the British Yoke no less than themselves. When the Indians kept calling themselves 'British', and appealing to Great Britain to help them, they incurred the odium of the Dutch. The Dutch people in South Africa felt that it was another British weight being thrown in the scale against them. They did not forget also, that the Indians in South Africa were active supporters of the British in the Boer War. For by their large ambulance corps, the Indians set free very many English soldiers to fight against the Boers.

Therefore, in the past, India has been

associated with Great Britain as an oppressor. But lately the direct dealing with the Indian Government, instead of through Great Britain, together with the presence of eminent Indians in South Africa, and also the visit of Dutch nationalists to India, has opened their eyes to the fact that Dutch and Indians alike have suffered under the pressure of the all dominating British Empire, and that they are now both winning their freedom together.

There is a feature of Dutch life in South Africa which may, in the long run, do more than anything else to bring India and South Africa into accord. The Dutch are essentially a religious people. In the centuries that have passed, since they left Holland, they have kept up with wonderful vigour their religious life. It is true, as I have shown above, that Calvinism combined with the Old Testament has caused a hardness and a literalness of interpretation, lacking that 'sweetness and light' which Matthew Arnold mentions as the centre of Christ's own teaching. There is too much of the law of Moses among them and too little of the Sermon on the Mount. Nevertheless, there is a godliness which is most impressive both in their homes and in their lives. From this side, I have often felt, there is an approach to India which will make for understanding and appreciation.

From the British in Natal, I have very little hope on the Indian Question. They have sedulously cultivated a dislike for the Indians that has reached the lowest depths of contempt. They resent intensely being called the 'coolie province' and would give the world to get rid of the Indian. The British in Natal dislike the Indian so much, that if they had their own way deportation would be a daily occurrence. Since they have been checked, their antipathy has increased. From the British, therefore, I have very little hope. Nothing could have been more stupid and servile than for some of the Indians in Natal, wishing to curry favour with the English, starting a Union Jack campaign, as though they were more British than the British. Such foolish Indians only roused the antipathy of the Dutch; and the British who used them as tools despised them all the more.

While, then, I have very little hope from the British, I am, by no means, hopeless about the Dutch. It has been possible for me to come very close to them indeed. In their Dutch University, at Stellenborch, I have been in-

vited again and again as their honoured guest. The name of Rabindranath Tagore, whose works they have read in Dutch, has been an 'open sesame'. There seems to me very little except ignorance now standing in the way of friendship between India and Dutch South Africa, if once the colour prejudice against the Indians is removed. Since the Dutch already outnumber the English, and since their superior numerical proportion is rapidly increasing, it is Dutch South Africa that will

count in the future and Dutch South Africa that will rule.

Therefore, even if the present Agreement has not given all we want and all we may reasonably require, yet it represents an invaluable position won from which the whole future relations between the two countries may be reviewed. In that review of new relations it must always now be remembered that the Dutch will have the preponderating voice when the final settlement comes.

CHINA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

By TARAKNATH DAS, M.A., PH.D.

IV.

MOST of the Chinese nationalists, who are certainly not communists, are grateful to Soviet Russia for her attitude to China. They want to cultivate Russian friendship, without being tools of the Soviet Government. Soviet Russia's policy towards China has been actuated by two principal motives: (1) self-preservation, and (2) weakening of Great Britain politically and economically. It is an undisputed fact that, since the advent of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the British Government has followed a policy which has been directly or indirectly against Russian interests. British troops intervened in South Russia and Archangel. The British Government supported every counter-revolutionary movement directed against the Soviet Government. "Russia was plagued by the foreign and to a great extent, British-sponsored invasions by Wrangel, Denikin, Udenitch, Kolchak, Semenoff and Ungern." British policy was to detach Siberia from Soviet Russia and to create a new State, thus cutting Russia off from the Pacific and the vicinity of China. The British Government tried to make a vassal of Persia and attacked Afghanistan to reduce it to a protectorate. British support to Greece against Turkey was an indirect measure against Russia. British support to Roumania against Russia on the question of Bessarabia was also an attack on Russia. Soviet Russia could not strike at Britain

directly, but aided Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan to overthrow British supremacy, thus creating new states friendly to her and opposed to British imperialism. Russian statesmen fully realize the value of Chinese friendship, politically, economically and internationally and particularly in relation to the safety of Siberia. From the point of view of population, strategic position and economic importance, Chinese friendship to Soviet Russia is more important than the combined support of Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan. From the standpoint of Russian statesmen, a Russo-Chinese friendly understanding may in time develop into a Russo-Chinese-Japanese understanding to oppose Great Britain's power in Eastern Asia. In any case, strengthening of Chinese sovereignty will mean that China will serve as a new and powerful factor in the "balance of power" in the Pacific; and an awakened China will certainly thwart British imperialism in Eastern Asia.

From this spirit of self-preservation, weakening of Great Britain and aiding China, M. Tchicherin, as early as 1919, started negotiations with China, and particularly with Dr. Sun Yat Sen, in a conference with Mr. Joffe, made it clear that the Soviet authorities must not expect that China would follow the path of communism. But he expressed his views on Russo-Chinese relations in the following way:

"Very soon will come the day when the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics of Russia will be able to greet in a powerful and free China a friend and ally; and both of these allies, in the great struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world, will go forward hand in hand."

The above message of Dr. Sun is to-day hanging in the halls of the Sun Yat Sen University established by the Russian Government, at Moscow, under the direction of M. Radek, for the training of Chinese young men.

As early as 1919 and again in 1920 the Russian Bolshevik government made serious attempts to win Chinese support. In return for formal recognition Moscow promised to give up the Boxer indemnity, the settlements in Chinese treaty ports, extra-territoriality and tariff restrictions, besides converting the Chinese Eastern Railway into a purely commercial enterprise, which China would be able to buy out entirely at some future date. The negotiation for recognition was carried on by Yourin, Joffe and Karakhan in succession, and in 1924 the latter gained the end of Chinese recognition of the Soviet regime in Russia, when the position of the Russian Minister to Peking was raised to Ambassador.

About this time Dr. Sun Yat Sen asked the United States of America and other Powers to recognize the Chinese Nationalist Government at Canton and co-operate with it, to bring about a unified nationalist China; but they did not pay heed to his proposition. Dr. Sun then turned to Soviet Russia for advisors—civil and military—who were very gladly supplied. It was the Soviet military officers who aided in training the young Chinese military officers in the National Military College established by the Canton Government at Whampao. Today these officers are the leaders of the Chinese nationalist forces. One will not have to be a communist or a Soviet agent to recognize the truth of the statement of an American student of Chino-Russian relations:

"Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy towards Asia, particularly China, has been the most portentous piece of enlightened international philanthropy since France helped to make America-nation."

The Chinese nationalist movement has been characterised as violently anti-foreign. The Chinese people are not angels, but humans. If all the important sea-ports of

Britain were occupied by France and if the Pacific Coast of the United States were occupied by the Japanese, then the British and Americans will certainly fight to the last man to get rid of the foreign aggressors. Chinese sense of national honor demands that they should uphold their national sovereignty, even if it displeases some of the Great Powers. His Excellency Hon. Sao-ke Alfred Sze, the Chinese Minister to Washington, in a recent address has pointed out that Chinese are not inherently anti-foreign and foreigners are safe in China, if they wish to live within the Chinese law. He said:—

"Those of you who are not familiar with conditions in the Far East will perhaps be surprised when I tell you that of the Westerners in China at present moment, that is, not counting the Japanese, there are more living under the Chinese law. In other words the number of foreigners having a specially favoured treaty status now in China is less than that of those who are without such special rights and privileges. This proves conclusively that foreigners can live and trade in China without special treaty status.

"You have lately heard a good deal of the sending of war-ships, marines and troops to China, ostensibly for the sole purpose of protection, as if there were or had been loss of foreign lives through unwarranted attack by Chinese. Such is not the case. But Chinese blood has been shed and Chinese lives have been lost by the action of foreigners. While the British and certain other governments fear serious danger to the property and life of their nationals, the Germans, the Austrians, the Russians and nationals of other countries continue to live and trade in peace in China without their home governments ordering military or naval forces to China. One fails to hear Berlin, Vienna or Moscow sending naval units or military forces to protect their nationals in China. The controversies between China and the powers will not be settled by the threat of the use of gunpowder. But I trust and believe that they will be settled by according justice to the nation which invented gunpowder.

"My people are not anti-foreign, but we are anti-foreign-aggression. There is as much difference between anti-foreign and anti-foreign-aggression as between light and darkness. It is our earnest wish to respect the legitimate interests of foreigners. We have no desire to do injustice to or inflict hardship on anybody, but on the other hand, we wish others to treat us with justice and fair play and return to us these sovereign rights that they have taken away from us. What the Chinese have been struggling for is to get rid of a foreign imposed super-state in China. The struggle will continue, as it should, till the goal is reached when China will be truly independent within her own borders."

The Chinese nationalists are fighting for liberty and international justice; and they should receive support and recognition from all freedom-loving peoples of the world.

* *Revolt of Asia* by Upton Close (Josef Washington Hall), New York. G. P. Putnam & Sons. 1927.

V

Today the Chinese nationalists are fighting against foreign imperialists, Chinese militarists and communists. Thus China is not only passing through a tremendous revolution, but is torn with civil wars and factional fights. Foreign imperialists profess to be friendly to China, but claim that as long as China is under the grip of civil war and there is no stable government to deal with, they cannot make any concession to China in the form of revision of the unequal treaties; on the contrary, they must use force, if necessary to protect the lives and property of their nationals in China, enjoying the benefits from the unequal treaties to the disadvantage of the Chinese. Among the foreign powers, it is now quite clear that Great Britain, supported by America, is bent upon demonstration of force against China, in violation of all practices of international law. Today there are over 30,000 British soldiers and marines, field artillery and five squadrons of British air forces and a powerful section of the British navy within Chinese territorial jurisdiction. Mr. Baldwin's China policy is no better than that of Lloyd George's Turkish policy. Lloyd George, to crush the Turkish nationalists under the leadership of Kemal Pasha, concentrated a large British fleet and forces and called upon the British dominions as well as France and Italy to side with Britain in her gallant fight to destroy the last semblance of the Ottoman Empire; and today Mr. Baldwin has sent a powerful British fleet, and British forces and is seeking the co-operation of Powers to uphold British policy in China. As in the case of Turkey, France and Italy did not support Great Britain, and Russia aided the Turkish nationalists in every way, so Britain to save her face had to take the initiative to sign the treaty of Lausanne, and thus recognize full sovereignty of Turkey, by removing the last vestige of "capitulations", similarly Britain in her China policy finds that Japan and America are not only unwilling to side with Britain, but are ready to aid the Chinese nationalists. France under the leadership of M. Briand does not want to follow the policy of intervention in China, and thus alienate Japan, Russia and China. Italy, as a matter of gesture and to assure the British Government that she will aid the British in any special contingency, has sent a war-ship,

and America is following the carefully defined opportunist policy of bullying China in co-operation with Britain, and at the same time avoiding any commitment to an aggressive and coercive policy against the Chinese nationalists. It is well-known and apparent to all who are carefully observant of British policy in the Orient, that the Baldwin Government is making a show of force towards the Chinese nationalists to please the die-hards and at the same time has been finding a way towards peaceful settlement with the Chinese, to please the British merchants, who are suffering tremendously from loss of business due to boycott of British goods and the openly hostile attitude of the Chinese nationalists against all forms of British interests in China. An important section of the British Labor Party and Trade Union Congress is also opposed to the British imperialist policy in China; as is evident from the following resolution adopted by the Trade Union Congress on April 28, 1927:

"It is contended that the great naval, military and air forces now concentrated in China constitute an immediate danger to world peace. The signatories urge immediate withdrawal of all British armed forces from China. We further urge support for the demands of British Labour that the privileges wrung from China by war shall be renounced, including extra-territoriality, foreign control of the maritime customs and foreign Settlements and concessions.

"The British Labour movement has welcomed the awakening of the Eastern races, who have been the great reserve army for capitalist exploitation, and has denounced the exploitation of Chinese labour, particularly of women and children, realizing that low-paid labour in China means depressed wages and employment in Britain.

"The British workers are faced by a Government measure designed to destroy the power of the British Labour movement. It is, therefore, important that the British workers should unite to stop the war in China by every means in their power and give their whole-hearted support to the Chinese Nationalist movement which is developing trade unionism for the protection of the Chinese workers.

"It is the same government, animated by the same motives, which is attempting to destroy the hard-won liberties of the British trade union movement and waging war against the Chinese workers."

—Times (London), April 29, 1927.

As the Government of Lloyd George had to give up its Turkish adventure, so it is a foregone conclusion that the British Government, unless something unforeseen happens, will not follow the policy of carrying on war against China without full support from

other powers, particularly America, and may even take diplomatic steps to lead a conference in favor of restoration of Chinese sovereign rights. This will come, as soon as the British feel that the Chinese nationalists are gaining in power in their struggle against the Chinese militarists and communists. It is needless to say that Britain and America cannot afford to follow an aggressive policy towards China while Japan is following the policy of "enlightened peace towards China" and thus conquering Chinese market for the benefit of Japanese commerce and possibly for a Chino-Japanese understanding. The British Government had to change its Turkish policy because of the international situation and a United Turkey under the much denounced Turkish leader Kemal Pasha. So if the Chinese can present a united front, owing to the particularly favorable international situation, Britain will have to deal with the Chinese nationalists on their terms, and China like Japan and Turkey, will be freed from foreign domination.

VI

Civil War in China is a menace to the cause of Chinese nationalism; because in the face of foreign intervention the Chinese nationalists are forced to concentrate their energy to combat civil wars and factional fights. As long as Civil War will prevent China from presenting a united front against the foreign imperialists, there is no reason to expect that the Chinese people will be able to reap the full benefit of the Chinese Revolution.

Civil War in China is not due to "communalism or religious fanaticism," but it is a fight for power between the militarists, nationalists and communists. The militarists, like General Chang Tso-Lin, the Manchurian War Lord and the Dictator of the Northern Government at Peking, the poet-General Wu Pei-Fu and their adherents are opposed to the nationalist forces. The Chinese War Lords, like the Chinese nationalists, profess to be patriotic and believe that they are anxious to bring about a united China, free from foreign control. They believe that this can be accomplished through their leadership, which really means by the establishment of dictatorship and militarism. The Chinese Militarists do not believe in the so-called democratic form of government, and they are opposed to the nationalists as radicals.

To the Chinese Communists, who are led by the Soviet agents, the Chinese nationalists are not radical enough in their external and internal policies. The Chinese Communists want to abrogate all the existing unequal treaties and ignore all unjust foreign rights in China, even if they are guaranteed by the existing treaties. They want to establish a Government in China, following the example of Russia, which will be dominated by so-called peasants and workers. However, the Chinese Communists class themselves as "real" Chinese nationalists and opposed to all militarists.

All the Chinese nationalist factions are supposed to be following the path mapped out by the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen. They are at present divided into four distinct groups: (1) Those who are following the so-called Christian General Feng, who, with his army, is now in North-western China, biding his time to take the leadership. Feng is friendly to Soviet Russia and recently visited Moscow where his son is studying in the Sun Yat Sen University, established by the Soviet Government, which is directed by M. Radek. (2) The Chinese nationalist group who belong to the extreme left and have established their government at Hankow and who are supposed to be following the communist trend, dictated by Soviet Russian advisors like M. Borodin and others. (3) The moderate Chinese nationalists, under the leadership of General Chiang kai-Shek who have established a new nationalist Government at Nanking. Chiang kai-Shek is opposed to the communists within the nationalist rank, and is determined to free the Chinese nationalist Party—Kuo-min-tang party—from the communist influence and is actually carrying on war against the Hankow Government. (4) The nationalist Government of Canton which has declared its independence of all nationalist groups, particularly the Hankow and Nanking Governments.

The Chinese nationalists believe that militarism or autocratic rule of various provincial War Lords, seeking to augment their own power for personal gain and prestige, is the true cause of the present chaos in China. Chinese nationalists advocate immediate abolition of military governorship for provinces and establishment of such a form of government, in which military authority should be sub-servient to civil power, which in turn must represent the will of the people, expressed through a truly

responsible government of the Chinese people.

No one can predict the course of the conflict between the nationalists and militarists in China. But to all impartial observers, it is apparent that the Chinese people in general are in sympathy with the ideals of the Chinese nationalists; and it is through the popular sympathy and co-operation that the forces of the Kuo-min-tang have been so eminently successful in their fight against the militarists. The nationalist army, under General Chiang-kai-Shek, has undoubtedly a military genius at its head, and the rank and file are inspired by the ideal of freeing China from the tyranny of the Chinese militarists and their foreign supporters. However, the weapon which has been most effectively used by the Kuo-min-tang is the weapon of propaganda among the people and the soldiers of the enemy ranks. The Chinese nationalists have extensively used the weapon of the general strike; and sympathetic mass-demonstrations, in their favour, have preceded the victorious entry of the nationalist army in cities like Shanghai, Hankow and Nanking.

To secure the support of the Chinese people, the Kuo-min-tang leaders have used their propaganda machines, in the form of proclamations of military officers. The following, issued after the fall of Shanghai to nationalist hands, is a typical example of it:—

"Shanghai—March 23:—General Pai Chung-hsi, Commander of the Southern forces in Shanghai and Chief of the Staff to General Chiang kai-Shek, the Southern Commander-in-Chief, has addressed a manifesto to the Chinese people saying:—

"For (80) eighty years the Imperialists, under the protection of unequal treaties, have reduced China to a state of vassalage. After the revolution of 1911, the Imperialists continually supplied the Chinese Imperialists with rifles and guns, with which they waged war for the past fifteen (15) years. On the one hand, the foreign imperialists have checked the development of Chinese education and industries and on the other hand, have secured for themselves special privileges.

"But the Chinese have awakened and Shanghai, the greatest commercial centre in the Far East, has become not only a strong base for Chinese nationalism but for the world revolution. The Chinese people must distinguish, however, between Chinese Imperialism and foreigners. They must not insult foreigners or destroy their property." *The Times* (London), March 24, 1927, page 14.

It may not be generally known (in India) that the Chinese nationalists, in co-operation with the Indian revolutionists abroad, carried on systematic propaganda among the Indian

soldiers; and leaflets urging the Indian soldiers not to attack the Chinese, striving to free their country from foreign oppression, but to go back to India to work for the freedom of India, were circulated among the Indian soldiers. Some of the Indians were arrested by the British authorities in Shanghai for carrying on such subversive propaganda. It seems clear that the British authorities thought it wise not to send any more Indian soldiers to China, fearing that they might be infected with the propaganda which might later on spread in the Indian army in India, after the return of the Indian soldiers to India from China.

The Chinese nationalists have carried on systematic propaganda among the English sailors and soldiers. The following is a sample of a leaflet widely circulated among the British sailors:—

"British sailors, we must know that you are sent here to fight armless people who are inspired by ideals of independence and democracy. You are sent here to crush a revolutionary movement which struggles against militarism, to form, *Government By the Chinese People, Of the Chinese People and For the Chinese People*. This is not your business. Don't interfere! Go back to your homes!

"Do not be fooled by your masters, the British capitalists and their servants, your officers and admirals. Do away with that damned superstitious race-hatred. We are your friends, and have more in common with you than you have with your own countrymen of that type who sent you. Either go back home or join us for the sake of the liberation of all the exploited masses of the world and for the sake of your own liberation.

"British sailors, you come to China at a time when a Democratic Revolution goes on here. You are sent to be Henchmen (of the British capitalists) against this Revolution. The Chinese workers and peasants will not stand it. They will put up a bitter struggle for their independence and liberty. Remember that! Do not think about us, the Chinese toiling masses as about the "Chinks" whom you can slaughter like cattle. Those times have passed for ever. Do not interfere in Our Revolution. This is our own affair." *The Times* (London), March 24, 1927.

It is generally expected that factional fights among the Chinese nationalists will be soon over and the Chinese nationalists under the leadership of General Chiang kai-Shek, supported by the majority of Chinese intelligentsia, merchants, students, workers and peasants will be supreme. According to a Paris despatch of April 27, to the *Munchner Neueste Nachrichten*, already the far-sighted Chinese nationalists in Europe are in accord with the programme of General Chiang kai-Shek. After a meeting of the Kuo-min-tang

party in Europe, held in Paris, the General secretary of the party has made known his views officially to the French press to the following effect :—

"The Kuo-min-tang Party is for Chinese nationalism and not for the Third International. They are not following the teachings of Karl Marx or Lenin. On the contrary they are trying to fulfil the ideals of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, by securing complete independence of China from foreign control, abolition of all unequal treaties and ending of all concessions. The Chinese people and the Kuo-min-tang Party fully appreciate the friendship of Soviet Russia which has given up extra-territorial jurisdiction, concessions and unequal treaties; but they cannot allow the Soviet agents to carry on propaganda or activities in China which may be detrimental to Chinese interests. In future the Kuo-min-tang Party in Europe will follow the moderate course, outlined by General Chiang kai-Shek, who, as a friend and disciple of Sun Yat Sen, is trying to carry out his programme of united China, ruled by a democratic popular Government for the interest of the Chinese people."

It seems to us that Great Britain and America, Japan and France will support Chiang kai-Shek, with the expectation that through his efforts China will be prevented from championing Soviet Russian policy, particularly in foreign affairs. It is conceivable that Great Britain and America might have learnt their lessons that, because they failed to support the Government of Kerensky adequately, the Bolsheviks secured the upper hand in the fight for control of Russia. Similarly, if the moderate element of the Chinese nationalists, led by General Chiang kai-Shek, be not supported by the governments of Great Britain and the United States, and these governments follow the policy of intervention in China, as they tried in Russia, they will strengthen the hands of Soviet Russia and the Chinese radicals.

In fact, it is now an open secret that, Mr. Coolidge's government is not anxious to adopt any further coercive measures against the Chinese nationalists, to enforce the demands presented to the Hankow Government regarding the Nanking affairs. The

American government will prefer that Chiang kai-Shek overthrows the Hankow Government and follows a pro-American foreign policy. General Chiang kai-Shek has proved himself to be a diplomat as well as a military genius. The Powers, particularly Britain and America, have been very loud against the Chinese nationalists, on the pretext that they were tools of the Soviet Government in Russia and thus enemies of law and order. By taking steps to free the Kuo-min-tang Party from the control of the Chinese radicals and Russian influence, he has taken steps to test American friendship and the sincerity of various declarations of the Baldwin Government. General Chiang's victory over the radicals will mean that the former will be able to demand considerate treatment from the Powers, particularly America and Britain. General Chiang thinks that for the success of the nationalist cause, it is necessary that the nationalists must avoid, in every possible way, foreign intervention in China. If through General Chiang's sagacity, the Chinese nationalists can follow a course which may insure that there will be no intervention against the Nationalist cause by the Powers, then the Chinese militarists will either have to come to terms with the Chinese nationalists peaceably, or the Chinese nationalist forces will march towards Peking.

The future of the Chinese nationalist cause depends largely, if not entirely, upon the termination of the Chinese Civil War. It is needless to say that the Chinese nationalists will not sacrifice the fundamental principles of their programme to purchase international support or to secure a truce with the militarists; and it is to be hoped that in the near future the object of the Chinese Revolution will be fulfilled with the victory of the Chinese nationalist cause.

(Concluded)

MUNICH, GERMANY.

May 1, 1927.

LEGISLATION, RE THE MINIMUM MARRIAGEABLE AGE

By JYOTI SWARUP GUPTA

Vakil, High Court, Allahabad

PRESENT POSITION WITH RESPECT TO EARLY MARRIAGES

"A tiny little tot embarking on the uncharted seas of matrimony without any knowledge of her destination or destiny—at an age when her little sister in the West is still in the kindergarten." How true this description of an Indian girl wife by the Illustrated Times of India, yet how sad and heart-rending especially when one looks to the simple child-like looks of an innocent prey to social tyranny and unfounded religious bogey. And yet this is not a solitary instance in the fair and hoary land of India. This is a normal feature of an ordinary Indian family. The Census Report for 1921 points out that "the marriage of girls at an age when they are still children is a custom common among the Hindus." The Census Report of 1911 recorded that "infant marriages are both customary

and common, the average age for marriage being 8-12." It went on to say that "the marriage before the age of ten was most prevalent in Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Baroda, Central India tract and Hyderabad. It records a custom of marriage performed of children even before they are born! The following tables, taken from the Census Report for 1921 will show at a glance the seriousness of the cancer that is poisoning our entire social system.

Table showing the proportion of unmarried, married and widowed per 1,000 of each sex in India.

Age	Unmarried		Married		Widowed	
	Males—Females.		Males—Females.		Males—Females.	
0-5	994	988	6	11	—	1
5-10	966	907	32	88	2	5
10-15	879	601	116	382	5	17
15-20	687	188	298	771	15	41
20-25	402	51	564	877	34	72

Table showing the total population and the number of married and widowed of each sex at different age periods.

Age.	Population.			Married.		Widowed.	
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females	Males.	Females.
all	315,350,442	162,081,278	153,269,164	71,057,754	71,593,131	10,338,392	26,834,838
0-1	9,237,210	4,638,721	4,598,489	6,921	9,066	355	759
1-2	1,537,945	2,238,393	2,290,552	6,687	11,595	378	612
2-3	7,676,606	3,729,731	3,946,875	16,484	32,197	959	1,600
3-4	9,155,184	4,390,695	4,764,489	28,995	60,755	1,628	3,475
4-5	9,049,465	4,487,261	4,562,204	51,667	164,850	3,161	8,693
Total 0-5	39,656,410	19,484,801	20,171,609	110,684	218,463	6,481	15,139
5-10	46,747,383	23,846,133	22,901,255	757,405	2,016,687	40,579	102,293
10-15	36,741,852	20,171,326	16,570,526	2,344,066	6,330,207	109,384	279,124
15-20	26,144,890	13,648,824	12,496,066	4,077,400	9,635,310	198,278	517,898
20-25	26,066,102	12,563,822	13,502,280	7,036,997	11,840,920	422,723	966,617

Are the figures in the last four columns blood-curdling, heart-rending such as all raise the hair of the most hard-headed conservative and the worst bureaucrat? The total number of girls married before ten is over twenty-two lacs and of widows over one lac seventeen thousand!

Report proceeds to say that "infant and child-marriage is still prevalent, but there is evidence to show that the age of marriage

is increasing especially in the case of males. Only in the most advanced classes is there any tendency for the age of marriage after puberty to increase."

Thus the Census Report rightly observes that "there is little evidence in the Census figures to suggest that the practice (of early marriages) is dying out." Under these circumstances if the wound is allowed to take its own time to heal, the poison will

spread in all parts of our system, there will be no resisting power left in us, all the limbs of our social system will cease to function and we shall all collapse much before the time comes—if it comes at all when child-marriages will be abolished. We can ill afford to be silent spectators to the ruin of our race. Like prudent surgeons, let us apply the sharp knife of a legislative enactment and powerful propaganda.

THE TWO BILLS

In order to put a stop to this suicidal policy of early marriages Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gour—the indomitable fighter for social reform through legislation and Mr. Har Bilas Sarda have introduced Bills in the Legislative Assembly. Under the terms of Section 375 of the Indian Penal Code any person who has sexual intercourse with his wife under thirteen years of age is guilty of rape and is punishable with imprisonment which may extend to ten years and also with fine. Sir Hari seeks to raise the age to fourteen.

According to the Hindu Child-Marriage Bill of Mr. Har Bilas Sarda no marriage of a Hindu girl under twelve years of age or of a Hindu boy under fifteen years will be valid (S S. 3 and 4). The marriage of a Hindu girl between the age of 11-12 years will be valid if her guardian obtains a license from the District Magistrate of the place where the girl ordinarily resides, authorising or permitting such marriage (S5). The Magistrate shall grant a license to the guardian who files a written application with "an affidavit swearing to the fact that the girl has completed her eleventh year, and that the guardian conscientiously believes that the tenets of the religion, which the girl professes, enjoin that the girls should not be kept unmarried any longer".

The statement of objects and reasons attached to the bill, says:

1. "The object of the Bill is two-fold. The main object, by declaring invalid the marriages of girls below 12 years of age, is to put a stop to such girls becoming widows. The second object, by laying down the minimum marriageable ages of boys and girls, is to prevent, so far as may be their physical and moral deterioration by removing a principal obstacle to their physical and mental development.

2. The deplorable feature of the situation, however, is that the majority of these child widows are prevented by Hindu custom and usage from re-marrying. Such a lamentable state of affairs exists in no country, civilised or uncivilised, in the

world. And it is high time that the law came to the assistance of these helpless victims of social customs, which, whatever their origin or justification in old days, are admittedly out of date and are the source of untold misery and harm at the present time.

3. According to the Brahmans, the most ancient and the most authoritative book containing the laws of the Hindus, the minimum marriageable age of man is 24 and of woman 16. And if the welfare of the girl were the only consideration in fixing the age, the law should fix 16 as the minimum age for the valid marriage of a girl. But amongst Hindus, there are people who hold the belief that a girl should not remain unmarried after she attains puberty. And as in this country, some girls attain puberty at an age as early as 12, the Bill fixes 12 as the minimum age for the valid marriage of a Hindu girl.

4. In order however, to make the Bill acceptable to the most conservative Hindu opinion provision is made in the Bill that for conscientious reasons, the marriage of a Hindu girl would be permissible even when she is 11 years old. No Hindu Sastra enjoins marriage of a girl before she attains puberty, and the time has arrived and public opinion sufficiently developed when the first step towards the accomplishment of the social reform so necessary for the removal of a great injustice to its helpless victims and so essential to the interests of a large part of humanity, should be taken, by enacting a law declaring invalid the marriages of girls below 11 years of age.

5. With regard to boys, the Sastras do not enjoin marriage at a particular age. Thoughtful public opinion amongst Hindus would fix 18 as the minimum marriageable age for a boy. But as some classes of Hindus would regard such legislation as too drastic, the Bill takes the line of least resistance by providing 15 years as the age below which the marriage of a Hindu boy shall be invalid. Even in England, where child marriages are unknown and early marriages are exceptions, it has been found necessary to fix the ages below which boys and girls may not marry."

It will thus appear that though the author in accordance with the thoughtful public opinion among Hindus would fix 18 as the minimum marriageable age for boys and 16 for girls. Yet he out of regard for the susceptibilities and feelings of the orthodox and conservatives and in order to meet their so-called religious and conscientious objections and as a first step in legislation affecting minimum marriageable age, has drafted his bill on moderate and non-contentious lines so that it might be plain sailing and take the line of no resistance or opposition. It may also be noticed that the bill does not provide any punishment, whatsoever to the parent or guardian who marries the child *under age*. It simply declares such marriage invalid.

GOVERNMENT OPPOSITION

It was understood that such a non-contentious and extremely non-contentious and yet

highly beneficial measure would be welcomed by Government and would meet with no opposition whatsoever from it but its attitude has staggered us all.

The Assembly has established a convention that it will not oppose the mere introduction of a bill. Bound by this convention, the Home member did not—he could not oppose the introduction of this Bill but he could not restrain himself and laid the gauntlet at the feet of the Health, Maternity and Child welfare workers, the doctors and the social reformer by saying that he would oppose it at all future stages. It is very unfortunate that the Government has taken a very hostile attitude to the raising of the age of consent and the marriageable age since the question was first mooted in 1921 in the League of Nations on the question of traffic in white girls. Is it not very strange that a Government which is very fond of proclaiming that it is the *ma bap* of the dumb Indians should actively and consistently oppose all attempts to improve a pernicious practice which is cutting the ground from under their very feet. It is not very curious that Englishmen with all their proud feelings of respect for womanhood should not only connive but be actively participating in bringing about untold misery which is the necessary consequence of early marriages?

May I also bring to the Government's notice the following reply which was given to an interpellation in the Legislative Assembly only a few days after its inauguration :

"23. Lala Girdhari Lal Agarwala. Do the Government intend to undertake legislation forbidding marriage of girls before the age of 11 and that of boys before the age of 14 ?

Mr. S. P. O'Donnel : The answer is in the negative. Government consider that under present conditions, in a matter of this kind which intimately concerns the social customs and religious beliefs of the people it is preferable that the initiative should be taken by non-officials rather than by Government."—Legislative Assembly Debates Vol. I. P. 138 for 17th February 1921.

I would go to the whole length of saying this declaration of Governmental policy by then Home Secretary clearly shows that though the Government at that time was opposed to take the initiative in this matter it never contemplated to offer any opposition to such a measure if mooted by a non-official.

The Census Report is an official document prepared at considerable expense to the taxpayer under the direct control and super-

vision of a member of its own steel frame. The Government cannot lightly ignore the facts, figures and conclusions drawn in it. This is why I have taken care to quote from it. It observes :

"It is difficult to gauge to what extent the statutory sanction contributes to the fall in the number of infant marriages, but as was remarked by my predecessor, the indirect effect on public opinion of a definite attitude of the state towards the practice cannot but be beneficial.

Might I also tell the Law officers of the Government that the marital tie carries with it the conjugal right for the husband to the immediate society of the wife. Under the general principles of marriage laws and the laws of all civilized countries a wife cannot refuse to live with her husband. The courts will always give a decree for the restitution of conjugal rights if even a child wife refuses to live with her husband. Now section 375 of the Indian Penal Code threatens to send the husband to jail for 10 years if he has access to his wife under 13 years of age. It, therefore, follows as a logical consequence that the minimum marriageable age should be the same as the age in this section. There is no fun in allowing a man to assume by law a certain status, viz, of husband, which carries with it certain rights viz., to the society of the wife, and yet sending him to jail if he avails himself of those rights.

Bharatpur, Mysore and Baroda States have laws forbidding marriages below certain years. China has passed a law forbidding marriages of girls below 16 and of boys below 18. Many European countries have minimum marriageable age laws though the institution of early marriage is unknown to them. What then is there to prevent our Legislature from passing such a measure ? what is there for the Government to oppose this bill ? Is it its alien nature, cussedness, disregard for the welfare of the Hindus or something else ? If we are denied political reforms can we also not have social reforms till the system of present Government lasts ? Is it not its imperative duty to pass this bill as it passed the Sutee Abolition Act or the Widow Re-marriage Act ? Would it not be thus preventing over thirty lacs of children becoming girl wives and over two lacs of innocent "temples of God" becoming widows before they enter their teens'. The least that the Government can do is to sit silent and leave the question to the vote of the Hindu members in the Assembly.

ADVANCED PUBLIC OPINION.

While condemning the practice of early wifehood and motherhood in his book, Tuberculosis in India, Lankester meets the argument that a warm climate favours precocity and that girls in India develop at an earlier age than in more temperate climates thus:

"Let even as much as two years be conceded and in place of 18 years, which may be reckoned as the lower limiting age in ordinary cases of marriage in the west, let 16 years be the age which popular opinion shall regard as the normal one for marriage in this country. The result would be an incalculable gain in the health of women of India and also in that of the children whom they bear."

Following this advice the advanced social reformer would do well to keep in mind that 16 and 18 should be the minimum

marriageable age for girls and boys respectively. Let him move amendments to this bill to raise the age to this ideal or at least to 14 for girls and 16 for boys and also for the addition of a clause which would penalise the parent or guardian who violates the law. But if he fails in his amendments let him accept the present bill as a first step towards legislation providing a minimum age for marriages. Let the Health, Maternity and Child-welfare organisations, the Hindu Sabha, the Arya Samaj, the Women's Association under the able leadership of Mrs. Cousins and the *Mohila Samitis* and other social bodies all work incessantly till they have seen this bill in its present or improved form and also the amending bill of Sir Hari Singh Gour placed on the statute book.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN JAPAN

By T. K. VADIVELU

WITH the restoration of the Mikado (Emperor) to his legitimate rights as the supreme ruler in 1868 commences the new era of Modern Japan. The visit of the American Expeditionary Squadron, under the command of Commodore Perry in 1853, marked an epochal change in the history of Modern Japan, with the result that the country was gradually led into closer association with the western world. For the previous three hundred years the actual administrative power of the country had rested with the Shogun (feudallord). But with the restoration of the emperor the entire system of national life in politics, social order, and educational policies underwent radical reform.

The early history of Japan was mostly influenced by Chinese culture. The teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism constituted the basic factors in the development of Chinese civilization. The introduction of Confucianism into Japan dates back to 285 A.D. when Wani was invited to the Mikado's court. Buddhism was introduced about the middle of the sixth century of the Christian era. During this period frequent exchange of visits of priests and students took place between Japan and China and Korea.

The Nara epoch covered the eighth century followed by the Heian epoch which continued until the twelfth century. Art and literature flourished during these epochs. This period ushered in an era of military rule marked by the continuous rising and falling of different ruling houses. This may be called the dark age in Japanese history during which time education was entirely neglected. It was only enjoyed by a small group of people, *viz.*, priests, courtiers and other non-military people. Ieyasu Tokugawa, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate in 1603, was one of the greatest military leaders and statesmen Japan has produced. Under the regime of the Tokugawas more liberal and universal education was encouraged. As a result classical studies were revived and many notable scholars appeared.

In 1868 His Imperial Majesty the late Emperor Meiji promulgated the famous charter oath of five articles, which is called the Magna Charta of the Japanese Empire. The principles embodied in the Magna Charta are of a most radical nature—being a change from the most conservative feudalistic idea to the most progressive modern idea. These five articles read as follows:

1. All affairs of the state shall be decided by public discussion;
2. Both rulers and ruled shall unite for the advancement of the national interests;
3. All the people shall be given opportunity to satisfy their legitimate desires;
4. All customs of former times shall be abolished and justice and righteousness shall regulate all actions;
5. And knowledge shall be sought for far and wide and thus will the foundation of the Imperial policy be greatly strengthened.

The last mentioned "that knowledge shall be sought for far and wide" has constituted the basic factor in the foundation of the modern education policy of Japan. In obedience to this proclamation the government took the necessary measures to improve the social and political systems and institutions after the most enlightened models, and the work in education received the greatest share of attention.

Four years later, in 1872 (fifth year of Meiji), another Imperial Edict was issued concerning universal education, which contains this interesting statement:

"Henceforward education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family nor a family with an ignorant member, regardless of class. If a child, male or female, does not attend an elementary school the guardian is responsible for such neglect."

A large number of scholars and students were sent abroad to study the system of education in arts, sciences, and technical knowledge in different countries in Europe and America. And with the newly acquired knowledge of these students the Japanese educational policies and principles, and all activities of national life have been so moulded as to meet the requirements of the changed conditions. During the early Meiji era a large number of foreign scholars and technical experts were engaged by the Japanese Government to assist in the reconstruction of the national life. But it is quite evident that very few of them remain in the service today, for Japanese themselves are filling the positions formerly held by the foreign scholars and experts.

The fundamental ideals of education in Japan can best be understood from the Imperial Rescript on Education which was issued in the year 1870. All the children are required to commit this rescript to memory. A translation of it reads:

"Know ye, Our Subjects:
Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our

subjects, ever united in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

"The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and Subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue."

"The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji."

In this it can be seen that the ideals contained in it are mostly influenced by the teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism, and at the same time we find the best principles of the Occidental educational system embodied in it.

It will afford much interest to look into the system of educational administration in Japan. The department of education is on an equal basis with other departments, and is under the direct control of the national government. The minister of education has charge of all matters relating to education, literature, arts, and religion of the country. The general policy of education is decided by the department; however, the management of the schools is left partly with the local public bodies. Under the system of compulsory education, all children at the age of six, are entered in the first grade of the primary schools for a six years' course. After graduating from the primary schools some of them enter the higher primary schools for a two years' course. However, the boys generally enter middle schools for a five years' course, and the girls enter girls' high schools for a four or five years' course. After that three years are further required to complete the work in the higher schools before they are eligible to compete in the entrance examinations for colleges and universities. Primary education in Japan is

given in elementary schools and continuation schools; secondary education in middle schools for boys and in girls' high schools for girls and technical schools of second grade; and higher education in the higher schools, colleges and universities. For the training of teachers there are normal schools for both men and women; for the training of men of business and other vocations there is a number of vocational and technical schools.

Statistics compiled by the Education Department in 1921 shows that there were 43,820 schools. Of these 74 are government institutions, and 41,821 established and maintained by local bodies. There were also 1930 private schools and 220,877 teachers. The entire enrolment of pupils and students was 10,435,364. (The population of Japan in 1921 was 56,787,300) According to the census taken by the government at the end of March, 1924, there were 4,633,480 boys, and 4,374,559 girls, a total of 9,008,039 children, of school age, that is from six to twelve years. Out of these children, 99.30 per cent of boys and 99.03 per cent of girls—average 99.17 per cent are registered in schools. Taking these figures into consideration it cannot but be reckoned that the compulsory system of primary education is a phenomenal success in Japan. Even those American and European countries which boast of possessing highly developed education cannot compare with Japan in this phase of education. If there is indeed any country more thorough-going than Japan in the education of its children it will be the Scandinavian countries. On one occasion during a World Conference on Education held in San Francisco some years ago, a lady from Norway said that 100 per cent of their children were educated.

The figures quoted above eloquently show how much the Japanese people are interested in the education of children and young people. The desire of the common masses of the country—both the parents and also the young people themselves—for higher education cannot be met by the authorities of the department. The sad feature of the educational situation in Japan today is the

fact that the government cannot build an adequate number of schools, owing to lack of funds, to take care of the vastly increasing number of students who seek higher education.

One of the most difficult problems Japan has been endeavoring to solve during the last fifty years is her overpopulation with a limited area of land. The entire area of Japan proper is no larger than the State of California. Japan being a country of volcanic formation, the proportion of arable land is very small. Only 16 per cent of the entire land is productive. About five and a half million families, or thirty million people, which is roughly half of the population, cultivate fifteen million acres, a little less than three acres per family, and half an acre per individual. During the last five years the population of Japan has increased three million and a half. The farm lands for cultivation in Japan proper are almost exhausted, while the increase in the population is almost uncontrollable. The natural resources of the country are very poor. Under these adverse conditions Japan today faces a new problem in the re-establishment of her national economic status.

It is an interesting fact to note that the United States has had much to do with the promotion of education in Japan. One of the noteworthy things which the American missionaries have done in the field of education has been the encouragement of education for women. A number of mission schools have been especially built for the education of Japanese women and they have produced many eminent leaders in the educational field as well as in social work. It is recorded in the history of education in Japan that an eminent scholar from the United States in the person of Dr. David Murry was engaged as an adviser to the Minister of Education from 1875-1897.

Through the aid of education only can a nation make progress and bring to the people a fuller realization of life. Through the aid of education the advancement of humankind is made possible, and at the same time, international peace and unity, which is so much talked about today, can be established.

MORE ABOUT SIND ;

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE "SUNBEAM"

DURING my stay at Karachi Sir Thomas (afterwards Lord) Brassey visited India. While he travelled overland in the country his yacht, the "Sunbeam", lay at anchor in the Karachi harbour. Visitors were admitted to inspect the vessel and along with some friends I went to see it. It was a dainty little thing and rested lightly on the water like a white sea gull. But it was roomy enough inside, luxuriously and tastefully furnished. I was struck by a bright brass plate fixed to the door of one of the cabins and bearing the inscription "Mr. Gladstone's Room". On entering the cabin I found it was the library with a comfortable brass bed screwed to the floor. Mr. Gladstone had on one occasion taken a sea voyage on medical advice round the coast of Scotland and Lord Brassey had placed his beautiful yacht at his disposal. On the voyage the great statesman had occupied the cabin that bore his name. The brass plate was an acknowledgment of the honour that had been done to the owner of the yacht. It was a graceful tribute of wealth to greatness.

NALIN BIHARI SIRCAR

Messrs. Kerr Tarruck & Co. had a branch of their firm at Karachi and while I was there Nalin Bihari Sircar, the second son of Tarruck Chunder Sircar, came to Karachi to inspect the office. I had met him several times in Calcutta but we were not intimate friends. His youngest brother, Sarat, was a great friend of mine. At Karachi Nalin Bihari and I became close friends and he used to come to my house almost every day and frequently took his meals with me. Nalin was a capable man of business, and a very frank and modest man in society. After leaving Sind I met him at the Allahabad Congress in 1892, when we stayed together in the same house and travelled down to Calcutta together. I met him again in Calcutta some years later. Nalin Bihari was a Municipal Commissioner

of Calcutta and one of the stalwart twenty-eight who resigned their seats as a protest against the Municipal Act curtailing the powers of the Corporation. He was appointed Sheriff of Calcutta and died comparatively young.

SACRED CROCODILES

A few miles from Karachi there are two or three hot springs, though the water is not so hot as at Sitakunda, Monghyr. There are a few groves of date and cocoanut palms near the springs. At a little distance from the springs there is a pond into which the water flows and which is surrounded by a mud wall. In this pond there are a number of crocodiles which are considered sacred and are fed by visitors with goat's meat and mutton. The place is called Mungo or Mugger (crocodile) Pir. No one knows how the crocodiles came there, for they are not found in the sea and there are no fresh water rivers or lakes in the neighbourhood. The people in the village near by and the man in charge of the springs and the crocodiles say that the pond was not always walled round and formerly the crocodiles used to go out foraging at night and devoured stray sheep and goats, and even children were sometimes missing. Then the village people built the wall and the depredations of the crocodiles ceased. We watched them being fed by the visitors who bought legs of mutton and lumps of meat and threw them to the crocodiles. Seemingly sluggish and inert these saurians became amazingly active as they rushed about and fought for the meat. There was a huge male of a monstrous size which lay apart and disdained to take part in the general scramble and we soon found out the reason. Its snout and head were smeared with vermilion, and we learned that it was worshipped as the Raja, or king of the crocodiles. One of the keepers took a lump of meat, crossed over the wall and fearlessly approached the brute, calling out, Raja, Raja ! When the meat was placed in front of it the monster made no sign, because it was

excessively pampered and overfed. The man then actually caught the snout and opened the cavernous mouth of the Raja, displaying the formidable teeth, took the meat and thrust his hand to the elbow and shoved the meat down the animal's throat! It was only when the man had withdrawn his hand that the Raja closed its mouth and swallowed the meat. It knew the man and was quite tame.

A. DEFECT OF MEMORY

Shortly after my arrival at Karachi I found that the Sindhis found it difficult to pronounce my full name, and I found it more convenient to retain my surname with an initial letter. This was a satisfactory solution. On the other hand, Sindhi names sounded very strange to me. I had to come into contact with all educated Sindhis and also with others who did not speak English. When I met a new man for the first time I, of course, heard his name but forgot it immediately afterwards on account of the unfamiliarity of the sound and form. And when I saw the same man the next time I recalled his face perfectly well but the name escaped my memory. I could not ask his name again for that would look awkward and I managed to make conversation until some one else mentioned my visitor's name. And this developed into a defect of memory and I have ever since found it difficult to remember new names. But this failing does not apply to earlier years for I remember perfectly names that I heard as a young boy.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Sind has changed considerably in half a century though many old customs are still retained. The large majority of the people is Mahomedan by conversion. The Amils and the Bhaibandhs are in reality the same class of people divided by their occupations. The Amils served under the Mahomedan rulers known as Mirs and adopted Mahomedan ways just as English ways are now adopted by many Indians. Among the Amils the men wear at home pyjamas and a shirt, and the head is always covered with a small skull cap. The Amils are generally Nanakpanthis and read the Granth Sahib and recite the Japji. The *likanas* or temples are Sikh Gurudwaras. There are a few Singhs, or followers of Guru Govind,

who keep long hair and retain the other symbols of the Khalsa. The women also wear pyjamas called *sutthans*, a long shirt and a piece of muslin cloth called *rao* (रौ) to cover the head. When going out they put on a gown called *Peshgir*, but *Saris* are now coming into use. They wore slippers into which only two or three toes could be thrust in, so that while walking women had to drag their feet as the slippers dropped off if the feet were lifted from the ground. Of the ornaments worn the most fearful were the bangles and armlets of ivory, a custom borrowed from the women of Marwar. These bangles were looked upon as a sign of wifehood like the vermilion mark between the parted hair and the single thin iron bangle in Bengal. A nose-ring with a ruby pendant was also an indication of married womanhood in Sind. The ear-rings, usually of silver and gold, were numerous and I counted as many as ten in a single ear of a little girl. The ivory bangles were almost an instrument of torture for they produced discolouration and ulceration of the skin and were taken out only rarely to be washed and cleaned. These hideous things have now gone out of use. When my wife first went to Hyderabad, Sind, where she stayed at the house of Navabai and Hiranand, she was invited to visit other Amil houses and everywhere she was greeted with a chorus of amazed consternation, "*Huth bootti, nuk bootti, kun bootti, hi muudum ahe*—her hands (the gold *churis* and *balas* were not taken into account), her nose, her ears are bare, this is a madam (European lady)."

The elaboration of courtesy amused me while visiting Sindhi houses. The inquiries about health usually took several minutes and went the round of all the visitors. The Sindhi equivalent of Sir is Sain (Swami) and the interrogatories started somewhat in this fashion: "*Sain, Khush ahyo, chango bhalo, taxa tawana, mardana*—Sir are you cheerful, well, fresh and strong?" The words "*Kien ahyo*—How are you?" sometimes opened the battery, but all the guns were unmasked and fired without fail. It reminded me of the ancient custom of numerous questions regarding one's welfare that we read in the Mahabharata. The effects of Mahomedan influence are apparent among the Amil community in Sind.

The Banias and Bhaibandhs invariably wear *dhotis* and a long coat with a white or

red turban for a headdress. The Banias of Hyderabad and Shikarpur are an enterprising community. They are to be found in Afghanistan, Central Asia, Africa, China and Japan, and in large cities in India like Bombay and Calcutta. The Banias are numerically larger than the Amils and more prosperous. The Mahomedans are mostly agriculturists with a few large landowners.

LANGUAGE.

There can be no manner of doubt that the Sindhis are descended from a Sanscrit-speaking people. In spite of a large admixture of Persian words due to a long period of Mahomedan rule the Sindhi language remains the most direct and closest derivative from the Sanscrit. It has not been leavened materially by any form of Prakrit as is to be found in Bengali, Gujrati and other languages. The pronouns 'we' and 'you' in Sindhi are Sanscrit with a slight alteration. One of the Sanscrit words meaning a frog is *dardur* (दर्दुर), and in Sindhi a frog is called *dedar* (ডেডর). The word *dittho* (ডিত্তি), see, is clearly the Sanscrit word *drishti* (दृष्टि). *Achho* (অচ্ছো), come, is unmistakably *agachha* (আগচ্ছ). But the Sindhi language has been thoroughly Persianised in form, the declensions of words and the use of genders. The Sindhi alphabet is Persian with some modifications. Women use the Gurmukhi script for writing letters. There is no culture of Sanscrit in Sind and students at college take up either Persian or French for a second language.

THE RUINS OF BRAHMANABAD

In the desert district of Thar and Parker there are some ruins of an ancient Aryan city known as Brahmanabad. There are no historical data but there is a very old tradition that the city in the desert was prosperous and had a large number of Brahman residents. The last king was a young Kshatriya of dissolute habits, who had no regard for

Brahmans and no respect for their women. He was cursed by a holy Brahman for his sinfulness and shortly afterwards the city of Brahmanabad was overwhelmed by a sand storm which buried the city under mountainous heaps of sand.

Umerkot, where Akbar was born, is also in the Thar and Parker district and is a town of some importance.

BUDDHISM IN SIND

When the great Chinese pilgrim-traveller, Hienue Tsang, came to India in the seventh century he passed through Sind (Sin-tu). The capital was called Vichavapura (Pi-shen-po-pu-lo). The agricultural conditions were much the same as they are now. "The soil is favourable for the growth of cereals and produces abundance of wheat and millet." Rice is also grown in the Larkana district and in Lar, Lower Sind, in the delta of the mouths of the Indus. The traveller saw camels which are still the ships of the Sind desert. Very striking is Hienue Tsang's testimony to the spread of Buddhism in Sind. He writes :—"They (the people) have faith in the law of Buddha. There are several hundred *sangharamas*, occupied by about 10,000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle (Hinayana) according to the *Sammattiya* school." This may account for the fact that there are no statues of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas in Sind as the Hinayana school of Buddhism was opposed to the making of images and all the Buddhist sculptures belong to the Mahayana, or Great Vehicle, sect. Of the king he writes :—"The King is of the Sudra (Shu-to-lo) caste. He is by nature honest and sincere, and he reverences the law of Buddha." The *Sangharamas* have disappeared as completely as the teachings of the Buddha from Sind and there are no reports of any archaeological discoveries of Buddhist relics. Hienue Tsang also noticed Brahmanical temples. "There are about thirty Deva temples, in which sectaries of various kinds congregate."

WHAT AMERICANS SAY ABOUT SUBJECT INDIA!

BY J. T. SUNDERLAND

THIS article consists of two parts.

In part one I cite utterances of honored Americans about *all national bondage, all* forced rule of one nation by another,—which, of course, includes India, although India is not mentioned by name.

In part two I quote things said by distinguished Americans about *India itself*, as held in subjection by Great Britain.

PART I

What have honored Americans said, and what are they saying, about the *right of all nations and peoples to freedom and self-determination?*

1. THE AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

This most conspicuous utterance of this country to the world affirms:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

If words mean anything, the principles here set forth apply to India to-day as directly, as exactly and as fully as they did to the American Colonies in 1776; with these differences, however, that: (1) the people who suffered oppression in the Colonies numbered only three millions, whereas those who suffer in India number three hundred millions; (2) the oppressions and wrongs of the Colonists were very much lighter as well as of shorter duration than are those of the Indian people; (3) the British had much more right to rule over the Colonists than they have over the people of India, because they (the British) had largely *created* the colonies, and the inhabitants were largely British in blood and civilization; whereas the British did not in any sense create India; none of the people of India except a

bare handful are British or even descendants of the British, and the civilization of India is far removed from that of Great Britain.

2. ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The word of no American carries more weight in his own country, or among all nations, than that of this great statesman and emancipator. Here are some of Lincoln's utterances, which, while not mentioning India, are unanswerable arguments in support of the right of the Indian people to freedom and self-government.

"No man is good enough to rule another man, and no nation is good enough to rule another nation. For a man to rule himself is liberty; for a nation to rule itself is liberty. But for either to rule another is tyranny. If a nation robs another of its freedom, it does not deserve freedom for itself, and under a just God it will not long retain it."

Again :

"In all ages of the world tyrants have justified themselves in conquering and enslaving peoples by declaring that they were doing it for their benefit. Turn it whatever way you will, whether it comes from the mouth of a king, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for their enslaving the men of some other race, it is the same old serpent. They all say that they bestride the necks of the people not because they want to do this but because the people are so much better off for being ridden. You work and I eat. You toil and I will enjoy the fruit of your toil. The argument is the same and the bondage is the same."

Still further:

"Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off an existing government which they deem unjust and tyrannical, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred, right,—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world."

If Lincoln had had India directly in mind he could not possibly have covered her case more perfectly.

3. WOODROW WILSON

No man ever uttered nobler words in advocacy of the right of all nations to be free and to govern themselves, than this great American. Although he suffered partial defeat in his efforts to get them carried into

immediate practical realization (a defeat which cost him his life), some of his utterances are immortal, and will hearten fighters for liberty in every coming age.

Said President Wilson in an Address to the United States Senate (April 2, 1927):

"We fight for the liberation of all the world's peoples—for the rights of nations great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere choose their way of life and of obedience."

If this means anything, it means India.

In an Address to Congress (February 11, 1918):

"National aspirations must be respected. Peoples may be dominated and governed only by their own consent. Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril."

This applies exactly to India.

In a Message to Russia (May 26, 1917):
"We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples.....No people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

India again.

In an Address to the Senate (January 22, 1917):

"No peace can last or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.....I am proposing that every people shall be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid: the little along with the great and powerful...These are American principles. We can stand for no others. They are principles of mankind, and must prevail."

If these great utterances do not apply perfectly and unequivocally to the case of India, then words have no meaning.

PART II

I come now to declarations of honored Americans *directly about India*.

1. WILLIAM T. HARRIS

United States Commissioner of Education:

"England's educational policy in India is a blight on civilization. I have studied the problem pretty closely. In the latter part of the eighteenth century Wilberforce, the English philanthropist, proposed to send school teachers to India, but a Director of the East India Company objected, saying: 'We have just lost America from our folly in allowing the establishment of schools and colleges, and it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India.'"

There are no free public schools in India [in British India], and no compulsory system of even

primary education. Young Indians are hungry for education; and it is England's duty to do whatever she can to help the spread of education in that great country of ancient culture and wonderful philosophy."

These words are part of an address delivered by Dr. Harris before the American National Council of Education at its meeting in Cleveland, in 1908. The British Government has made almost no advance in popular education in India since these statements were made.

2. CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL

President of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

On returning from his second tour through India as "Barrows Lecturer," Dr. Hall gave an address in the New York Bar Association Club Rooms (January, 1908) in which he said:

"There is no denying the fact that England is administering India for England's benefit and not for India's. It is hard for me to say this, because until I went to India my sympathies were all on the English side. My early education was much in England, and I have many dear personal friends there. But it is the truth and the truth must be told.

"Mr. Morley made a speech in which he said that he 'hoped he would not be blamed for the Indian famine; he did not suppose even Indians will demand of the Secretary of State that he play the part of Elijah on Mount Carmel,' implying that the only difficulty is the failure of rains. But this is not true, and it seems incredible that any intelligent, adequately informed man could so mistake the situation. There are factors in this terrible problem which I would not care to discuss in this room. But the obvious fact remains that there is at no time, in no year, any shortage of food-substance in India, if all produce were allowed to remain where it was produced. The trouble is that the taxes imposed by the English government being 50 per cent of the values produced, the Indian starves that England's annual revenue may not be diminished by a dollar. Eighty-five per cent., of the whole population has been thrown back upon the soil, because England's discriminating duties have ruined practically every branch of native manufacture; and these tillers of the soil, when they have over and over again mortgaged their crops and their bit of land, when they have sold themselves for the last time to the money-lender, are 'sold out' by the tax collector, to wander about until they drop by starvation.

"Once when I was in Rugah, just after a terrible famine, I saw several small children viciously hitting another, a little girl, and trying to take something away from her. It proved to be a lump of mud mixed with a little wheat chaff she had found in a shed. She was carrying it away to eat, and the others, brutal from hunger, were trying to get it from her. Later, I was visiting in Rubitan at the home of a well-known mission-

ary. He told me that in a field adjoining their house there had been a fire burning day and night for three months, the fuel of which was dead-bodies, the harvest of famine and its inevitable companion, plague. We send ship loads of grain to India, but there is plenty of grain in India. The trouble is, the people are too poor to buy it. Famine is chronic there now, though the same shipments of food-stuffs are made annually to England, the same drainage of millions of dollars goes on every year."

3. HENRY GEORGE

In his well-known book, "Progress and Poverty," we find the following passage (P.17) which gives the result of Henry George's study of the Indian situation :

"The millions of India have bowed their necks beneath the yoke of many conquerors, but worst of all is the steady grinding weight of the English domination—a weight which is literally crushing millions out of existence, and, as shown by English writers themselves, is tending inevitably to a wide catastrophe. Other conquerors have lived in the land, and though bad and tyrannous in their rule, have understood, and been understood by the people. But India now is like a great estate owned by an absentee and alien landlord."

4. ANDREW CARNEGIE

Mr. Carnegie made a visit to India, and after his return contributed several articles to periodicals giving his impressions. From one published in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, of August, 1906, and a second, in *Der Morgen*, a German paper (January 17, 1908, republished in English in *The Mahratta* of Poona, India, February, 1908), I take the following brief passages :

"I have traveled through India and been introduced to leading natives as well as to British officials. To the Briton, his master, the Indian is naturally reserved; but to the American he is drawn by sympathetic bonds; thus I believe I obtained an insight into the situation in India which few Britons can secure. There is a strong desire on the part of the educated Indians to govern their own country. Education makes rebels against invaders and conquerors. Young Indians know the long and glorious struggle of the English people against absolute monarchy; they also know the story of Washington and the American Revolution. These histories cannot be read by men whose country is under a foreign yoke without inspiring in them an invincible resolve to free and govern their own country..... It is not Russia or any foreign attack that the British military officials dread. It is the strong home rule sentiment. It is not against the foreigners, but against the Indian people, that the legions are to be moved..... It seems the fashion to speak of India as 'the brightest jewel in the British Crown.' God grant that this gem may not one day glow blood-red! If a native of India lives in contentment while his country is ruled by

foreigners, we despise him..... I do not believe God ever made any man or any nation good enough to rule another man or another nation."

5. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

Mr. Bryan made a trip around the world, stopping for a somewhat extended visit in India, and on his return published a pamphlet on "British Rule in India" which had a large circulation in this country and England. In the pamphlet he says :

"I have met in India some of the leading English officers (the Viceroy and the chief executives of the province of Bengal the United Provinces of Agra and Oude, and the President of Bombay, the three largest Indian States) and a number of officials in subordinate positions; I have talked with educated Indians—Hindus, Moham-medans and Parsis; have seen the people, rich and poor, in the cities and in the country, and have examined statistics and read speeches, reports petitions and other literature that does not find its way to the United States; and British rule in India is far worse, far more burdensome to the people and far more unjust than I had supposed.

"The trouble is that England acquired India for England's advantage, not for India's she holds; India for England's benefit, not for India's; and she administers India with an eye to England's interests, not to India's."

6. CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

This diplomat and author of many books says (in an article in *Young India*, New York, August, 1920) :

"I know of nothing more extraordinary than that any American could think or speak favorably or even tolerantly of political absolutism, political despotism,—that which exists in India to-day, or any other. If America does not stand for free government, everywhere, will some one kindly tell me what it does stand for? The idea that we are to applaud political autocracy because it is British is somewhat refreshing. Does wearing the British name change its character? We are not called upon to admire absolutism because it is Russian or Turkish, or was at one time Prussian. There is no more reason why we should admire or tolerate it because it is British. The subjugation and rule of one nation by another, wherever it may be found, is loathsome, hateful, poisonous to the people who are compelled to live under it. Yet this is what we have in India,—a foreign rule forced on a great civilized people by the power of the bayonet, and the bomb-bearing aeroplane.

"Sad as is the condition of India under British domination, there is one phase of the discussion of the subject that is not without its grim humor. We are told that this domination of India is actually kind, benevolent, maintained by the British 'for India's good'; and that the Indian people like it, are grateful for it! Ah! yes! After 160 years of this sort of benevolence the gratitude of the people is so very great that they are hourly expected to rise and tear their benefactors to pieces! Is it

conceivable that if the Government were really good the people would be incessantly plotting and planning how to get rid of it? Or that it would be necessary to suppress free speech among them? Or forbid the right of assembly, or arrest thousands of them without warrant and send them to prison without trial? Or watch them always with jealous care lest they obtain any kind of weapon?

"Every careful observer who has studied in India the problem of India knows perfectly well that nothing keeps the Indian people from driving their foreign rulers out of the land and back to their far-off home, but the rigorous care with which arms are kept out of their hands. And, notwithstanding the great influence for peace of Mahatma Gandhi, there are many ominous signs of an uprising at no distant day compared with which the revolution of 1857 was but an incident; unless, unless, of course, the British are willing to grant to the people whom they have so long exploited, the self-government which is their right.

"I traveled up from Ahmedabad to Jaipur with an open-minded Englishman whose years in India had not obsessed him with race prejudice and fatuous confidence. As we went through villages and saw everywhere the scowling and sinister faces turned upon us, the half-starved people, the wretched huts, the children that do not play and the women who do not smile, and heard everywhere the same mutterings and curses. I said to my companion;

"When is this volcano going to burst forth?

He gripped me by the arm and looked me soberly in the eye, and said:

"Any moment."

Can there be widespread discontent under a good benevolent and just Government? Will vast masses of people risk their lives to cast from them their own good? Do revolutions ever go backward? And above everything I ask again: Can there be anywhere on the earth a tolerable autocracy, an endurable domination by force of one nation over another?"

7. UNITED STATES SENATOR, GEORGE W. NORRIS NEBRASKA.

Much has been said at one time and another in both houses of the United States Congress, condemning the forced rule of one nation by another, especially the most conspicuous case of such rule now existing in the world, that of great historic, civilized India by Britain.

In a speech delivered in the Senate in February, 1920, Senator Norris defended the right of the people of India to freedom, and especially condemned the conduct of Great Britain in refusing to give India self-government after she had sent more than a million men into the Great War of 1914-18 to fight on Britain's side.

"The fact that England treats Canada well," declared Senator Norris, "is no defense or justification of her when she

abuses India. No nation on earth should be ruled without its consent."

8. SENATOR JOSEPH L. FRANCE

On the 14th of October, 1919, Senator France, of Maryland, delivered a speech in the United States Senate, on the ratification of the Versailles Treaty. He opposed the ratification on several grounds, one of which was that the treaty practically guaranteed the perpetuity of British rule in India,—a rule which, he contended, had reduced the Indian people from a great, rich and influential nation, to a condition of helplessness and abject poverty. He summed up by saying:

"Gentlemen of the Senate, We, the United States of America cannot justify ourselves in signing and sealing an international agreement which thus sanctions and aims to make permanent the practical enslavement of a great nation, and which, making the situation still worse, also gives and guarantees to Great Britain nearly 931,000 additional square miles of territory, to rule and exploit for British benefit, as India has been ruled and exploited."

9. CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM E. MASON

On March 2, 1920, Congressman Mason, of Illinois, carried the cause of India into the United States House of Representatives, delivering an address on Great Britain's misdeed in holding a great civilized nation, such as India is, in forced subjection, and the duty of this country to sympathize with the Indian people in their struggle for freedom, and to extend to them such moral support as may lie in our power. At the close of his address, he introduced into the House the following Concurrent Resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed, with the expectation that later it would come before both Houses of Congress.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

"Whereas all just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed; and
Whereas it has been the policy of the Republic of the United States to give recognition without intervention to the struggling peoples who seek self-determination; and

Whereas the atrocities committed in India by British soldiers and officers, which have met the approval of the British officials, has shocked the sense of justice of the American people; and

Whereas as a result of the great war many of the heretofore oppressed peoples of the world are being recognized by the United States as they seek to govern themselves; and

Whereas the American people believe the same rule of self-determination should apply to peoples

who are subjected by force to the government of Great Britain that is applied to the other nations that have sought self-determination and are encouraged by the United States ; and

Whereas the Government of Great Britain, which now controls India and governs it by force without the consent of its people, has tried to make it appear by its propaganda that it has given, or is giving, so-called 'home rule' to India, which is substantially the same brand of home rule which has always been given by the master nation to the slave nation :

Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representative (the

[This article, specially contributed to THE MODERN REVIEW, is a chapter of Dr. Sunderland's book on India, "India's Case for Freedom and Self-rule," which is nearly ready for the press, and of which the object is to help India to obtain self-rule peacefully. Ed., M. R.]

Senate concurring), That it is the duty of the Government of the United States to carry out the will of the people to give such recognition without intervention to the people of India who are struggling for self-determination, as will assist them in their efforts for self-government."

A large number of other utterances of eminent Americans, expressing approval of and sympathy with India's just struggle for freedom and nationhood, lie before me as I write, all of them worthy of a place here. But the above are sufficient.

ANCIENT PAINTING IN CEYLON

By MANINDRABHUSHAN GUPTA, *Ananda College, Colombo*

WHETHER in architecture, in sculpture or in painting, Ceylon has contributed wonderful things.

Whether in classical literature or in classical art, we find examples which are landmarks in human creation, for all time.

In ancient Ceylonese art we find such examples, which are classical in their type, and will always remain a source of joy to all art-lovers.

The ancient art of Ceylon, as of other countries, grew with religion. The Buddhist,



A View of the Sigiria Mountain

kings thought it to be a highly meritorious act to build temples and decorate their walls and even the very ceiling with paintings depicting Buddhist legends.



A Photograph of a Sigiria Fresco



A Row of Pillars in the Dalada Maligawa Temples of Kandi.

In ancient communal life the artists and craftsmen had their respective places in the social order. They were given rent-free land,

and they had to work without wages, when summoned by the king. The people had no struggle for existence as they have now, and had sufficient leisure, so they could make their surroundings beautiful. They took the utmost care to beautify even the insignificant utensils of daily use.

In this article I should like to give a brief sketch of the temple paintings of Ceylon. I would divide them into three periods.



A Sigiria Fresco

First—The fresco painting of Sigiria, which belongs to the 7th century A. C.

Second—The fresco painting of Demala Mahaseya, at Pollonarawa, which belongs to the 12th century.

Third—The wall painting in various temples, from the 18th century down to modern times.

It should be noted that the painting of the last period is mentioned merely as wall painting and not as fresco painting. This might need some explanation. Fresco paint-

ing is quite different from the ordinary wall painting. It is exemplified best by the Ajanta and Bagh Frescoes. It is a species

has the quality of drawing in the colour, so that it does not disappear easily, though



A Demala Mahaseya Fresco (Pollonaruwa
(12th Century)

of wall painting employing a certain process by which the painting is made permanent. First a back-ground is prepared on the wall with a special kind of plaster. This plaster



A Demala Mahaseya Fresco (12th Century)

exposed to sun and rain for centuries. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy has discussed the technique of frescoes fully in his book on the art of Ceylon.

The wall painting is an ordinary kind of painting done on the bare wall without any previous preparation. The colour is mixed with gum, so that it may stick to the wall. In Ceylon, generally starch (gum prepared from boiled rice) is used as the medium.

Now let us come to Sigiria. The name Sigiria or Sinhagiri perhaps has relation to the colossal figure of a lion, the shape of which we cannot make out now, as it has all but perished. Only a portion of the large paws of the beast, which still exist



A Demala Mahaseya Fresco (12th Century)
of a squirrel.

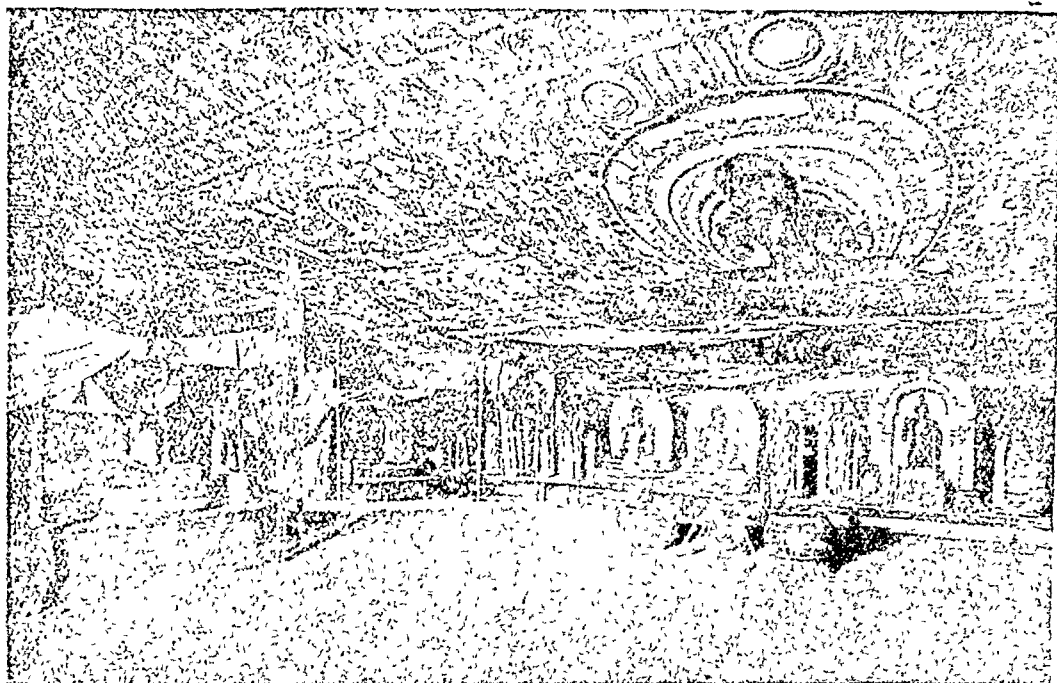


A Demala Mahaseya Fresco

bears witness to the existence of such a figure indicating the relation to the name of the rock.

Raja Kasyapa, who killed his father Dhatusena cruelly, built a palace fortress on the summit of the rock to evade the vengeance of his brother. He ruled the neighbouring provinces for 18 years from that rock fortress. But at last he had to meet his brother's army. We are told in the ancient chronicle that the two armies met with a shock as of the sea. When Kasyapa found that victory was impossible, he cut his throat to escape from an ignominious death from his enemy's hand. Sigiria is enshrouded in a veil of mystery.

The top of the rock is quite flat. The foundation of the ancient buildings can still be seen there. There are two granite



Paintings in the Dambul Vihara (18th Century)



A Sigiria Fresco (7th Century)

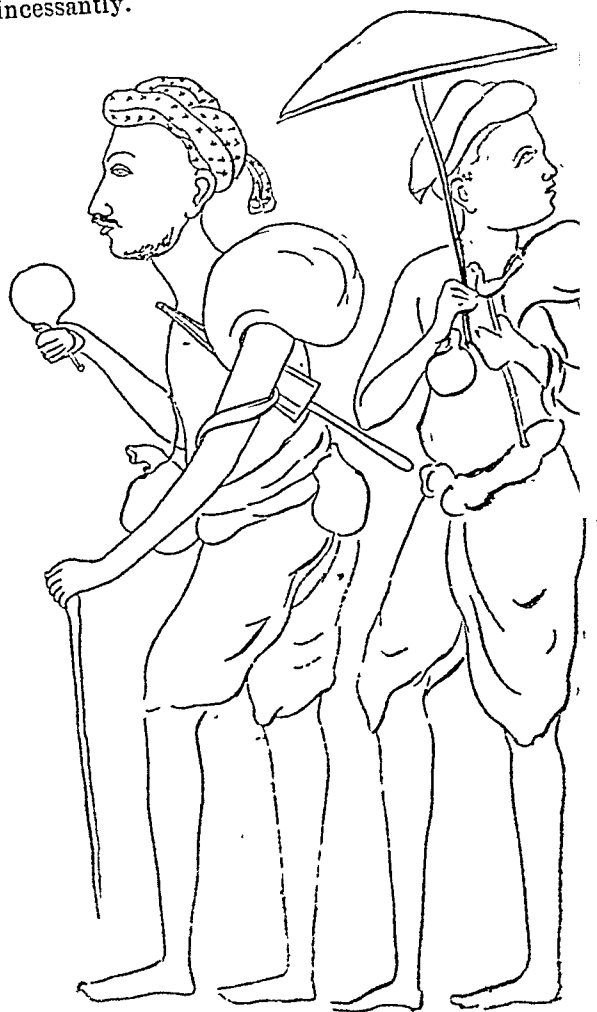


Steps to the Top of the Sigiria Mountain



A Photograph of the Sigiria Fresco

thrones, from which the king used to grant audience. When the king was ruling there, it must have been a very busy place. Now all is silent. The royal pomp and dignity are over for ever. But all around, in the lovely variegated colours of nature, in the sweet notes of numerous kinds of birds, which abound there, Nature's feast is going on incessantly.



A Fresco in the Kalani Vihara (3rd Century)

Sigiria rises abruptly 800 feet from a mass of jungle. What a lovely sight appears before one's eyes, when one stands on the top of the rock and looks around! Sigiria like a monarch is lording it over the lonely glen, which extends up to the horizon in waves of green forest.

Kalidasa has immortalised Himalaya, the

god-souled mountain, in his famous epic *Kumarasambhavam*. Fuji has been a subject of many a poet and artist in Japan. Is there no bard to sing the glory of Sigiria, the charm of which one can never forget, if one gets a glance of it even for once.

I had in the morning the first glance of it from the rock of Dambulla. It was majestic—a blue shadow rising over the horizon. It seemed as if Siva was sitting in meditation.

In the evening I was sitting in the verandah of the rest-house, which is half a mile away from the foot of the rock. Sigiria, naked except for two trees on the top, was standing against the pure blue of the sky. Its granite stone interspersed with green moss, was flushed with the sun-set glow. The reddish glow on the granite changed into orange, the orange into purple and the purple into blue and finally all the colours were lost in a dark shadow. It was a sight of dying glory.

As gradually evening deepened into night, the thin curve of the moon rose in the sky, tinging the blue back-ground with silver. Then the silhouette of Sigiria stood out against the silver back-ground.

The constant chirping of the crickets was heard. Occasionally the wild shriek of night birds rent the silence of the sky. They were flapping their wings in the vast expanse of the darkness.

So long I have said nothing about the paintings of Sigiria. The scenic beauty there is so superb, that it forms one work of art as it were with the paintings.

The frescoes of Sigiria are well-preserved from the ravages of time and the vandalism of men, for they have been done in a very high place, quite unapproachable by men. The paintings were inside a chamber, the outer wall of which has collapsed altogether long ago. Very recently the archaeological department has made a rope ladder to reach up to it. Even that is dangerous to climb, as the rope ladder is hanging from a dizzy height. One who does not possess strong nerves should not attempt the climb. But once you get to the place, it is quite safe. There is a wooden platform, with a wire netting running along the wall where the fresco is done.

There are altogether 21 figures of women consisting of the queen and the ladies of the court. The figures appear to be about life-size and are drawn up to the waist only.

The upper part of the body is uncovered

or covered with a light thin jacket. The expression is extremely feminine. Its anatomy is correct and is perhaps more precise than the famous Ajanta frescoes. This



The Fresco Painting of Demala Mahaseya at Pollonaruwa (12th Century)

precision only shows that Sigiria artists must have studied from life, and that the figures are not merely done from memory and imagination as often we are wont to say with reference to oriental art.

The beauty of Sigiria painting is in powerful and definite drawing. The artists who did it must have had wonderful control over the brush. There is no indefiniteness or hesitation anywhere. The artist has drawn his lines with free, bold sweeps of the brush. If there is any mistake in drawing, the correction is done in a darker colour. So both the wrong and correct drawing can be seen at once. The calligraphic quality of the drawing is remarkable. The Sigiria frescoes are very simple in colour, as opposed to A.



Steps to the Top of the Sigiria Mountain



A Photograph of the Sigiria Fresco

thrones, from which the king used to grant audience. When the king was ruling there, it must have been a very busy place. Now all is silent. The royal pomp and dignity are over for ever. But all around, in the lovely variegated colours of nature, in the sweet notes of numerous kinds of birds, which abound there, Nature's feast is going on incessantly.



A Fresco in the Kalani Vihara (3rd Century)

Sigiria rises abruptly 800 feet from a mass of jungle. What a lovely sight appears before one's eyes, when one stands on the top of the rock and looks around! Sigiria like a monarch is lording it over the lonely glen, which extends up to the horizon in waves of green forest.

Kalidasa has immortalised Himalaya, the

god-souled mountain, in his famous epic *Kumarasambhavam*. Fuji has been a subject of many a poet and artist in Japan. Is there no bard to sing the glory of Sigiria, the charm of which one can never forget, if one gets a glance of it even for once.

I had in the morning the first glance of it from the rock of Dambulla. It was majestic—a blue shadow rising over the horizon. It seemed as if Siva was sitting in meditation.

In the evening I was sitting in the verandah of the rest-house, which is half a mile away from the foot of the rock. Sigiria, naked except for two trees on the top, was standing against the pure blue of the sky. Its granite stone interspersed with green moss, was flushed with the sun-set glow. The reddish glow on the granite changed into orange, the orange into purple and the purple into blue and finally all the colours were lost in a dark shadow. It was a sight of dying glory.

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colour. Very few colours are used, light red and ochre being the most important. Whenever dark colour has been necessary, as in the hair, brows, the eye-balls, etc., green earth (terre verte) has been used.

The Sigiria frescoes have certainly a place in world-art. The facsimile of Sigiria frescoes kept at the Colombo museum is a very good one.

The traces of the wonderful frescoes of 12th century are to be seen only in the Demala Mahaseya Vihara in Pollonaruwa. In most of the Viharas at Pollonaruwa brick

present taking steps for their preservation, but alas! it is too late.

The painting has become quite indistinct now. The copy of it kept at the Colombo Museum is far from satisfactory. It does not give the beauty and dignity of the original at all. The rhythmic flow of lines in the original is quite lost in the copy. Thus a great treasure of art, "which rivals some of the best at the cave temples of Ajanta", is lost.

The archaeological report says: "Probably in no old structural Buddhist temple in Ceylon



A Sigiria Fresco

is used, which is less permanent than stone. Hence the frescoes do not last so well.

The frescoes of Dumala Mahaseya were at the mercy of sun and rain for centuries, as the roof of the building was destroyed long ago. The paintings have been recovered from the debris of the fallen roof. The archaeological department of Ceylon is at

—certainly in none left to us—was a greater wealth of exquisitely painted scenes from Buddhist legends ever presented than at this mediæval Vihara of Pollonaruwa. What the stone carvings at Sanchi, at Bharhut, at Amaravati, at Boro Buddur and elsewhere adumbrate often doubtfully, has been here set out in coloured frescoes with a naturalness,



A Sigirya Fresco

spirit and technique that tell the story with unerring fidelity. There are paintings still left at Demala Mahaseya which rival some of the best at the cave temples of Ajanta."

The painting of the last period, which begins from the 18th century, is very conventional, devoid of force of life. But it retains its decorative sense to the fullest extent. Spacing from floor to roof is distributed well. The human figures are sometimes out of proportion. But it does not take away from the artistic value of the painting, as particular objects in the painting do not have much specific significance of their own, but emerge into a sort of decorative pattern work. When looked at from a distance without attention to details, the artistic sense of decoration and that of the distribution of space become quite apparent.

The painting of this period may be said to be done by craftsmen as opposed to artists, who worked at Sigirya and Pollonaruwa.

The artists of this period can be compared to the "poto" artists of Bengal. They may be described as folk artists.

The work of these "poto" artists of Bengal is more delicate and soft than that of their Sinhalese brethren. But they fail to approach them in the field of decorative work and craftsmanship.

The painting of Dambulla temple is the best of this period. Its style is a little different from the painting of the other temples of this time. Kirti Sri, the Kandian King, had it repaired and repainted. We cannot guess from the existing paintings, what the style was before the 18th century.

The paintings in Kandian temples, as of other craftsmen of this place, are influenced by South India. The reason is that the Kandian Kings, under whose patronage the arts and crafts of this place flourished, were not natives of this place but came from South India. The Kings might have brought craftsmen from their own country.

Some of the Kandian temples are :—The

Dalada Maligawa or the Tooth temple, Ashgiriya-vihare, Malawatta vihare, Gangarama vihare, Adahanamaluha vihare, Lanka-tilaka vihare. The last temple is 6 miles away from the Kandy town, others are inside it.

The paintings of Alu vihare at Matale are also a good example of 18th century. This temple has some historic importance. Buddhaghosha, who came from India, lived in this temple; and it is he who wrote the commentary on the three Tripitakas.

The other temples containing paintings of the last period are to be found at Kelani (which is 6 miles from Colombo) and at Kalutara, Hikkaduwa, Dodanduwa, and Ahangama, etc., all of which are on the sea-coast.

It is a great pity that the people and their priests do not care to preserve these

[The reproductions of Sigiria frescoes are from photographs kindly lent by Mr. Winzor, Art Inspector of Schools, Ceylon, and the line drawings are from copies made by the writer.]

old paintings and are careful to re-paint their temples in gorgeous vulgar colours.

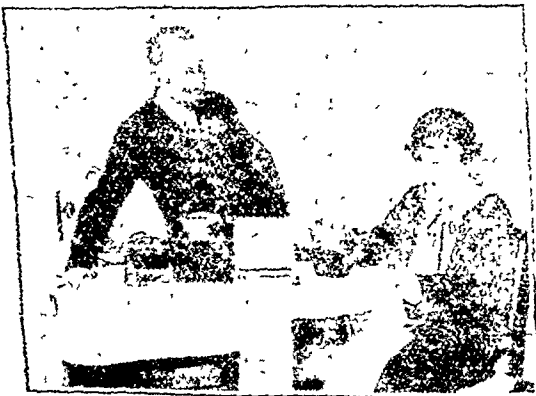
I would like to make a few remarks on the modern painting in temples, which has degenerated to its lowest depth in the hands of the modern artists. Buddha appears as an Englishman, with a flabby body having no spiritual significance. The women appear as nautch-girls, with rosy-tinted cheeks. To judge it technically, there is no sense of drawing, colour and harmony. The horrid colour gives a discordant shriek. The Buddhist pictures which are hung up in Buddhist homes are horrible German oleographs.

The hereditary artists can still be found in Kandian districts. But they are not called to paint temples, nor is their work appreciated by their own countrymen; so they produce small bits of work to satisfy the demand of the curio-hunters of the West.

GLEANINGS

Machine to "Feel Your Pulse"

How you react to surprise, fear, love, liquor, coffee or cigarettes is said to be revealed with



Dr. Goldschmidt demonstrating his new "vitality meter." The slightest changes in the rate and the nature of the subject's pulse beats are charted accurately on the moving tape

scientific accuracy by a new "vitality meter," invented by a University of Berlin professor to record

graphically the rate and the nature of heart pulses. Attached to the wrist of the person being examined, a sensitive detector transmits to a recording paper drum every heart action and vibration of the nervous system. Far more delicately can a physician feel your pulse with this machine. It is said than with his own fingers. Dr. Rudolf Goldschmidt one time scientific adviser to the Kaiser, is the inventor of the instrument.

—*Popular Science*

How Floods Challenge Science

Destruction, misery, death—and a gigantic challenge to the engineering genius of man! If there is one outstanding fact that has grown on the American people, watching the Mississippi River let loose its most devastating flood, it is this:

Science, achieving wonderful conquests of the air, the earth and the elements, has yet to leash the waters that rise in their might and break their bounds.

Helplessly, men see the flood rear its swollen crest. In futile desperation they fight back. By the thousands they swarm the levees, piling sandbags to reinforce the barriers. And yet the mighty waters surge on.

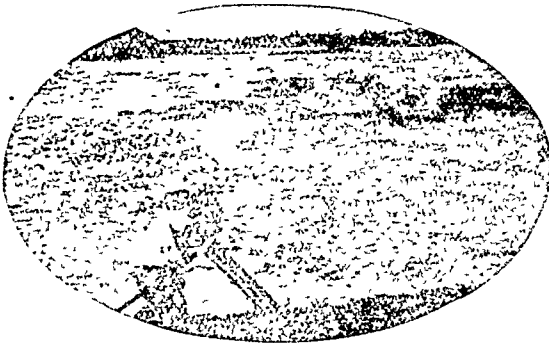
That is the Mississippi flood at its worst—\$500,000,000 in damage perhaps. There is a nationwide demand for science to find a remedy.

Thirteen Mississippi floods in less than half a

century! Everywhere Government officials, engineers and scientists are saying there must be no more. But what is to be done, and how?

If one day late last April, you could have stood in Memphis, Tennessee watching the crest of the flood sweep slowly by, you would have realized something of its overwhelming power. Two million cubic feet of water flowing past every second—more than a billion gallons every twenty-four hours the volume of ten Niagaras in a single stream!

And if, a few days later, you had been a few miles from Vicksburg, where one of the strongest of the river levees gave way, you would have seen



Scenes Of The Mississippi Flood

the Mississippi then as an immense, overburdened storm sewer, fed by 240 tributaries with the drainage of two-thirds of the nation's territory.

In that one stream you would have witnessed the joining of many distant waters, drained from an area of more than a million and a quarter square miles, brought down from as far west as the Rockies, as far east as the Alleghanies, and as far north as the Canadian border! The

Missouri from Montana and the Dakotas; the Platte from Wyoming and Nebraska; the Arkansas from Colorado, Kansas and Oklahoma; the Ohio from Pennsylvania; the Illinois from the region of Chicago; the Des Moines, Wabash, Tennessee, Cumberland—these and hundreds of other lesser rivers and streams you would have found mingled there in devastating flood tide. Small wonder that embankments of earth and sand should fail to bridle them all!

Yet experts believe that final mastery not only is possible, but practical. Plans are already under way for a scientific survey of the flood regions. The chief of Army engineers, Maj. Gen. Edgar Jadwin, after a personal inspection, has predicted that the present Mississippi levees will be heightened at least five feet. Others have proposed rebuilding the entire 2,000 mile levee system, making it stronger, higher, and uniform in structure. At a cost representing one half the losses of the latest flood, we are told, the levees could be built strong enough to assure safety for all time.

—*Popular Science.*

The Chinese God of Destiny



The Chinese God of Destiny, Above, Seems a Fitting Leader for the Warring Factions.

Popular Mechanics.

A Fire in the Sky

Fire 400 feet from the Ground, in a mass of wooden scaffolding at the top of a skyscraper under construction, and so lofty that the firemen could

not reach it, has caused much discussion and some alarm in New York. It has been regarded by some as an additional argument against excessively tall structures.

—*The Literary Digest*

Miss Foo Foo Wong

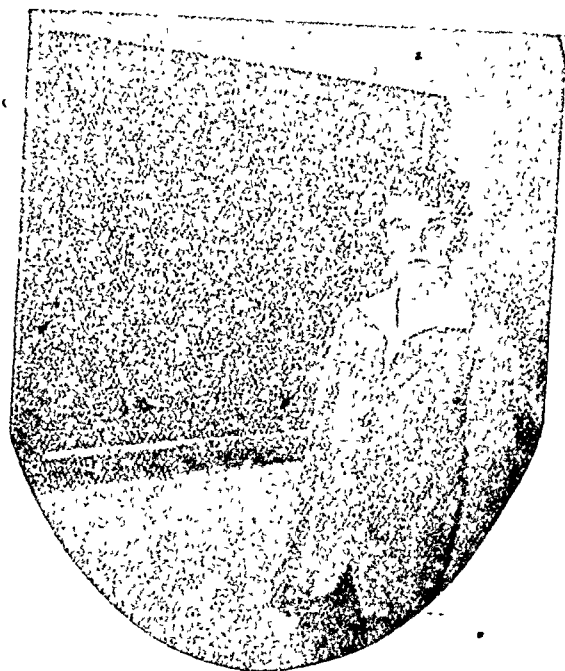


New York's Highest Fire
The blazing scaffolding at the pinnacle of the new
33-story hotel on Fifth Avenue which gave New
Yorkers a new thrill



Canton's Joan of Arc Miss Foo Foo-Wong, Leader
of the Amazon Corps of the Southern Army

The "Emperor" Faces some of His First Problems in Life



Otto the Son of the Late Emperor of Austria, Now an exile with his family in Spain, at work on a Problem in Algebra given to the Royal Children by their tutor.

—Times Wide World Photos.

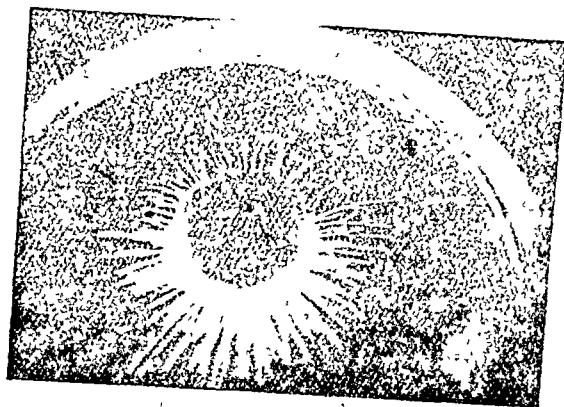
Secrets of "Cold Light"

Scientists are on the verge of far-reaching discoveries which eventually may make the incandescent electric light as out-of-date as the old-fashioned kerosene lamp. They are learning the secrets of a lighting system used by Nature for ages, yet always a mystery to man—the production of light without heat.

In a laboratory at Princeton University, Dr. E. Newton Harvey, professor of physiology, recently utilized the materials employed by fireflies in the summer to flash their lamps, and by fishes in the seas' depths to light their lanterns to produce continuous "cold light." Doctor Harvey believes that science will be able soon to create these materials artificially.

At the United States Bureau of Standards in Washington, two other scientists, Dr. W. W. Coblentz and Dr. C. W. Hughes, have just succeeded in analyzing and recording the intensity of the light emitted by various luminous animals and plants. By studying the spectrum—that is, by dividing the light into the rainbow of various colors, or wave lengths, that compose it, they have demonstrated that this "living light" is virtually a hundred percent efficient in its radiation. In comparison, our best electric lamps, wonderful as they are, are woefully wasteful. In the laboratories of some of the larger electrical companies,

still other experimenters have made lifeless substances glow without heat under strange invisible rays.



This luminous jellyfish, found in the Sargasso Sea, is one of thousands of creatures that illuminate the ocean. The beautiful corona, or halo, is thrown by its own living light.

Since the beginning of time men have produced light by heat, by burning substances such as wood, tallow, oil or gas. The higher the temperature, the brighter the light. In the modern electric lamp we use electrical energy to heat a metal filament to the highest possible temperature and make it glow.

The incandescent lamp, marvellous invention though it is, shares with every other form of hot light the drawback that most of its radiation is in the form of heat, and not light at all. Less than two percent of it is visible light. The rest is wasted for the reason that the heat cannot be separated from the light.

Luminescence, or living light, on the other hand, contains nothing but visible light, as Doctor Coblentz's experiments have proved. The firefly's light is all light. It is fifty times as efficient in light radiation as the finest incandescent lamp!

The glow of living creatures is only one of several different kinds of cold light, produced in widely different ways. Place your hand under a strong electric lamp, and your skin and finger nails will give off a glow. This glow is not reflected light, but is actually produced in the skin and nails. If the lamp light can be screened from view, the strange glow will become visible. Your hair, teeth, eyes, or almost any other part of your body can be made to give off similar light. This is fluorescence. It is explained by the theory that the body tissue has the mysterious faculty of converting rays of one wave length into rays of another wave length.

Light, as we commonly know it, is simply the part of radiant energy visible to our eyes. In other forms of radiation, it consists of ether vibrations, or waves. The differences between all of these lies simply in the length of their waves. Thus, the wave lengths of ultra-violet rays and X-rays, for example, are shorter than those of visible light, while heat waves and radio are longer. The different colors of the ra-

vary in wave length, too, from the shortest waves of violet to the longest waves of red

Usually, in fluorescence, short wave lengths are converted into longer wave lengths. Thus, many substances, including silk, wool, bone, horn and numerous kinds of living matter, have the ability to convert invisible ultra-violet light, which has extremely short wave lengths, into visible fluorescent light.

On the earth, in the sky, and in the sea are countless living things that manufacture light. Passengers on ocean liners often see the sea apparently burst into a vivid glow when stirred by the passing ship. This light, commonly called phosphorescence, comes from millions of light-making animals, most of them so small that they can be seen only with a microscope. And in the depths of the ocean are strange fishes that dangle gleaming lanterns from long stalks projecting from their heads; others with rows of lights along their sides, like a ship with lighted portholes.

There are marine worms that turn on their lamps when attacked; luminous sponges, jellyfish, earthworms, centipedes, starfish, glowworms, shrimps, crabs and many others. They number tens of thousands. In all, at least forty orders of animals include one or more forms capable of producing cold light

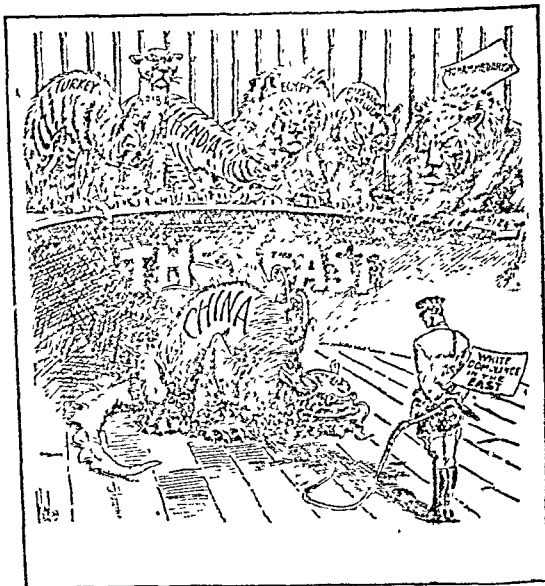
—*Popular Science*

Mlle Jovita Fuentes



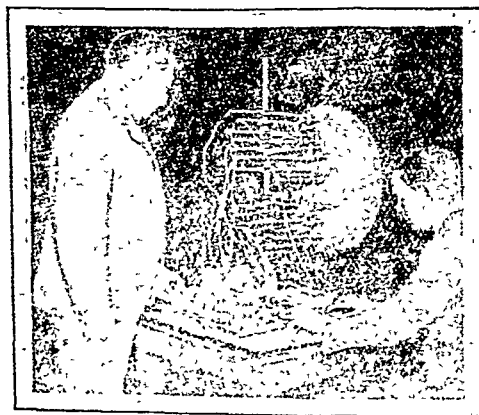
A Japanese Prima Donna with a Spanish Name Now Singing in the Italian Language the Leading Role in "Madame Butterfly" with a German Cast at the Austrian Capital, Vienna. (Times Wide World Photos)

East and West



IS THE MAN WITH THE WHIP LOSING INFLUENCE?
—*Ireland in the Columbus Dispatch.*

Tunes Played by Light Rays on Novel Instrument



Where Light Rays Play Tunes: Part of the Apparatus for Transforming Illumination into Sound

Light was converted into sound and made to play tunes in a demonstration before members of the New York electrical society. Rays from small lamps were passed through tiny holes in a rotating metal disk and were transformed into electrical impulses amplified by loud-speaking units. A button control to turn the different lights on and off was provided.

—*Popular Mechanics*

EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA

BY DR. NIRANJAN PRASAD CHAKRAVARTI M. A., PhD., (Cantab)

THE first modern traveller venturing into the deserts of Central Asia was Dr. A. Regel, a German botanist in the service of Russia. His expedition to the oasis of Turfan in 1879 did not produce any practical results, but furnished proof of the existence of numerous ruins and other remains in the locality.*

After him the Russian brothers G. and M. Grum Grzhimaylo explored parts of Chinese Turkestan, particularly the Turfan oasis. Their works were published in 1896-1907,† but being written in Russian did not attract the notice of scholars, as many of them were not acquainted with this difficult language.

In 1898 Messrs. Donner and Baron Munk of Helsingfors, Finland, undertook an expedition to Turkestan and Western China.**

In the same year Dr. Klementz†† of Russia undertook a journey to Chinese Turkestan and worked in Idikutshahri, also called Dakianus, Qocho or Kao-ch'ang, 17 miles to the east of modern Turfan and some other ancient sites near-by close to the modern settlements of Astana and Kara Khoja, ancient Kao-ch'ang Turfan capital of T'ang and Uigur times and also in Toyuq, Murtuk and different other ancient sites.

Though his results were unsatisfactory his reports gave a fresh impetus and directed the attention of many western scholars to the antiquities of Chinese Turkestan and that of the German scholars to Turfan particularly. The credit of forming the plan of systematic expeditions to Central Asia must however be given to the Russians when in 1899 Mr. Radloff suggested, in the Oriental congress at Rome the formation of an International Association for expedition to Central and Eastern Asia.

* Petermann's Mittheilungen, 1879. Heft. X. XI; 1880, Heft. VI; 1881 Heft X. Gotha, J. Perthes.

† G. and M. Grum-Grzhimaylo:—Description of a journey to West China. St. Petersburg, 1896-1907, 3 vols.

** Otto Donner. Reise Central-Asien. 1898 Helsingfors, 1901.

†† A. Klementz. Turfan und seine Alterthümer; Publicationen der Kaiserl. Acad. d. Wiss. St. Petersburg, 1898.

Even before the journey of Dr. Klementz the acquisition in 1891, of the famous birch-bark codex by Col. Bower caused a great sensation amongst Indologists, whose doubts about the importance of archaeological expeditions to Central Asia were thereby dispelled. The history of the discovery of this invaluable manuscript is rather interesting.* In the year 1890 two Turks had found a birch-bark MS. in a *stupa* near Kum-Tura, in the neighbourhood of Kucha. They sold it to Col. Bower who was then in Kucha. He sent it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and in 1891 Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, who was then the Philological Secretary of the Society, published a report on the MS.† The MS. was complete and very well preserved and was written in Gupta characters. Its place of origin was North Western India and paleographically it was declared to belong to the second half of the 4th century‡. It should be remembered that the climatic condition of India is not at all favourable to the preservation of MSS. The earliest palm-leaf MSS. belong only to the western part of the country and to Nepal and date back mostly to the beginning of the 11th. century. Earlier than these, so far known, were the two isolated palm-leaves now preserved in the celebrated Horiuji monastery of Japan, which found their way to that country through China in the beginning of the 7th. cent. A. D.

The Bower MS which is now preserved in the famous Bodleian Library of Oxford, contain 7 texts of which three have medical contents. The author of the MS. was a Buddhist and in this we have at least the oldest datable medical text preserved to us. One of these texts speaks of the origin of garlic, which according to the author, is able to cure many diseases and can extend the life to 100 years. Besides, the MS. speaks about digestion, about an elixer for a life of 1000 years, about the correct mixing of

* For details c.f. Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. November, 1890.

† c. f. *Ibid.* April, 1891,

‡ c. f. J. A. S. B. 1891 p. 79 ff.

ingredients, about other medicines, lotion and ointment for eyes etc. A second fragment contains 14 medical formulas for external and internal use. The biggest portion is the Navanitaka (नावनीतक) i. e. 'cream' which contains an abstract of the best earlier treatises, and which in 16 sections deals with the preparation of powder, decoctions, oils, and also with injections, elixirs, aphrodisiacs, nursing of children, recipes etc. As the concluding portion of the work is missing, the name of the author is not preserved. All these works are partly metrical. But they have throughout an antique expression. The language is Sanskrit mixed with many Prakritisms. Many authorities on medicine are quoted in the Navanataka, particularly Agnivesha Bheda, Harita, Jatukarna, Ksharapani (क्षारपाणि) Parashara and Shushruta. We have now found MSS. belonging to a still earlier period like the dramatic fragment of Asvaghosa collected by the German mission and published by Prof. Luders and the MS. of the Udanavarga, a Sanskrit version of the Dhammapada, brought by the French mission. Both are written in quasi-Kushan character of the 2nd century. Of the latter work I have the honour to be entrusted with the publication along with other MSS. of the same work, preserved in the French collection. In a subsequent monograph I have a mind to discuss these MSS. in fuller details.

Thus the desert sands had things concealed in their bosom which were long lost to India. After this more interesting discovery there was a regular campaign among scholars of different nationalities to collect MSS., through the representatives on the spot of the various Governments and some of the more energetic ones began to collect independently. These MSS., technically known by the names of agents through whom they were collected, such as Petrovski, Macartney and Weber MSS., were sent to Petrograd and Calcutta. A report on the British collection of antiquities was published by Rudolf Hoernle in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal of 1889 and 1901. The documents were distributed amongst the specialists in Europe and one volume was published with many facsimiles in 1916 under the title '*Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*.' The publication of the subsequent volumes was delayed by the death of this eminent scholar and I have been told by Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office

Library, that though the MSS. were ready, they have not yet been sent for publication for want of revision by some competent scholars.

In the meanwhile, another very important discovery was made in the southern part of the Chinese Turkestan. A French mission to Tibet was sent in 1892 under the leadership of Dutreuil de Rhins. He secured, in a place not very far from Khotan, a part of a very old birch-bark MS. The find spot has been identified with the Goshirin-ga vihara of which Huan Tsang gives a vivid account and which is known as Goshirsha in the Tibetan records. The MS. was written in Kharosthi character, prevalent in the N. W. India and in parts of Central Asia, particularly in S. Eastern Turkestan, till the 3rd and the 4th century of the Christian era. It belongs paleographically to the 2nd century A. D., and represents a version of the Dhammapada. But its language is a form of Prakrit which has not been hitherto found in any other Buddhistic literary works. It was also the first Buddhistic work in Kharosthi. When M. Senart, the French savant, to whom it was sent for examination, communicated its importance and contents to the delegates of the 11th. International Congress of Orientalists in Paris, in September, 1897, it created a sensation in the Aryan section. Soon after the communication of the find had been made to the French Academy, M. Senart learnt through M. Petrovski, the Russian consul general at Kashgar, that fragments of a Kharosthi MS. of the Dhammapada had also been taken to the Russian capital by a Russian traveller. Prof. Serge d'Oldenburg, also submitted during the Paris Congress, facsimile of a leaf out of these fragments to the Indologists. On examination M. Senart, at once came to the conclusion that both the Paris and the Russian fragments formed parts of the same original MS. The fragments in the French collection were published by M. Senart but those in the Russian collection have yet to be published. During a conversation with me last summer the French scholar intimated that he was trying to get hold of the Russian fragments and was hoping to give a complete edition of the work.

We have seen so far that such discoveries were dependent more or less on chance and it was not till a few years later that the first regular expedition to these parts was undertaken. Tradition about painted grottos in Kucha and Turfan was very strong and the

natives of Central Asia wanted to profit by this zeal of rival scholars in securing MSS. and other finds. Manuscripts from Central Asia began to reach Hoernle, many of which later on were detected to be forgeries. Necessity of a regular search was strongly felt. The British Government was the first to organise a systematic expedition.

As a result of this, the first British-Indian expedition was undertaken in the year 1900-01 by order of the Government of India in the southern portion of Chinese Turkestan, particularly in the province of Khotan, under the leadership of Sir Marc Aurel Stein, who was then in the Indian Educational Service as the Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah. He had already a thorough knowledge of the North-Western frontier provinces, the Punjab and Kashmir and his zeal for such an expedition was quite well-known.* The admirable results of this expedition have been incorporated in Sir A. Stein's monumental work, "Ancient Khotan".† Even a glance at these volumes would suffice to assure us of the importance of that ancient civilisation which the joint influences of Buddhist India, China and the Hellenistic Near-East had fostered in the scattered oases of these remote Central-Asian passage-lands.'

About the same time as Stein, Sven Hedin the Swedish expeditionist visited the N. Eastern portion of Lob-nor, a ruined city of the 1st. cent. A. D. which he mistook as the old city of Lou-lan. He brought back a number of papers and inscribed tablets.

The success of Sir A. Stein gave a new impetus to German scholars with the result that in 1902 the *Koenigliche Museum fuer Voelkerkunde*, proposed to send out Prof. Gruenwedel, Dr. G. Huth and Herr Bartus to Central Asia. As Sir Aurel's expedition was led mainly to Khotan, in the south-western part of the desert, the German one was taken to Turfan, in the Northern part of it, in 1902-3 Besides Turfan Prof. Gruenwedel examined several old settlements to the North-West of Kucha§

In the meantime through the untiring

efforts of Prof. Pischel of the University of Berlin, the Government came forward to render financial help for these expeditions. A committee was formed for the purpose and the Second German or the First Royal Prussian expedition to Turfan was undertaken in September, 1904, under the leadership of Dr. A. Von Le Coq and Herr Bartus. Dr. Le Coq's excavations were mainly confined to Turfan and the neighbourhood; but before he had finished his task the second Royal Prussian Expedition was sent under Prof. Gruenwedel in September, 1904. Six important sites in Kucha, Karashahr and Turfan oases were more or less thoroughly searched [Ming-oi near Qumtura, Qyzyi, Kiris, Shorchuq, Bazaklik (Murtuq) and Toyoq Mazar] till the return journey was taken early in April of 1907. As a result of these two expeditions various important specimens of Buddhistic art were collected and Manuscripts in Chinese, Sanskrit, Syriac, Soghdian (in Manichaean and Soghdian characters), Middle and Neo-persian languages (Manichaean alphabet), Tangut and 'Runic' Turkish, including the unknown languages commonly known as Tocharian or Kuchean, and North-Aryan or ancient Khotanese were recovered in large numbers.*

The second Central Asian expedition was taken by Sir Aurel Stein under the orders of the Government of India in 1906 with the same object in view as before. It proceeded further to the East, through Khotan and from there right up to the Northern extremity across the Taklamakan desert. Excavations were made chiefly in Khotan, the ancient capital of the Oasis, Domoko to the East and Niya. His greatest discovery, as has been rightly pointed out by Prof. Lueders, was in the district of Tun-huang. Here he discovered the western part of the famous Chinese wall built as a defence against the invasions of the Huns. It was here that he also found the artificial caves numbering about 500 cells of various dimensions which are known under the modern name of "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas."† In one of these cells, which had been walled up but was opened by chance in 1900, was found a very handsome collection comprising a whole library of Manuscripts and hundreds of fine paintings on silk which had been hidden away early in the 11th

* c. f. Detailed Report of an Archaeological tour with the Buner field force. By M. A. Stein, 1898.

† Ancient Khotan. Vols. I and II. Oxford, 1907. For a popular version "The Sand buried cities of Khotan."

§ For the report of this expedition C. F. Bericht ueber Archaeologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari umgebung. Muenchen, 1906.

* For details c. f. *Altbuddhistische kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan* by Albert Gruenwedel Berlin, 1911.

† For details c. f. Stein 'The Thousand Buddhas', London, 1921.

century together with other relics. The manuscripts were partly examined and collected by Sir A. Stein and partly by M. Pelliot, the French Sinologist, who visited Turkestan in 1906-8 and the rest were transferred to Peking under Government orders. The detailed report on the scientific results of this second expedition of Stein is contained in his newly published masterpiece in five volumes, *Serindia*. In these volumes, to quote his own words, he has very carefully noticed the "topography of the ancient routes which had witnessed that interchange of civilisations between India, Western Asia, and the Far East, maintained as it was during centuries in the face of very serious physical obstacles through trade, religious missions and the Chinese Empire's intermittent efforts at political and military expansion into Central Asia".

During this expedition the more important excavations were undertaken at :

1. Khotan:^{*} the capital of the oasis, where a rich harvest of small antiques was obtained.

2. Domoko: to the East, in which place were found antiques and Manuscript remains in Sanskrit, Khotanese and Chinese, dating from the close of the T'ang period.[†]

3. Niya: (where the excavation was resumed in October). This site has been abandoned to the desert sands since the third century A. D. Here he made rich discoveries of wooden documents in Kharosthi script and in a Prakrit dialect, besides 'other ancient' records in Chinese and a mass of miscellaneous antiquities helping further to illustrate the life and civilisation prevailing in the oasis of the Tarim basin, at that early period.[‡]

4. The exploration of the Lou-lan site (the walled Chinese station) and of an outlying smaller settlement, yielded an abundance of written records in Chinese and Kharosthi, dating mainly from the 3rd century A. D., and many interesting remains of architectural and industrial art of that period.^{**}

5. During the excavations at Miran, Tibetan records on wood and paper were obtained and also fragments of Turkish 'Runic' documents. These mostly belonged to the 8th century A. D. But much older remains were obtained by the clearing of certain Buddhist shrines, which showed fine wall paintings with legends in Kharosthi, which, according

to Sir A. Stein, 'offered striking testimony to the powerful influence which Hellenistic art, as transplanted from the Near-East to Gandhara, had exercised even on the very confines of China.'^{*}

With the same end in view and in order to undertake more detailed explorations in the sites already visited or left out and extending further to the East and North, a third expedition was taken by Sir Aurel Stein in the summer of 1913. This time he started from the South and proceeded Eastward as far as Kan-chou, visiting on his way the sites of antiquarian interest in the neighbourhood of Khotan, Niya and Tun-huang. He then crossed the desert of Pei Shan from South East to North West, and visited Barkul, Guchen and Jimasa to the North. On his way to Kashgar he examined the sites of Idikut Shahri, the ancient capital of Turfan during T'ang rule (7th and 8th centuries A. D.) and the subsequent Uigur period and other important sites (Yi-pan to the West of Lou-lan, Kucha, Aksu, and various other smaller sites) which were not already very carefully examined by the German scholars. In July 1915 he left Kashgar for his journey across the Russian Pamirs and the mountains to the North of the Oxus. But his activities were not confined only to mountains and deserts of Central Asia.

On his way back to India he visited Samarkand, Khorasan and the Persian portion of Seistan, the ancient Sakasthana, or the land of the Scythians. His finds in the last mentioned place, which "served as an outpost of Iran and the Hellenistic Near-East towards Buddhist India", were none the less interesting.

There, among other interesting finds he discovered on the isolated rocky hill of the Koh-i-Khwaja, the remains of a large Buddhist sanctuary, the first of its kind traced on Iranian soil. Here he found behind the later masonry, fresco-paintings of the Sassanian period. On the wall of a gallery were also found paintings of a distinctly Hellenistic style. The importance of these pictorial relics lies mainly in the fact, as remarked by Sir Aurel himself, that they 'illustrate for the first time *in situ* the Iranian link of the chain which, long surmised by conjecture, connects the Graeco-Buddhist art of the extreme North-West of India with the

^{*} c f. *Serindia* Chapter III.

[†] *Ibid.*, Chap. V.

[‡] *Ibid.* Chapter IV.

^{**} *Ibid.* Chap. XI.

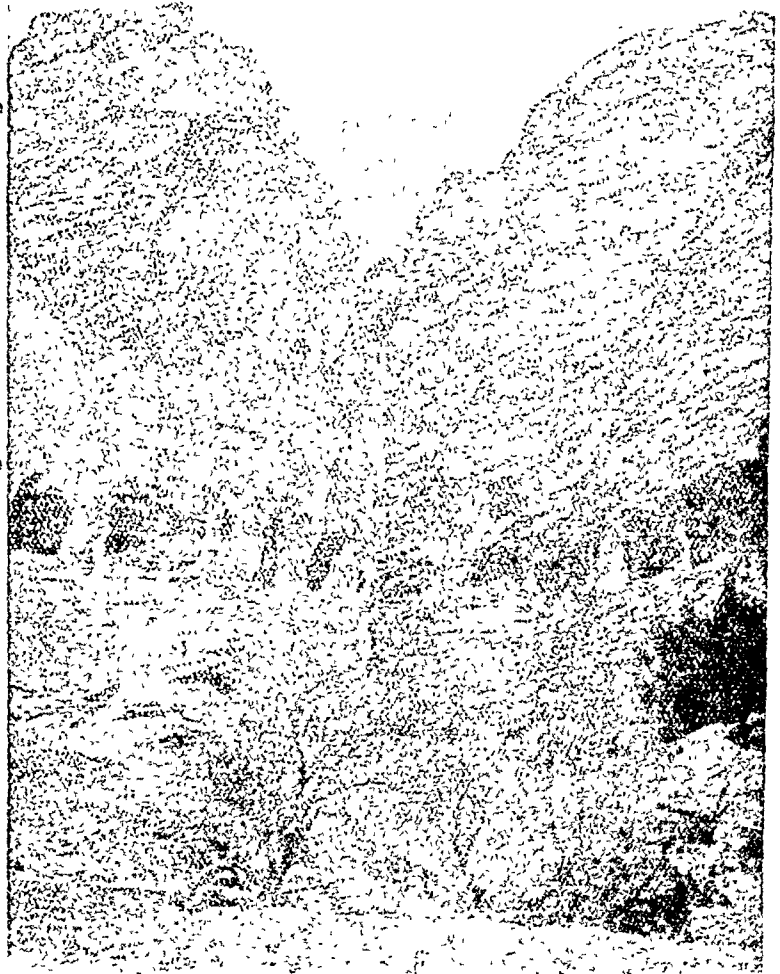
^{*} *Ibid.* Chap. XIII.

[†] *Geographical Journal*, August, Sept. 1916.

Buddhist art of Central Asia and the Far East. This connection was reflected with equal clearness by the architectural features of the ruins, which were also of great interest. The details of this most interesting expedition are shortly to be published in his forthcoming work "The Innermost Asia"

Besides the French, German and British Indian missions there were three more Russian missions sent out to Turkestan. The second Russian mission under Mr. Berisovsky went to Kucha in 1906-07 but its result was rather unsatisfactory. In 1908 the 3rd Russian mission was led by Kazaloff who discovered the ancient city of Khara-khoto. He brought home a mass of mediaeval Tangut (a language of the Turco-mongol family) works and Chinese documents of great importance. These have partly been published in Russian by Prof. Serge d'Oldenburg. In 1914 the fourth Russian mission visited Tunhuang the results of which have not yet been published.

While Europe and India were sending out missions, the Far East also was not silently watching the progress. As early as 1904, the first Japanese mission under Count Otani visited Russian Turkestan, Kashgar, Khotan, Kucha and Turfan. The mission collected many prehistoric remains, primitive pottery, terra-cotta seals going back to the Han period, remains of Gandhara art and several important MSS. in Chinese, Uigur and Soghdian. A second Japanese expedition under Tachibana visited Mongolia, T'ien-shan, Turfan, Kucha, Lobnor and Khotan, collecting various documents in Chinese and Kuchean. Some of



Rock-cut Buddhist Staves of Central Asia

these have been published from Tokyo, with grand plates, but unfortunately the works are in Japanese and are not accessible to most of the scholars outside Japan.

Last of all I come back to the French mission which I only incidentally referred to in connection with the Stein expedition. But here also I shall mainly confine myself to the discovery made by the French mission at Tun-huang.

This mission was organised by the *Comite Francais de l'Association Internationale pour l'exploration de l'Asie centrale* with M. Senart as President. Free help was rendered by the French Government, the *Academie Francaise*, the French Geographical Society



Devotees of the desert saluting Lord Buddha



Buddhist Saints



Central Asian Fresco—Avalokiteśvara

fessor at the College de France, left Paris on the 15th June, 1906 and passing through Moscow and Tashkhand, reached Kashgar on the N. of the Pamirs. This site was studied from geographical and linguistic points of view rather than archaeological, and the party left for Kucha, where the German and Russian missions were already present. After some excavation work at Tum-shuk, a small village full of ruins, already noticed by Sven Hedin, they reached Kucha in January, 1907. Excavation work was undertaken at Ming-oi, which is a Turkish word signifying 'thousand habitations'. This consists of a series of curious and artificial grottos in sandstone which were dug up into Buddhist sanctuaries before the introduction of Islam. There were Ming-oi on the slope to the S. of T'ien shan popularly known under the name of *Ts'ien-fo-tong* or the caves of 1000 Buddhas. These caves were famous in Chinese works

and the French School of the Far East at Hanoi (Indo-China). The party under the leadership of M. Paul Pelliot, now a Pro-

and were also noticed by European travellers. They were full of mural-paintings belonging to the period within 7th-10th centuries. The Germans, the Japanese and the Russians had already exploited the site but still there were some which were neglected by them. Here the French party collected some MSS. in Sanskrit and Kuchean and on the whole the work was satisfactory. Early in February, 1908 the party, reached via Urumtsi, Tun-huang, at the western extremity of Kan-shu, where Fortune favoured them with a wonderful discovery and it would be worthwhile to give the description in the words of M. Pelliot.

"At our departure from Paris", says the French savant, "Tun-huang was fixed as one of the big stages of our travel. It was known that there was, about 20 kilometres to S. E. of the city, a considerable group of caves known as *Ts'ien-fo-tong* or the 'grottos of the 1000 Buddhas', dug out at dates not precisely known till then, but which were covered with mural-paintings which Islam had not yet disfigured. We wanted to devote ourselves to their study, which no other archaeologist had done till then, though their importance was known all the time. ... We were not deceived in our expectation and found that the caves of Tun-huang preserved some of the most precious monuments of Chinese Buddhistic art between 7th and 10th centuries. But another interest was added to the visit in course of our travel. At Urumtsi I heard about a find of MSS. made in the caves of Tun-huang in 1900. I came to know gradually how this discovery was made. A Taoist monk, Wang-tao, digging one of the big caves, had—by—chance—opened a small cave, which he had found quite full of MSS. Although our colleague Stein had passed Tun-huang a little before us, I had the hope of still reaping a good harvest. Just after our arrival there, I made enquiries about Wang-tao. It was easy to find him and he decided to come to the caves. He opened for me, at last, the niche, and at once I found a small cave which was not even a metre in every direction, crammed with MSS. They were of all sorts, mostly in rolls but some in folios, too, written in Chinese, Tibetan, Uigur and Sanskrit. You can imagine easily what an emotion had seized me: I was in front of the most formidable discovery of Chinese MSS, the like of which was never recorded in the history of the Far East. I asked to myself, have I only to be contented

with having a glance at them and then go away empty handed, and let these doomed treasures go to destruction little by little? Fortunately, Wang-tao was illiterate and needed money for the reconstruction of the shrines..... everything was arranged and I sat down in the cave with feverish excitement. Devoting three weeks I made an inventory of the Library.

"Of the 15000 rolls, which had thus passed through my hands, I took all that had by their date and contents struck me as of primary interest—about one-third of the whole. Amongst these I put in all texts in Brahmi writing and Uigur, many Tibetan but mostly Chinese. There was for the sinologist some invaluable treasures. Many of these were on Buddhism without doubt but some also were on history, geography, philosophy, classics, literature proper and again deeds of all sorts, accounts, notes taken from day to day, and all were anterior to the 11th century. In the year 1035 the invaders came from the East and the monks had stocked books and paintings in a hiding place which they walled up and plastered and the opening was adorned with decorations. Massacred or dispersed by the invaders, the knowledge of the library perished with the monks, to be rediscovered by chance in 1900.".....

Thus the Pelliot mission ended in triumph and all honours were accorded to it on its return to Paris. The ancient Chinese manuscripts are rare in China itself and there was none in Europe till then. Now for the first time a sinologist can work on the archives, in imitation of the historians of Europe. During my stay in Paris I had the good fortune of examining over 3000 fragments written in Central Asian Brahmi, on different Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit, Kuchean and Khotanese. Of the Chinese collection also, which may be called now decidedly the best in Europe, those from the grottos number about 3000.

The bulky reports, full of most interesting details, which have so far been published, furnish a proof of the repeated hard toils and untiring energy of the great seekers after truth and how all their troubles and risks have at length been crowned with glorious success. They have furnished to the students of ancient civilisation materials, interesting from every point of view, of the culture of a country which, as we have already noticed, formed the connecting link between the West and the Far East on the one hand, and India on the other, and thus

witnessed, perhaps, for centuries, the mutual influences of Indian, Iranian and Chinese culture. These innumerable antiquities discovered in such a great variety of places, times and character are not only interesting to students of history, art, and architecture, but equally so to those of ethnology, geography, geology and philology. Numberless manuscripts have been discovered in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Sogdian, Manichaean, 'Runic' Turkish, Uigur, Tibetan, Chinese and the forgotten languages of Khotanese and Kuchean or Tocharian, as well as in scripts which have not yet been deciphered. Hundreds of specimens of arts, pictorial and plastic, mostly Buddhistic, have been recovered and thousands of other articles of archaeological and ethnological importance have been unearthed, which by their characteristics, mark Chinese Turkestan as the meeting ground of Hellenistic, Indian, Persian and Chinese currents of civilisation.

I have indicated above the preponderant role played by Indian civilisation in 'Serindia' and this happened mainly through Buddhism. We know that, to a great extent, China received her Buddhist art, not directly from India, but from Chinese Turkestan, and Khotan has been at times an important agent in that work of transmission; from China the same form of art passed to Japan through Korea. Chinese texts have preserved the names of *Wei-ch'ie Pa-ch'e-na* and of his son *Wei-ch'ih Yi-seng*, who were in the service of the Chinese Emperor Yang-ti (A. D. 605-17) and enjoyed a great reputation as Buddhist artists. M. Foucher has shown how the portrait of a seated woman dressed in tunic with a child in her right arm, which was formerly mistaken as a picture of the Virgin nursing the Child Jesus, is nothing but a copy of the Buddhist Madonna Hariti of Mahayana iconography, who appears in China also, already in the time of Yi-tsing, as *Kouci-tsu-mu-shen* or 'the portrait of the goddess-mother of demon sons'.

and is also identical with Kishimojin of Japan; later on, she has been more or less mixed up with the feminine form of Avalokitesvara, the Chinese Kuan-yin, Japanese Kwannon, Anamese Quan-Am, mistakenly surnamed as the Holy Virgin.* This single illustration will show how the knowledge concerning 'the progressive diffusion of Buddhist art throughout the Far East' may be acquired through the recent finds in Khotan.

The same is true with regard to the other aspects of the history of civilisation. Buddhist-Sanskrit manuscripts, the originals of which are lost in India have been found here either in original or in translations in Chinese, Tibetan, Kuchean or Khotanese. The desert sands have yielded scripts which were unknown or ill-known in India or were simply local developments of some old Indian scripts. We have also come to know of the existence of an Indian Prakrit, spoken over a large area, about which we shall have occasion to say more hereafter. It has been truly remarked by an eminent scholar, that 'the archaeology of Central Asia has to be drawn from the chaos of its materials'† and we must yet wait for decades till all these materials have been properly utilised in order to establish the history of Central Asia and her connection with India on the one hand and the Far East and the Western regions on the other. It will then not only throw light on various complicated problems of Indian history but we may have even to recast many of them in the light of these new resources.

Read before the Greater India Society.

* H. Lueders—Ueber die literarischen Funde von Ostturkistan—S. B. A. W. 1914.

† A. Lecoq. A short account of the origin, journey and results of the First Royal Prussian (Second German) expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkestan. J. R. A. S. 1909 p. 299 ff.

"I TOUCH THE LONE ETERNITY"

I've left the world behind me with its cries
Shadows and crowds
To touch the deep eternity of skies
In flowery clouds.
Forgetful of the mad and fleeting mirth
Of fleeting hours

I touch the mute eternity of earth
In silent flowers.
Behold, eve-shadows fall upon the tree
And hill and plain—
I touch the lone eternity of me
In quiet pain.
H. CHATTOPADHYAYA.

UNEQUAL TREATMENT OF THE PROVINCES UNDER THE REFORMS

, Substance of a Lecture Delivered

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

I want for my country the fullest political and economic and social and religious freedom hitherto attained, or attainable by man in the years to come. But I do not know exactly how it can be attained. The paths that may lead to freedom seem different to different minds. As it is not right to dogmatise, no righteous and legitimate means should be ruled out. Some Indian politicians appear to think that the Montagu-Chelmsford "Reforms" contain within them the seeds of a free "constitution for India. I do not think so. I do not think that they are either intended or bound to lead to full self-rule. But as some good may be done and some mischief prevented by working them, though at the cost of a disproportionately large expenditure of time money and energy, I intend to show how in some important matters the provinces have been treated differently under the "Reforms". I do not know whether this has been done intentionally. I do not know whether it was foreseen that such unequal treatment would give rise to discontent and to provincial jealousies. But the fact cannot be gainsaid that the provinces have received differential treatment at the hands of the authorities.

Mill on Representation,

The first point to which I wish to draw attention is the representation of the provinces in the Central Legislature. I do not intend to discuss all the theories and methods of representation. It will suffice for my purpose to refer to some principles which, according to John Stuart Mill, should govern the extension of the suffrage and its limitations. Some politicians may consider Mill's *Representative Government* out of date and old-fashioned; but it still holds the field as a classic on the subject. He regarded the representative system as the highest ideal of polity, though his ideal was by no means that popular government should involve a mere counting of heads, or absolute

equality of value among the citizens. While holding that "no arrangement of the suffrage can be permanently satisfactory in which any person or class is peremptorily excluded, or in which the electoral privilege is not open to all persons of full age who desire to obtain it," he insisted on "certain exclusions." For instance, he insisted that universal education should precede universal enfranchisement, and laid it down that if education to the required amount had not become universally accessible and thus a hardship arose, this was a hardship that had to be borne. He would not grant the suffrage to any one who could not read, write and perform a sum in the rule of three. Further, he insisted on the electors being taxpayers, and emphasised the view that, as a condition annexed to representation, such taxation should descend to the poorest class "in a visible shape." He was in favour of a form of plural voting, so that the intellectual classes of the community should have more proportionate weight than the numerically larger working classes: "though every one ought to have a voice, that every one should have an equal voice is a totally different proposition." The well-informed and capable man's opinion being more valuable than that of the barely qualified elector, it should be given more effect by a system of plural voting, which should give him more votes than one. As to the test of value of opinion, Mill was careful to say that he did not mean property—though the principle was so important that he would not abolish such a test where it existed—but individual mental superiority, which he would gauge by the rough indication afforded by occupation in the higher forms of business or profession, or by such a criterion as a University degree or the passing of an examination of a fairly high standard. It will be clear from the above summary of some of Mill's views that, in order to judge whether a province is adequately represented, due regard should be had to its population, to

the spread of elementary and high education in it, and to the total revenues collected in it as indicating the property its inhabitants possess.

Basis of Representation in U. S. A., Australia, Canada and France

Though according to the constitution which India possesses at present it cannot be spoken of as a federation of autonomous states, like the United States of America or the Australian Commonwealth, yet it cannot be gainsaid that almost all our politicians are in favour of provincial autonomy and a federal system linking the provinces under a central government. It will not, therefore, be improper to compare the representation of the Indian provinces in the central legislature with the representation of the states constituting the U. S. A. in the Senate and the House of Representatives, of the states constituting the Australian Commonwealth in the two chambers of its federal parliament, and of the states of Canada in the two houses of the Canadian parliament. I shall refer also to the Chamber Deputies in France.

In the United States of America much controversy had raged over the conflicting principles of the equal representation of states and representation on the basis of numbers, the larger states advocating the latter, the smaller states the former principle. Due recognition was given to both principles by the adoption of a bicameral system. One house, the Senate, contains the representatives of the states, every state sending two; the other, the House of Representatives, contains members elected on a basis of population, the representation of each state being in proportion to its numbers.

The parliament of the Australian Commonwealth consists of two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. The former consists of six representatives from each state; the latter of seventy-five members elected by districts as nearly equal in numbers as possible (but ranging from 30,000 to 45,000), except in Tasmania, to which five members are allotted irrespective of its insufficient population.

In Canada the Dominion Parliament consists of an Upper House, styled the Senate, and the House of Commons. The Senate originally consisted of 72 members, 24 from

Quebec, 24 from Ontario, and 24 from the maritime provinces, but this number has been from time to time slightly increased as new provinces have been added. The House of Commons consists of a number of members, originally 196, which is subject to change after each decennial census. The basis adopted in the British North America Act is that Quebec shall always have 65 representatives, and each of the other provinces such a number as will give the same proportion of members to its population as the number 65 bears to the population of Quebec at each census.

In France, the Chamber of Deputies consists of deputies elected on the basis of one deputy per 75,000 inhabitants.

The Council of State

From the brief description of representative bodies in different countries given above, it will be seen that the upper chambers of federal or central legislatures generally consist of an equal number of members from the provinces or states, and the lower chambers consist of members elected by the provinces or states on the basis of population. In India's mock parliament or debating society, the Council of State is considered the Upper House, and the Legislative Assembly the Lower House. But the provinces do not send an equal number of members to the Council of State, as on the federal plan they ought to, the number varying from 6 each for Bombay and Bengal to 1 each for the Central Provinces and Assam.

The Legislative Assembly

As regards the Legislative Assembly, one finds that the basis of population has not been followed in assigning to each province its number of elected members, as the tabular statement given below will show. In it the population is given according to the census of 1921, and the number of members according to the parliamentary "Return showing the results of elections in India, 1923."

The Basis of Population

As the elected European members do not represent the people of India, I have shown the number of European representatives in a separate column.

Province.	Total No. of Elected mem- bers in L. A.	No. of Euro- pean repre- sentatives	Population.
Madras	16	1	42,318,985
Bombay	16	2	19,348,219
Bengal	17	3	46,695,536
U. P.	16	1	45,375,787
Punjab	12	0	20,685,024
Bihar & Orissa	12	0	34,002,189
C. P.	6	0	13,912,760
Assam	4	1	7,606,230
Delhi	1	0	488,188
Burma	4	1	13,212,192
Ajmer-Merwara	1	0	495,271

The table shows that on the basis of numbers, some provinces have been under-represented and some over-represented. That fact will be clear whatever province we may take as the standard according to which the representation of the other provinces is to be judged. As Bombay is the least populous among the Presidencies and major provinces and its citizens are good fighters for their rights, the representation of Bombay may be taken as the standard. Its population is twenty millions in round numbers and the number of its elected members in the Legislative Assembly is 16. So, for convenience of calculation, I may say that the rule is that there is to be one elected member per $1\frac{1}{4}$ million (or 1,250,000) inhabitants. Calculating according to this rule, we have the following table:—

Province	Present No. of elected members	The No. as it would be
Bombay	16	16
Madras	16	34
Bengal	17	37
U. P.	16	36
Punjab	12	16
Bihar & Orissa	12	27
C. P. & Berar	6	11
Assam	4	6
Delhi	1	Nil
Burma	4	10
Ajmer-Merwara	1	Nil

It may be thought that even at present Bengal of all provinces has the largest number of elected representatives. But that is not true so far as the Indian inhabitants, the people, of Bengal are concerned. The European elected members (and, of course, the non-elected European members, too,) do

not represent the people of any province. Omitting them, the provinces have the following numbers of elected representatives:—

Province.	Elected Representa- tives of Indians.
Madras	15
Bombay	14
Bengal	14
U. P.	15
Punjab	12
Bihar & Orissa	12
C. P.	6
Assam	3
Delhi	1
Burma	3
Ajmer Merwara	1

This table makes it clearer still that the representation of the provinces has not at all been according to population. That, on the basis of numbers, the Europeans would not have been entitled to return a single member in any province, supposing even that they all lived in each province in some single area, is too well understood to need detailed exposition. Yet, of the eleven provinces which send representatives to the Legislative Assembly, six, namely, Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Assam and Burma, have been saddled with representatives of the European community. This incubus is the heaviest in the case of Bengal. As the interests of Indians and Europeans conflict, the efforts of the European representatives in the Legislative Assembly go to counter the efforts of the Indian representatives in many vital matters. This injury to Indian interests is greatest in the case of Bengal, as the number of European representatives is greatest in this province. It is true, Bengal is to blame for furnishing the excuse for handicapping her with the largest European representation: for, by her business incapacity or inattention or lack of energy, she has allowed almost the whole of her commerce and industry to be almost monopolized by outsiders. But for this fault and neglect on her part, her punishment, in the shape of her wealth being drained away, has been already more than adequate. The under-representation of her Indian inhabitants and the over-representation of her European birds of passage are an additional punishment which she should have been spared.

Predominance of the Minority

We are all acquainted with the expression "tyranny of the majority." Similarly

there can be a tyranny of the minority. But tyranny is a harsh word, and I do not suggest any kind of tyranny. What ought to be prevented, so far as that is practicable, is the predominance of the minority over the majority, when the minority and the majority consist of the same kinds of persons. The latter clause is important, as there may be a minority of mentally and morally very superior persons whose voice may, in some circumstances, prevail, without harm, over the voice of the majority. But the inhabitants of the different provinces of India may be taken, I think, to be on the whole of the same mental calibre. Such being the case, no arrangement can be said to be right which gives the minority a greater voice in public affairs than the majority. But that is exactly the case under the Reforms in the Legislative Assembly. The total population of the British Provinces of India is 247,003,293. Out of this total, 134,390,308, that is, the majority, live in Madras, Bengal and the United Provinces, and 109,750,073, that is, a minority, in Bombay, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Delhi, Burma and Ajmer-Merwara. The majority are represented in the Legislative Assembly by a total of 49 (forty-nine) elected members, and the minority by a total of 56 (fifty-six) elected members. Here, therefore, is a case of the minority having a larger number of votes than the majority. There is no mental superiority to justify this giving of a larger number of votes to the minority, as it cannot be contended that the people of Bombay, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Delhi, Burma, and Ajmer-Merwara are intellectually and morally superior to or more and better educated than the people of Madras, Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

Basis of Literacy

Let me now see whether the number of elected representatives assigned to each province is in proportion to the number of its literates and literates in English. The table given below will show that it is not so. Taking Bombay as the standard, I have shown what the number of elected representatives of each province would be in proportion to the number of its literates.

Province.	Literate.	Literate in English.	Present No. of Elected Members.	What the No. Would Be on Literacy Basis.
Assam	4,83,105	70,809	4	4
Bengal	42,46,601	7,73,161	17	42
Bihar-Orissa	15,86,257	1,32,062	12	15
Bombay	16,45,533	2,63,333	16	16
Burma	36,52,043	1,13,413	4	36
C. P.	6,33,293	62,736	6	6
Madras	36,21,908	3,98,893	16	36
U. P.	16,88,872	1,75,239	16	16
Punjab	8,33,492	1,39,535	12	8

Instead of taking the numbers of those who are merely literate or merely literate in English (according to the census of 1921), as I have done, I might have taken the numbers of graduates and under-graduates in each province, say, in the year 1924-25, which is the latest for which they are available.

Province	Number of Graduates and Under-graduates in 1924-25.
Madras	12,579
Bombay	9,755
Bengal	25,832
U. P.	6,126
Punjab	9,029
Burma	979
Bihar and Orissa	3,475
C. P. and Berar	1,338
Assam	1,380

The tables, I have given, have, I hope, shown that the representation in the Legislative Assembly given to the provinces under the Reforms is neither in proportion to the numbers of their inhabitants, nor in proportion to the numbers of their literates or of their better educated persons.

Taxation Basis

It is not possible to give the numbers of persons in each province who pay any tax, rate or cess;—no such figures are available. Hence I cannot discuss whether representation has been given on the basis of the number of such persons in each province. But I hope the figures of the revenue collections in each province which I am going to mention shortly would show that representation under the Reforms has not been given to each province on the basis of the revenue collections in each province.

The Qualifications of Electors.

The Council of State

The qualifications of electors are neither the same nor equivalent in all the provinces.

cannot now discuss this subject in detail. But I shall illustrate my remark simply by referring to the rules relating to electors paying income-tax in the different provinces. A person can become an elector for the Council of State if he was in the 'previous year' assessed: *in Madras*, on an income of not less than Rs. 20,000; *in Bombay*, on an income of not less than Rs. 30,000; *in Bengal*, on an income of not less than Rs. 12,000 *in the case of Non-Muhammadans* and Rs. 6,000 *in the case of Muhammadans*; *in the U. P.* on an income of not less than Rs. 10,000; *in the Punjab* on an income of not less than Rs. 15,000; *in Bihar and Orissa*, on an income of not less than Rs. 12,800 *in the case of Non-Muhammadans* and Rs. 6,400 *in the case of Muhammadans*; *in the Central Provinces*, on an income of not less than Rs. 20,000; *in Assam*, on an income of not less than Rs. 12,000; and *in Burma*, on an income of not less than Rs. 5,000. There are similar inequalities between the provinces in the qualifications of those who are holders of land, cultivators, tenants, &c. I cannot enter into details now. I shall only mention how, as in the case of the income-tax, Non-Muhammadans are discriminated against and Muhammadans favoured in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa. A Non-Muhammadan in Bengal becomes an elector if he pays land revenue amounting to not less than Rs. 7500 in the Burdwan or Presidency Division and not less than Rs. 5000 in the Dacca, Rajshahi or Chittagong division; but a Muhammadan becomes an elector everywhere in Bengal if he pays land revenue amounting only to not less than Rs. 600. In Bihar and Orissa, a Non-Muhammadan can become an elector if he pays land revenue amounting to not less than Rs. 1200; but a Muhammadan obtains the same right by paying not less than Rs. 750 land revenue. Note also the difference between the amounts in Bengal and in Bihar and Orissa.

The Legislative Assembly

As regards the Legislative Assembly, I shall mention only the inequalities in the qualification relating to the payment of the income tax. In Madras, U. P., the Central Provinces, Burma, and Bombay one becomes qualified if he was in the previous year assessed to income tax (the possession of the minimum assessable income would do). But in Bengal, Delhi and the Punjab he must have

been assessed on an income of not less than Rs. 5,000; in Bihar and Orissa on an income of not less than Rs. 3,840; and in Assam not less than Rs. 3600.

Thus do political and civic human values differ from province to province, and in some provinces according to the creed one professes! A Muhammadan is *ipso facto* more qualified to exercise the right of citizenship than a Non-Muhammadan!

The Meston Award

I shall now make some observations on the Meston Award, according to which revenues from some sources have been assigned to the provinces and those from some other sources to the central government. For some years past, in my two Bengali and English magazines, I have drawn attention to the very inadequate amounts which have fallen to the share of Bengal under this arrangement. Let me once again show by means of a tabular statement how, though Bengal is the most populous province, it gets the least sum of money for all its administrative and other purposes. I need show the population and budgetted income of only the five most populous provinces.

Province	Population (1921)	Budgetted Income, 1927-28
Bengal	4,66,95,536	Rs. 10,73,39,000
Madras	4,23,18,985	" 16,54,80,000
Bombay	1,93,48,210	" 15,08,00,000
U. P.	4,53,75,787	" 12,94,50,000
Punjab	2,06,85,024	" 11,13,00,000

One result of the most populous of these five provinces getting the smallest amount for its expenses is the chronic starvation of its "nation-building" departments. Take education, for example. In 1924-25, the latest year for which figures are available, the expenditure on education from different sources was as follows:—

Province	From Govt. Funds.	From Fees
Madras	1,71,38,548	84,32,991
Bombay	1,84,47,165	60,13,969
Bengal	1,33,82,962	1,46,26,126
U. P.	1,72,28,490	42,14,354
Punjab	1,18,34,364	52,87,444

Bengal gets from the Government only a little more than the Punjab (of which the population is less than half that of Bengal) and less than each of the other major provinces

Note also that Bengal is the only province which pays for its education more in fees than it receives from the Government.

If Bengal contributed less revenue than any other major province, one could under-

stand the niggardly treatment received by her; but her contributions are not insignificant, as the following statement for 1924-25, compiled from the *Statistical Abstract*, will show. —

Sources	Madras	Bombay	Bengal	U. P.	Punjab
Jute	0	0	3,75,63,920	0	0
Income tax	1,31,56,365	4,03,77,094	5,54,73,933	73,87,089	60,67,102
Salt	1,89,91,727	1,73,33,902	2,35,90,897	70,00,000*	30,00,000*
Land	6,15,05,867	5,16,52,815	3,10,73,587	6,71,08,534	3,53,63,120
Excise	4,90,59,071	4,15,09,132	2,15,53,443	1,32,29,792	1,19,47,490
Stamps	2,41,51,274	1,78,06,184	3,36,67,757	1,74,40,031	1,16,61,337
Forest	55,73,761	73,07,964	24,75,529	69,21,987	37,27,312
Cotton	9,03,764	1,87,03,383	2,62,518	6,88,558	19,268
Total	17,33,41,829	19,46,90,774	20,56,61,584	12,02,75,991	7,17,90,669
Irrigation	2,82,54,234	1,23,51,915	23,613	1,31,93,884	6,86,16,428
Grand Total	20,15,96,063	20,75,42,689	20,58,99,197	13,34,69,835	14,04,07,097

I have not been able to find out from the *Statistical Abstract* revenues from other heads shown separately province by province. But I hope the table I have compiled will indicate roughly the position of the provinces as revenue-bringers.

Irrigation

I have given two totals; first, excluding, second, including irrigation revenue. The reason for my doing so is that as the Government has done practically nothing for irrigation in Bengal compared to what it has done for the other provinces, it cannot justly penalise Bengal for the smallness of its irrigation revenue. There are large areas in Bengal, particularly in the districts of Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan and Midnapur, which badly require irrigation; but very little has been done by the Government in this direction. That Bengal is not considered fit for the production of wheat and cotton, at least of good qualities, may in part explain the inattention of the Government to irrigation in this province. In their own interests, the British people attach great importance to the production of wheat and cotton in India and their export to Great Britain.

Under the heading Productive Irrigation Works, I find the following the figures indicating miles:—

Province.	Main Canals and Branches.	Distributories.
Madras	4,049	8,303
Bombay	5,698	794
U. P.	1,459	8,805
Punjab	3,438	13,119
Bengal	Nil.	Nil.

Under the heading Unproductive Irrigation Works I find the following:—

Province.	Main Canals and Branches.	Distributories
Madras	751	705
Bombay	1,898	1,106
Bengal	69	254
U. P.	428	1,362
Punjab	160	152

But even if irrigation revenue were included, Bengal would not make a poor show, as the grand total shows. If the total revenue collections of the provinces were made the basis for representation, a readjustment would be necessary.

Bengal Governor's Opinion

Recently, in his reply to the address of the Mahajan Sabha, the Governor of Bengal said:

"There is, I think, general agreement that Bengal has cause for complaint of the financial settlement arrived at under what is known as the Meston Award. As regards finance, the experience of this Presidency during the years of the Reforms has more and more demonstrated that it is impossible to be content with a theoretical demarcation of spheres of taxation, provincial and central. Practical working has shown that for the proper administration of this Industrial Province some share of the revenues now allotted to central finance must be allocated to the Province."

If there is "general agreement," why does Bengal continue to starve?

The Permanent Settlement

In order to explain away the starvation of Bengal by Lord Meston and others, it is

*In the *Statistical Abstract* the salt revenue is not shown separately for the Punjab and the United provinces: a total of Rs. 1,07,05,363 is shown against Northern India Salt Revenue Department. Out of this amount I have given credit for 70 lakhs to the U. P. and 30 lakhs to the Punjab, in proportion to their population, leaving 7 lakhs odd for other north-Indian areas.

said that, on account of the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue in Bengal, it pays less proportionately than other provinces and consequently gets less. But in the form of other taxes, it pays more. Why is that fact not taken into consideration? Moreover, neither the Government of Bengal nor the people of Bengal are responsible for the Permanent Settlement. It was the Government of India which was responsible for the Permanent Settlement. It is an admitted fact that it was advocated and made because it was understood that it would place the finances of the Government on a more stable basis. The parties to it, who have benefited thereby, were the Government of India and the revenue farmers or landowners called Zemindars. The generality of the people of Bengal were not responsible for it and have not reaped the main advantage from it, if they have at all been benefited by it. Directly or indirectly, most of them live by agriculture, and have to pay in the shape of legal, non-legal and illegal demands not less than their fellows in the other provinces. If the Permanent Settlement has been a mistake, it would be neither honest nor honorable for the Government of India to indirectly compel either the Government or the people of Bengal to raise an outcry against it by starving them. It is the Government of India which ought to find the proper remedy. It is not my purpose to pronounce any opinion upon or discuss the pros and cons of the Permanent Settlement. What I want to show is that, whether it remains or goes, Bengal is entitled to get at least as much money for its expenses as any other province.

Jute Export Duty

Just as land revenue has been rightly and logically assigned to the provinces, so ought the jute export duty, as it is derived from what grows on the soil. I have never been able to understand on what just grounds Bengal has been robbed of the jute export duty. It has been argued that the jute export duty is not paid by the people of Bengal, but by the foreign purchasers of jute. This is not axiomatic. For, as pointed out by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Legislative Assembly on the 10th of March this year, in the opinion of the Fiscal Commission, page 100 of their Report, "*some portion, if not the whole, of an export duty falls on the home producer.*" The same gentleman pointed out

in the same place and on the same day, that the Taxation Enquiry Committee observed in paragraph 150 of their Report:—

"In spite of the monopolistic character of the product, there exists a possibility that, in certain conditions of the trade, a portion of the export duty may fall on the producer."

Even *The Statesman* writes thus in its issue of July 21 last:—

The members of the Bengal National Chamber asked that the proceeds of the jute export duty should be handed over to Bengal, for its local purposes. Sir Basil is reported to have said that, while he is not personally in favour of maintaining the duty, if it is maintained the proceeds must go to the Central Government as the duty "is paid not by the "producers but by the consumers." There Sir Basil Blackett runs counter to what we had supposed to be the least controverted doctrine in economics—that the ultimate incidence of an export duty was always upon the producer. It may be that jute being a monopoly of Bengal the Finance Member believes that the foreign buyer will always have to pay the Bengal price plus the duty, but if that be the argument it is legitimate to say that the Bengal price is kept lower than it would otherwise be by the effect of the duty. There is a limit beyond which the foreign purchaser will not buy. If he is willing to pay a sovereign for a particular parcel of jute and no more and the seller must sell, then the seller pays the duty and receives the sovereign. The buyer would still be willing to pay a sovereign for the goods were there no duty included in the price. The purpose of an export duty is to keep goods in a country, just as the purpose of an export bounty is to send them out. The effect is to lower prices in the home market practically by the amount of the duty, and it is the producer who gets the lower price. Obviously if the foreign purchaser will only pay a sovereign with the duty included and could still afford to pay a sovereign if the duty did not exist, the home purchaser, if he wished to get the goods, would have to pay a sovereign for them, whereas he now obtains them for an amount below a sovereign equal to the duty which would have to be paid upon export.

So Bengal is entitled to at least part of the proceeds of the jute export duty. But assuming that the producer does not pay any part of the duty, according to what principle of justice or equity, except the hero's right of might, does the Government of India lay hold of the entire proceeds? It is in Bengal that the thing is produced. It is the Bengal Government which does something, however little it may be, for the improvement of the cultivation of jute. It is the people of Bengal who toil to produce the raw jute. It is they who suffer from the contaminated water and the malodours resulting from the steeping of jute. It is they who suffer from the pollution of the river

waters by the septic tanks of the jute mills. It is the public health department of Bengal which does something, however little, for counteracting the injurious effects of the production of raw and manufactured jute. The Government of India simply looks on from its serene heights all the while, and it is only when the proceeds of the export duty are collected that it swoops down and carries off the booty in its mighty talons. The Meston Award, which has legalised this plunder, is absolutely iniquitous. *Bengal ought to have the whole of the jute export duty.* According to Mr. K. C. Neogy, up to the 31st March, 1927, the Government of India have, by means of this tax, netted at least 34 crores of rupees, starving all the "nation-building" departments of Bengal.

Income Tax

The grounds on which, it is said, Bombay and Bengal are deprived of the proceeds of the income tax require to be examined.

It has been argued that as the whole of the income tax revenue collected in Bombay and Bengal is not really paid by their inhabitants, they have no claim to it. Perhaps it is meant that the purchasers in other provinces of the things made or imported by manufacturers or importers in Bombay and Bengal pay part of the income tax collected in these two provinces; for these manufacturers and importers include the income tax in fixing prices. Assuming the cogency of this argument, at least the portion of this revenue which is paid by private individuals out of their incomes in Bombay and Bengal,

can certainly be claimed by Bombay and Bengal. And as for the portion of this tax paid by manufacturers and importers, surely the provinces which are able to give them a local habitation and opportunities of enterprise owing to their geographical and other advantages, ought to be entitled to what they pay as income tax. Great Britain is mainly a manufacturing country, and its manufactures are for the most part sold in various foreign lands, including India. In fixing prices British manufacturers take into consideration the income tax they would have to pay. Therefore, in reality, it is the foreign purchasers of British goods who pay most of the British income tax. But does the British Treasury for that reason send to the public treasuries of the purchasing countries the bulk or any portion of the British income tax collections? If that were done, we Indians should be very glad indeed to have our share!

Conclusion

For all these reasons I have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that Bengal should be given as much money as Madras, or as Bombay, which has less than half of its population. I do not in the least suggest that Madras or Bombay or any other province should be robbed to do justice to Bengal. Nothing of the kind. There is ample room for economy in the spending departments of the Government of India. Let there be retrenchment there, and all will be well.

RECENT HINDI LITERATURE

By ILA CHANDRA JOSHI

SELF-PRESERVATION is the first law of nature and self-deception is the foremost law of the spirit of nationalism as it is in most countries. A typical nationalist deceives himself by believing that everything that belongs to his nation is excellent. Even if he feels in the innermost depths of his heart that his nation is inferior in many

respects to a great many nations of the world, he spares no pains in throwing dust into the eyes of the people of other nations and tries his best to prove to them that his nation is far superior to theirs in matters of art, culture, philosophy and everything else. For the modern cult of nationalism is, beyond doubt, the cult of hatred. It has

never been and will never be the cult of truth. This venomous spirit is purely a product of the West and our political leaders have now begun to confess that the dream of the "political salvation" of India can only be realized if we can fully assimilate this western spirit.

Owing to this very spirit of nationalism (or, in this case, may we call it provincialism which is the twin brother of nationalism?) the critics and writers of Hindi literature have been deceiving themselves, for sometime past, by believing that modern Hindi literature is in no way inferior to any other literature of India, if not of the whole world. This self-deceptive, envious, and suicidal belief is so strongly current throughout the Hindi-reading public, that if anybody, shocked at this crude and naive exaggeration, ventures to disprove the fact, he is supposed to be a heretic, a *kafir*, a traitor to the cause of his mother tongue. Oaths and abuses are hurled upon him from all sides and he is left terror-stricken like a man standing amidst a furious and enraged mob.

Now, let us look facts squarely in the face and try to judge the merits and demerits of recent Hindi literature without any prejudice or ill-will. *Premashram* is supposed to be the best work of fiction in our literature. This very work of fiction has made our men of letters (I am speaking as a member of the Hindi-reading public) realize for the first time the greatness of our literature. The author of this novel has exercised such a great influence upon the Hindi-reading public that he is supposed to be the "master-novelist" of our age. Now let us see what are the merits of this master-piece that led the public to speak highly of it in rapturous outbursts. Our leading literary critics who guide the public in the matter of artistic tastes are unanimous in their statement that one great cause that accounts for the *greatness* and popularity of this work of fiction is this that the true spirit of nationalism pervades the whole work. To judge art according to this standard is to strangle the very spirit of truth. It is to bring down art to such a low level as is beyond comprehension. The one and sole aim of art is to make man acquainted with the greatest ideals of *humanity* by analysing the mysteries of the human soul. One "great problem" which the author of *Premashram* had attempted to solve, when he began to write the book, was quite an ephemeral one. It was the problem of

council-entry. The book was published before the Swarajists sought to enter the councils. Now that the problem has been solved somehow or other, in one sense the utility of this novel has been lost. But a few more problems have been tackled in this "masterpiece", the most important of them being the problem of *Zemindari* or landlordism. The author has shown how the Zemindars or landlords of our country oppress their miserable tenants, and he has tried to draw the sympathy of the public towards the poor victims. He has doubtless succeeded in his attempt. But what we want to say is this that from the artistic standpoint this "masterpiece" of fiction is an utter failure.

All the greatest artists of the world have always tried to solve the problems of *humanity* in their works. They have written for all countries and for all ages. They have condemned all those writers who have tried to "nationalize" their works. Romain Rolland, the great French writer, says in his *Theatre du peuple*, "If we would create strong souls, let us nourish them with the strength of the whole world, for, the nation alone is not enough." Schiller, the great German dramatist, used to say, "I write as a citizen of the world. Early in my life I exchanged my fatherland for humanity." Goethe, the greatest German poet, said almost a hundred years ago, "National literature means very little to-day: world literature is at hand and each one must labour to make it an accomplished fact." He also said somewhere, "It is evident, and has been for a long time, that the greatest geniuses of all nations have kept all of humanity before their eyes. You will invariably perceive this general idea standing out above national ideas and the peculiarities of the writer. The most beautiful works are those that belong to all mankind." This he said at a time when speaking anything against national belief was supposed to be blasphemy, almost a crime. But our critics and men of letters do not want to see the truth and they have shut their eyes to the light. Popularity, and not truth, is their sole criterion. We would have let them remain undisturbed in their paradise. But they have corrupted and vitiated the taste of the public and have made its aesthetic sense and faculty of appreciating art quite blunt. It is quite a deplorable state of things, no doubt. The critics of the Hindi world of letters have led the public to believe that the works of Tagore, the enlight-

end and serene poet of love and joy, and of Gorki, "the master of sorrow and of pathos," are nothing but a means of political or social propaganda. One wonders what these most venerable writers would have thought had they been informed of this charge brought against them. The public has been misled by the false criticisms of these critics and takes every word spoken by them to be true.

Mr. Premchand, the author of *Premashram*, has lately written another big novel, entitled *Rangabhumi* or "The Stage". According to Shakespeare the whole of the world is a stage in which scenes of love, fear, hope, pity and other tender emotions of man are seen day and night. But in this "Stage" of our master writer horrible scenes of political and social triflings, petty, nonsensical "national" sentiments have been displayed. Only the bright illumination of its enthusiastic style has dazzled the eyes of the spectators.

The short stories written by Mr. Premchand are counted among the best stories in Indian Literature, if not in the literature of the world, by our literary men. I have read not more than two volumes of his short stories. This I must confess. But the stories contained in these volumes are counted among the best he has written. In one of these stories he has endeavoured to show that the bonfire of foreign clothes is unobjectionable on both ethical and political grounds. In another he has shown that it is very dangerous to be ensnared by the lures and wiles of a harlot, or a woman of a loose character. In yet another he has tried to prove that God punishes those men who rob other people of their money or property by treacherous means. The subjects of almost all the stories are as trifling and commonplace as these. And despite all this he is supposed, without any scruple or hesitation, to be the worthiest rival of the masters of the art of story-writing! A certain publisher of Mr. Premchand actually published the false statement in the preface to one of his books that Mr. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, the Bengali novelist, thought the stories of Mr. Premchand in no way inferior to those of Dr. Tagore. Our literary men were, of course, much flattered by this statement, and it was made much of in the periodicals. When, however, this was brought to the notice of Mr. Chatterjee he contradicted it vehemently and felt ill at ease. Such is the condition of the current Hindi literature. The young

writers are great admirers and staunch devotees of Mr. Premchand. All of them follow in his footsteps. If any one manages, somehow or other, to get out of that beaten track, he is swayed by dilettantism.

As with fiction, so with poetry. The poets are guided by some trifling and petty conventions, and nobody ventures to transcend the limits of conventionalism. *Priyapravasa*, written by Mr. Ayodhya Singh Upadhyaya, is supposed to be the greatest poem in the Hindi literature of the present day. Some set phrases, hackneyed similes and metaphors and conventional expressions borrowed from some old Sanskrit books of verses, are heaped up in this poem. Nothing vital, original and substantial can be found in it. *Bharat-Bharati*, another "great poetical work" of another "great poet," is nothing but a narration of facts. In it the author has described the past glory of India in a chronological order and has deplored in a melodramatic way her present downfall. The poems of young poets that appear occasionally in monthly magazines and weekly papers are either "national" in spirit or full of dilettantism.

There are many small circles in the Hindi world of letters of the day and each circle has its own foolish conventions in matters of art. There was a time in Russia when there an editor of a certain magazine refused to publish the remaining one-third of Tolstoi's greatest work of art, *Anna Karenina*, after having published two-thirds of it serially in his magazine. The reason of this sudden surprising refusal was that the editor differed from the author "on the Serbian question" which was being discussed in the political circles of Russia at that time. Tolstoi, who was struck with amazement by the attitude of the editor, published the remaining part of his masterpiece in a separate pamphlet. Such exactly is the case with the Hindi literary circles of to-day. There also the editor of a certain journal will not publish your article, no matter how excellently it is written, if he differs from you on that accursed "Serbian question." Darkness reigns there supreme. Nobody wants to see the light and every "literary man" desires to live in a fool's paradise. Every writer is actuated by the sole motive of money-making and popularity. The Hindi-reading public is stifling under the pressure of a despotism of the most furious type—literary tsarism—that ever prevailed in the realm of literature. The voice of truth is being mercilessly smothered.

Nothing short of a great revolution will bring this tsarism to its senses. All men of genius are centrifugal in temperament. They shatter the walls of petty conventions of their nations to pieces and always transcend the conventional ideas without caring about the furious howling of the mob. Such a real genius—a Napoleon, is wanted who will revolutionise the whole of the Hindi world of letters from one extremity to the other. We are acquainted with four great literary revolutionists of modern times. These are : Goethe, Tolstoi, Romain Rolland and Tagore. These great revolutionaries have throughout their lives combated falsehood and they were victorious in the long run. In their love of truth they never cared about

other people's opinion. They never sought popularity ; they always sought truth. In the preface to his world-famous revolutionary writing *Au-dessus de la Mêlée*, Romain Rolland writes, "Ma tâche est de dire ce que je crois juste et humain. Que cela plaise ou que cela irrite, cela ne me regarde plus." That is : "My task is to say what I believe to be just and humane. Whom it pleases and whom it grieves, that has nothing to do with me." Yes, we want such a brave-hearted man in our midst. We want a Romain Rolland,—a Jean Christophe. We are in doubt whether the spirit of Jean Christophe will ever be roused in our hearts and the present tsarism will ever be overthrown. Yet let us hope for the best.

BLIND

By SAROJINI NAIDU

I

I pray you keep my eyes
Till I return one day to Paradise.
Bereaved of you, Beloved, I am blind,
A broken petal drifting in the wind,
A sightless song-bird with a wounded wing,
Forlornly wandering.

II

O Love, how shall I know
If Spring has kindled the high, limpid snow
Into rich crucibles of amethyst,
Or in far meadows lulled in silver-mist.
Wild poppies waken to the tender rune
Of the frail, pearl-blue moon ?

III

I shall not see alas !
Sumptuous and swift, life's bridal pageants pass,
Or radiant martyr-youth serenely ride
In death's gay cohorts mailed in dazzling pride ;
Watch mystic hordes assail like pilgrim seas
Time's ageless sanctuaries.

IV

No lambent rays retrieve
The brooding dark in which I grope and grieve,
Banished, remote from the consoling grace,
The wise, compassionate radiance of your face.—
When will you call me back to Paradise,
Love, to redeem my eyes ?

COMMON ELECTORATES

By C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE agreement over the common electorate proposal is a great achievement, which alone may suffice to give lustre to Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar's regime as Congress President. Reactionaries and persons interested in keeping up the atmosphere of communal discord may still oppose the proposal. Whatever may be the result, that such a proposal has been influentially supported is one of the most note-worthy triumphs of good sense in recent times. There is nothing so effective as a long rope for people to learn lessons. The wisdom of the exclusivists has been given a full trial and found by all to be most damaging in result. That way lies no hope for the nation or any community for that matter.

Voluntary forms of untouchability are no better than that enforced variety which is known as a blot on Hinduism. Untouchability is an evil not only when it is a social bar between high and low caste, but also when it takes the shape of a political bar between two components of a population that must live together for good or evil. Though not imposed by ancient custom, but invented by modern politicians, the system of separate electorates is a form of untouchability. Untouchability is bad socially ; so also is it bad politically. In both cases both sides suffer.

From exclusive and separate electorates to a joint electoral roll is a great advance. There may not be inter-communal confidence enough yet for men to give up the divisional idea altogether and to accept complete identification with other communities. An easy path-way to personal position and power which communal exclusivism opens out to fortunate members of a minority community is yet too much of a temptation for individual ambition to resist in the larger interest of national growth. But any step in advance is in itself to be welcomed. We must wait patiently, for all the lessons to be learnt. The full course of affliction must be gone through for truth and good sense to triumph completely. Wisdom learnt that way is burned into us and will be permanent.

Let us, then, not be impatient. When

men get really to govern themselves through their representatives, when our democratic institutions are not as now mere clubs of the pushful, but real institutions responsible for the happiness and misery distributed among the people, the latter, i.e., the governed, will see that there is no particular advantage in having men of this or that persuasion to manage their affairs. They will then see that it is more important to put good and able men in charge and that a man of one's own caste or faith, if bad or foolish, does terrible injury, not to be compensated for by the consciousness that a member of one's own faith or caste is enjoying power.

Even if seats are still reserved for particular communities, there are distinct advantages in a joint electoral roll. Candidates, both Mussalman and Hindu, will come forward whose conduct has obtained the approbation of Mussalmans as well as Hindus. Those who have set the one against the other community must lose the votes of the one or the other, and cannot hope to win the majority of votes in a joint electorate. It will gradually bring men to see that the path to political position and power lies through broad-minded and non-sectarian activities and true service, and not by playing to communal passions and prejudices. Every aspiring public worker will see that narrow interpretations of patriotism serve to diminish one's opportunities for being chosen to render public service.

It may be thought that even if we have joint electorates, men will go on working up communal prejudices and appealing to voters on the basis of caste or religion, privately, if not publicly. This cannot long continue, for anything done on a large scale cannot but get known and bring its consequences with it. Some may try to secure the votes of a solid mass of voters by appealing to communal patriotism and may thus successfully defeat rival candidates working on more difficult and non-sectarian lines. This may be so as long as there is a paucity of candidates. But as time goes on, the natural result of opportunities afforded will be that a number of candidates will come forward

from the same community, and they will perceive that in the competition among themselves he who by his non-clannishness secures votes from the electorates of both communities, has an advantage over one who plays to religious or sectarian prejudice. This will tend certainly in course of time to lead the activities of public men in the right direction. Let us therefore hope that all men of

far-sighted patriotism will support the principle of communal electorates. This is not merely a phase of the working of the present Montford reforms or a question only for the Royal Commission for the revision of the Reforms but is a substantive principle affecting the permanent fate of India. It is a step towards Swaraj.

TRUTH ABOUT THE POSITION OF THE HINDUS IN THE UNITED STATES

By MARY K. DAS

WHEN I wrote the article on Truth About the Position of the Hindus in U. S. A. published in the April issue of the *Modern Review* (Calcutta), through the kindness of Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the famous Pandit case had not been decided by the United States Supreme Court. Since then Mr. S. G. Pandit, Attorney-at-Law of Los Angeles, California, has won his case before the U. S. Supreme Court. Mr. Pandit's victory has established a precedent in favour of those Hindus against whom cases for cancellation of naturalization were pending before various U. S. Courts. However, so far nothing has happened to change any of the conclusions expressed in my former article on the subject.

Many misinformed Americans as well as Hindus think and write in newspapers in America and India that the 69 Hindus who were naturalized are now restored to their former American citizenship as an outcome of the Pandit case.

In a letter from the U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., May 20th 1927, Hon. Raymond C. Crist, Commissioner of Naturalization, gives information, which is entirely different from the general impression on the subject. The Government of the United States, according to the Department of Labor, is not anxious to keep its faith with all the Hindus who were duly naturalized. The Department of Labor does not recommend, so far as we can judge, the restoration of citizenship of all the Hindus who were duly naturalized, but it recommends

that the cases should be withdrawn only against those whose cases are still pending. Of the 69 Hindus, duly naturalized, in 45 cases, through the efforts of the Department of Labor and the Department of Justice, naturalizations have been cancelled. These forty-five persons are rendered stateless, because the United States Government saw fit not to keep faith. The letter reads as follows :—

"Mr. Walter N. Nelson
Attorney and Counsellor
1438 Dime Bank Bldg.
Detroit, Michigan

"Dear Sir :

Answering your letter of May 7, you are advised that recently the Attorney General, in accordance with this department's recommendation, authorized the respective United States Attorneys to discontinue suits to cancel the naturalization of certain Hindus, which has the status of pending cases. This probably is the subject-matter to which the press report in question had reference.

Very truly yours
Raymond C. Crist
Commissioner of Naturalization."

The position of the United States Department of Labor, regarding the status of the Hindus in the United States, as to their right to become citizens and also if the 69 Hindus who were once naturalized by the U. S. Courts (fourteen U. S. District Courts) are citizens or not, has been further explained in the following letter of the Acting Secretary of Labor, Hon. Mr. White, addressed to Senator Royal S. Copeland of the United States Senate. The letter reads as follows :—

Department of Labor
Office of the Secretary
Washington

265-c-445063
May 21, 1927

Hon. Royal S. Copeland
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator :

This is to acknowledge receipt of communication of Mr. W. W. Blakely of Dexter, Michigan, dated the 8th instant, requesting information concerning the naturalization status of Hindus, which your secretary Mr. Chesley Jurney, left at the Bureau of Naturalization on the 10th instant.

For Mr. Blakely's information, the Commissioner of Naturalization informs me that recently the Attorney-General, in accordance with this department's recommendation, authorized the respective United States Attorneys to discontinue suits which had been instituted to cancel naturalization of certain Hindus and which had the status of pending cases. This probably is the subject-matter of the press report to which Mr. T. D. Sharman called Mr. Blakely's attention. The action taken by the Attorney-General has no bearing upon the cases of those Hindus whose naturalizations have already been cancelled. The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of U. S. V. Thind, 261 U. S. 204, that Hindus are ineligible racially for naturalization, is in no wise affected by the Attorney-General's action. The recommendation of this department to the Attorney-General was submitted in letters dated March 25 and April 2, 1927.

I take great pleasure in returning Mr. Blakely's letter herewith.

Cordially yours
Robt Carl White
Acting Secretary.

From Hon. Mr. White's statement, it is clear to us that, the U. S. Department of Labor wanted that 69 Hindus who were duly naturalized should be deprived of their citizenship; and according to the wishes of the said department, the U. S. Attorney-General—representing the Department of Justice—started suits to cancel their American citizenship. In 45 cases naturalization certificates were cancelled by U. S. (lower) courts; and these Hindus did not have sufficient means and influence to fight their cases up to the Supreme Court of the

United States. These 45 Hindus had been duly naturalized as others against whom cases for cancellation of citizenship were pending. However, they have been deprived of their American citizenship and rendered "stateless", because the United States Government has failed to keep faith with these Hindus and have persecuted them and the rest of the 69, by starting suits to cancel their naturalization. None should forget that this was done, in accordance with the recent settled policy of the United States, that no Asiatic should be a citizen of the United States. Secondly, Hon. Mr. White makes it clear that the U. S. Supreme Court's decision that "*Hindus are ineligible racially for naturalization*" remains unaffected. So in future, unless the situation changes, no Hindu can become a citizen of the United States, and it is because he is an Asiatic, in other words, "*racially ineligible*."

First of all, the people of India should take into consideration what can be done to restore these 45 stateless Hindus to their rightful position of American citizens. We thought that, through proper legislation by the U. S. Congress, this injustice could be remedied. Last year, my husband and I, at considerable personal sacrifice and expense, tried this method, but we failed. It may be that, further efforts, directed towards the same purpose, will fail again. In that case what should be done by the people of India and the Indian Government? Lastly, what are the Indian people going to do to remove the existing discriminatory legislations against them in various parts of the world—within the British Empire and the United States of America, Panama, etc.—? The Indian people cannot expect to secure help from other quarters, unless they are willing to do their share in the fight to retain their rights as human beings and effectively oppose racial discriminations of all forms.

Munich, Germany
June 18, 1927.

"WHY DO I SIGH"

Why do I Sigh
When there is so much splendour in the sky?
Why do I grieve
When there is so much sweetness in the eve?
Why do I weep
When jewelled stars adorn the voiceless deep?
Why do I cast
A mournful shadow on the ancient vast

Of this great world
With multitudinous serene unfurled?
Is it because
Beauty is prisoned in relentless laws,
And I and stars
Gaze at each other through dividing bars?

H. CHATTOPADHYAYA

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE PYTHAGORIAN WAY OF LIFE: By Mrs. Lillie Walters (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar) Pp. 70. Price Re. 1-4 (Board).

In the Introduction the authoress discusses the sources of information in regard to Pythagoras and the Pythagorians.

The second chapter deals with the biography, position and influence of Pythagoras as philosopher, Scientist and Religious Reformer.

In the third chapter she describes the school of Pythagoras and two Pythagorean schools.

In the fourth chapter the authoress has given an English translation of the Golden Verses which are generally attributed to Pythagoras. She has also discussed the authorship of the verses. Her commentary on the verses is excellent.

There is a bibliography (pp. 65-70) at the end of the book.

It is a precious volume.

SPENCE TRAINING COLLEGE ANNUAL, 1926: Pp. 55. Price 8 as. for students and Re. 1 for others.

This interesting Annual contains a short history of the Spence Training College, Jubbulpur and also some articles of pedagogical interest.

OUR SPIRITUAL WANTS AND THEIR SUPPLY: By Pandit Sitanath Tallvabhusan. Pp. 24. Price as. 4.

Presidential address delivered at the forty-ninth Annual meeting of the Sadaran Brahmi Samaj. Well-thoughtout and well-written.

RETRANSFORMATION OF SELF: By Shyam Lal, B. A. Published by G. S. Nwas Lash Kar, Gwalior. Pp. 279+XXX. Price Rs. 2.

The author writes in the Prefatory Note that in this book "the condition of the whole of the Universal Existence and of its parts with their formation, transformation and re-transformation has been described in a logical coherence step by step from beginning".

He further says:—"The book will, doubtless, immensely benefit the reader even if he finds himself unable, for any reason, to go a step beyond reading".

GNOSTICISM: By Mary W. Barric. M. A. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar. Pp. 115. Price 1-4 (Wappers); Rs. 2 (cloth).

It contains the substance of lectures delivered in the Brahnavidya Ashrama, Adyar Madras.

A popular exposition of pre-Christian and Christian Gnosticism.

GODS IN EXILE: By J. J. Van Deer Leeuw, LL.D. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar). Pp. 129. Price Rs. 1-8 (Board).

This booklet is "based on an awakening of Ego-consciousness" which came to him some little time ago.

It contains the following chapters:—(i) The Drama of the Soul in Exile. (ii) The Way to the Ego. (iii) The World of the Ego. (iv) The Powers of the Ego. (v) The Return of the Exile, and an Afterword.

Theosophical Standpoint.

A REVIEW OF "THE HEART OF JAINISM": By Jagmanderlal Jaini. Chief Justice, High Court, Indore. Published by Shri Atmanand, Jain Tract Society, Ambala City. Pp. 54. Price. 4. as.

"The Heart of Jainism" belongs to the series "The Religious Quest of India" and is written by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson.

Justice Jagmanderlal shows that this book is full of mistakes and misrepresentations; and is marred by the "Christian Prejudice" of the authoress.

NIRVANA: By George S. Arundale. Published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 219. Price Rs. 2-4 (Board).

This 'Nirvana' has nothing to do with Buddhistic Nirvana. It is one of the stages of Theosophical consciousness. The author has "just been born into Nirvana" (p. xiii) and this book contains the outpourings of that consciousness.

DECAYING HINDUISM AND HOW TO REVIVE IT: By Prof. Ganga Bishen and Prof. Amba Datta (R. S. D. College, Ferozepur). Pp. 30.

Partly historical. According to the authors "Hinduism can be best revived by leading the life as our forefathers led before". By this life they mean "four asramas."

"HINDU MIND": By G. N. Ananta Ramayya Sastri Pp. IV+11.

"Rendered from Sanskrit stray-thought verses."

MUSINGS ON LIFE: By P. V. Chalapati Rao. Pp. 33. Price 8 as.

Written in verse.

SREE RAM CHANDRA : By M. Sitarama Rao, B. A., L. T. Pp. 72 ; price 7 as.
Biography of Rama of Ayodhya.

ROUSSEAU'S EDUCATIONAL THEORY : By Shamsul Ghani Khan, Headmaster, Government Training School, Ajmer. Pp. 39 (Price not known).

It contains a short life and a lucid analysis of the educational theory of Rousseau.

THE MEDIATOR AND OTHER THEOSOPHICAL ESSAYS : By C. Jinarajadasa, (Theosophical Publishing House) Pp. 95. Price Re. 1-4 (Board)

Theosophical thoughts of the Vice-President of the Theosophical Society.

THOUGHTS ON FORMS & SYMBOLS IN SIKHISM : Edited by Gyani Sher Sing. Lahore. Pp. 89. Price 8 as.

Contains views of some Sikh thinkers.

RAJARSHI RAMMOHAN ROY : By Mamal C. Parekh, B. A. (Oriental Christ House Rajkot, Kathiawad). Pp. viii+186. Price Rs. 2 (Board). Rs. 3 (cloth).

There are 15 chapters in the book dealing with the various aspects of Raja's life. The author has adopted Trinitarian Christianity but is an admirer of Rammohan Roy. The Raja published the 'Precepts of Jesus' omitting the birth story, miracles, crucifixion and resurrection. But our author thinks that, this "to say the least, was like acting the play of Hamlet without the part of Hamlet and hence was tantamount to taking away its life and soul" (p. 45). That the doctrines of Trinity and Incarnation were 'stumbling-blocks' to him, was, our author thinks, "owing to his Mahomedan training and bias" (p. 53).

VOICES FROM WITHIN : By Rai Sahib Gobin Lal Bonnerjee. Published by Jitendriya Banerjee 11, Patwatola Lane, Calcutta. 5½ x 4. P. 92. Price Re. 1-4.

250 short paragraphs. Good thoughts.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE INDIAN COLONY OF SIAM : By Prof. Phamindranath Bose, M.A., Published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore.

In the present volume Prof. Bose gives us an useful resume of the researches of European scholars into the history and literature of ancient Siam which was once an important Hindu Colony and which is at present the only independent Buddhist power of Asia. Dr. Probodhchandra Bagchi, in his learned preface has explained the character of Indo-Thai contributions which went to make Siam what it is to-day. Prof. Bose has in the narrow compass of 170 pages, succeeded in giving us a clear and interesting picture of the Hindu civilisation in the Menam valley. The religion and literature, the archaeological monuments and political institutions of ancient Siam have been described in a way that is sure to rouse the interest of the general public in the history of Greater India beyond the seas. We recommend the book to all lovers of Hindu culture history.

INDIA AND CHINA : By Dr. Probodh Chandra Bagchi, M.A., D. Litt (Paris). Greater India Bulletin no. 2.

In this monograph Dr. Bagchi has given a masterly summary of the extensive cultural relations of India and China. Dr. Bagchi had the unique opportunity of studying the original Chinese texts with Great French Sinologists like Prof. Sylvain Levi, Prof. Pelliot and others. Consequently his presentation of the propagation of Buddhism and Indian culture in the Far East is the result of a critical and exhaustive analysis of the original Chinese sources, which he is the first Indian to handle. He brings out with a rare clarity and conviction how the cultural collaboration of India and China was an event of extraordinary importance in the history of Asia. We are thankful to Dr. Bagchi for reminding us of this great historic truth and strongly recommend the book to the public.

INDIAN CULTURE IN JAVA AND SUMATRA : By Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee, D. Litt (Panjab), Ph.D. (London). Greater India Society Bulletin no. 3.

Dr. Chatterjee has specialised in the history of Hindu cultural colonisation in Indo-China and Indonesia. He gives here a much-needed summary of the history of the Hindu colonies of Java and Sumatra, which were ignored by Indian scholars on account of their unfamiliarity with the Dutch language in which the principal studies are written. Dr. Chatterjee has done a great service to us by giving in a simple yet attractive English style the results of the researches of the Dutch and the French scholars in that domain. His Chapter on the Javanese and Malayan Ramayana is of enthralling interest. Indian readers would get much pleasure and profit by reading this essay. The Bulletin would be had by ordering to the Greater India Society's Office, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

NIRVANA : By Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghose, C.I.E., Darsanasastri. Published by A. S. Ghosh Esqr., 140-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghose is well-known to the public of Bengal through his munificent gifts to the cause of higher education and social service. He is a leader of the Indian Christian Community. His metrical musings on *Nirvana*, bear a striking testimony to the fact that the soul of an Indian Christian is sensitive to all the deeper spiritual realisations of India. In every line we feel the profound sincerity and directness of a religious mind :

"The Light which is lightened
by the Super Light,
The eye is opened which is
the third,
The life which is unified
with the Brahmie
As a water-drop with the ocean ;
That which is in words
unspeakable—
The burying of the Self
is Nirvana."

Through the various scriptures of different ages the author glides on to the religion of spiritual synthesis beyond dogma and creed—

"That which is the end
of Saints,
The supreme ecstasy of their
hearts..."

Here he takes his stand on the eternal and unshakable foundation of Peace and Harmony towards which Humanity is ever striving through centuries of trials and tribulations. We recommend the book to all serious students of spiritual progress.

K. N.

JAINA JATAKAS, BEING AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF BOOK I CANTO I OF HEMACHANDRA'S TRISHASTI-SALAKAPURUSHACARITRA TRANSLATED by Prof. Amulyacharan Vidyabhusana and Revised and Edited with notes and introductions By Prof. Bimarsi Das Jain. M. A. Published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore. Price Rs. 4 only.

The Buddhist Jataka stories have now become well-known to the scholars through the efforts of Fausbol and Rhys Davids. But the Jaina Jatakas have not yet gained as much publicity. We, therefore, welcome the *Jaina Jatakas*, published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot of Lahore. The present work is a translation of the first canto of book (Parvan) I of Hemachandra's *Trishastisalakapurushacaritra*. It contains the history of sixty-three heroes—both mythological and historical—of the Jaina religion. There is some difference between a Buddhist and a Jaina Jataka. In a Buddhist Jataka, the future Buddha is always represented in a benevolent character, but in a Jaina Jataka or *Purvabhava*, the life of the future Jina is often depicted in dark colour. In various sculptures, we get the representations of the Buddhist Jatakas, but unfortunately no sculptural representations of the Jaina Jatakas have as yet been discovered. In an able introduction, Prof. Banarsi Das Jain discusses various topics relating to the text and gives a short biographical sketch of the poet Hemachandra. The book is an addition to the Jaina literature. One only wishes that the translator would undertake the complete translation of the Jaina Jatakas and thus render them accessible to the general public. The book does credit to Moti Lal Banarsi Das, who are rendering good service by their Punjab Oriental Series of books.

P. B.

ARCTIC SWALLOWS; By Swami Sri Ananda Acharya Gaurisankar. Published by the Brahmakul Gaurisankar Math, Scandinavia.

The Swamiji, Sri Ananda Acharya Gaurisankar, author of these imaginative swallow flights from the east to the west and back again, whose sturdy figure on his horse Balkari both prefaces the verses and closes them, and to whom are strictly secured 'all rights, especially that of translation,' is today known mostly to anthologists. These aerial fancies from the land of the Midnight sun will, it may be hoped, contribute towards his popularity among the reading public. The Swamiji is prolific in imagination and the list of his works appended to the book at its close is impressive enough, varied in topic and published from Norway and Sweden, London and New York, dating from the year 1913 till today. The long series of errata is a little disquieting, though. But when we take courage in both hands and dip into it we may be

assured of finds that will satisfy our sense of poetry. The author's use of words like Saji, yuntuni, Gourri-guru, Barsa etc., is an attempt to impart a strange and exotic air to his performance, but striking touches of originality are not wholly absent; e.g., speaking of Rameswar Setubandha, says the poet.

"It is the bridge of love 'twixt me and Bharat ever expanding, as far and far I wander towards the northern pole."

Again, a little girl 'smiling at swallows flying round her head, reminds him that "there is a thread of love between earth-goers and sky-goers." "A forest of blossoming Kadamba" is likened to "happy life gazing at paradise in the beyond." But it is difficult to find the chain which links or holds the quatrains together from end to end; now he is speaking of the all-soul, now of his mother's prayer in his days of infancy. In one place, he praises the deer feeding the tiger for its act of "self-offering" (page 73). Writing on "metamorphosis," "cataclysm," "crematorium," our "unintuited self," "the emergent many mirrored forth by the one absolute Me," and the "beeminted moment," he could not be expected to keep his verses always to the level of poetry. There are many commonplace lines.

"Winter rouses reflection and consolidates friendship" Marking the contrast in the Sone as at the source and at Deri, he muses—"why do things so gentle at birth become so violent in youth?" Sentences like—

"Life is like an autumn cloud, speeding to what unknown sky?" will hardly pass the purity test.

All things considered, the book is inviting because of its excellent and unconventional get-up (excluding the numerous errors in printing scattered throughout with a generous hand); its eastern way of putting things, its occasional gleam of true poetic glow,—and the writer is a personality well calculated to arouse interest.

X

AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE: By Dr. T. Chaudhury, M.A., Ph.D., A. I. C. (Chakravartty Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 15 College Square, Calcutta). Priced at Rs. 1-8 (Indian) and 3s. 6d (Foreign) fourth edition.

It is a book of about two hundred pages, and within this small compass the author has attempted to give a brief outline of the typical phases of the history of Sanskrit Literature, dealing with the literature of the Vedic period and that of the post-Vedic period technically called the Sanskrit period, the mutual influence between India, the West and the East, the condition of the Society, manners and customs as can be generally gathered from the internal evidence of the literature. Dr. Chaudhury is under no delusion and points out (page-57) the "Mobile condition of the ancient Hindu Society which became gradually obsolete with the preponderating influence of more and more caste—stagnation or was purposely ignored in the later Brahmanical times". He has differed from Western authors in some minor respects, not without reason. The author's criticism is fair and pointed. The language of the book is pleasant to read and the book is nicely printed and its get-up is good. Although the book is meant for students of Indian Universities and Colleges, we

think that the subjects under Chapter XV might be more generously treated.

G. S.

HINDI

BIHARI-RATNAKAR: By Mr. Jagannath Das "Ratnakar", B.A. Published by the Ganga-Pustakmala Office, Lucknow. 18th edition, 1926. Pp. XXXII+296+46. Price Rs. 5.

We at once recognise this work as a landmark of literary scholarship in modern Hindi. The *Satsai* of Biharidas, the best writer of love poems in Hindi, is here edited, perhaps for the first time, with all the care, labour and accuracy which it deserves. The Bihari-literature in Hindi is not insignificant, as, according to the *Hindi-Navaratna*, no less than 25 writers have written on it both in prose and verse. But this edition which is the result of the author's labour for over a quarter of a century, has supplied the critical apparatus for the study of the master. Of the six MSS. of the text, five are laid under contribution. The oldest manuscript which is in the Durbar Library of Jaipur, has been tackled for the first time. The number of *dohas* recognised to be of the poet is 713. In an appendix there is a list of 143 *dohas* which are attributed to the poet. As in the text so in his explanation the editor differs with the other writers and gives his reasons. We await with anxiety for the Introduction which the editor promises to publish in another volume. The portraits of Biharidas and Mirza Raja Jayashah, commonly known as Maharaja Jaysingh, which are reproduced in colours, were brought from Jaipur where the poet and his patron lived.

This work forms the first volume of a contemplated series on the old masters of Hindi literature. Judging from the merits of the volume under review the editor and publishers will thus not only do honour to the masters but also to themselves.

SACHITRA HINDI-MAHABHARAT—PART I: Published by The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 104. Price Re. 1-4.

The Hindi-knowing public are indebted to the publishers for this nicely got-up, and profusely illustrated translation of the Mahabharata from the original Sanskrit. The style is simple and charming. There are five coloured plates besides a number of pictures in black and white. This publication is up to the standard of the Indian Press, Ltd. It should be treasured in every household for instruction and joyment.

RAMES BASU.

MARATHI

HINDAYACHE BOL OR WORDS FROM THE HEART: By S. B. Pai of Belgaum. Pages 112. Price Re. 1.

The economic and moral decline of Indian villages is described in this book. The style is verbose and highly figurative.

GHARACHA VAKIL OR ONE'S OWN LAWYER: By S. K. Damle, B.A., LL. B. Publisher—D. G.

Ihandekar, Law Printing Press, Poona City. Pages 340. Price Rs. 1/10.

That the knowledge of laws and regulations of the country is indispensable to every resident, whether a citizen or a villager in these days is a truism which nobody will question. The varied transactions, monetary and others, as well as the frequent harassments to which peaceful citizens are subjected by the little gods armed with administrative powers, makes it incumbent on every persons to have at least a superficial knowledge of the laws which govern his worldly affairs. Such knowledge can be easily gained by a perusal of this book, which gives in a small compass the gist of principal sections of over forty Acts, and laws, such as the Hindu Law, Mahomedan Law, the I. P. Code, Transfer of Property Act, Land Revenue Code, the Municipal Act, the Police Act, etc. As a book of ready reference, the value of the publication cannot be exaggerated.

JEEWAN-RASAYAN-SHASTRA OR A TREATISE ON BIO-CHEMISTRY (TWELVE TISSUE REMEDIES): By Dr. V. M. Kulkarni, H. M. D. Publishers—Messrs. Roy and Co. Pages 168+36. Price Rs. Two.

Of the various "pathies" or schools of medicines prevalent in India at present that of the Twelve Tissue Remedies is one which deserves to be popular owing to the cheapness, harmlessness and efficaciousness of the drugs as well as the facility with which a proper remedy can be found by reference to the books on the subject. The book under notice is written with care, and the present reviewer can testify from personal experience to the usefulness of the book as well as the remedies suggested therein for several diseases. Some 30 pages are devoted at the end to the enumeration of Homeopathic medicines and the complaints they remove. The book will prove highly useful in every family as a book of reference in Bio-Chemic treatment.

V. G. APTE.

GUJARATI

We have received the following booklets from the Vidyadhikari, Baroda State—1. STONY or ROCKS, 2. ENGLAND'S SHIPPING, 3. WATER, 4. HEAT, 5. THIRST, 6. AURANGZEB. (In Hindi) and 7. CHAKRAYANTI ASHOKA. They belong to the Sayaji Bal Jnanmala, and are printed and published at Baroda and priced Rs. 0-6-0 uniformly. The majority are translations but they all bring out the subject very well, though in places very difficult words occur, as in the booklet on Ashoka. Juvenile students by themselves would find it difficult to grasp ideas conveyed by such words, and hence the help of teachers cannot be dispensed with, if that is the object of publishing the series.

BODHAK, SECOND BEAD: By Chhaganlal Thakar Das Modi, B.A. printed at the Surat City Press, Surat. Thick card board. Pp. 16 unpriced (1926).

In this small pamphlet Mr., Chhaganlal has garnered a number of happy pieces of advice on behaviour of men and women in the world. They are very valuable and if followed are sure to result in benefit to all and sundry.

RASAYAN : *By Ramniklal Girdharlal Modi, M.A., printed at the Harihar Press, Surat. Pp. 196. Cloth bound. Price Re. 1-12-0 (1926).*

Lime, salt, pearl, mercury, talc, gold, silver, copper and many such other articles have their medicinal uses. Their different preparations were being used extensively in old times and even now are not out of use. An interesting and scientific exposition of the processes of their preparation and use is to be found in this book, which will repay perusal.

1. URBAN CO-OPERATIVE BANKS, 2. BANKING : *By Y. C. Jadav, B.A., Managing Director, Surat, Peoples' Co-operative Bank (1926).*

These two small pamphlets mark a departure

in the history of Co-operative work in Gujarat. The Co-operative Movement is making rapid progress in Gujarat, thanks to the organizing capacity of men like Dewan Bahadur A. U. Mahi. Mr. Jadav is also a distinct organiser and as such having felt the want of books in Gujarati on the subject in order to facilitate the dissemination of the knowledge thereof, he has produced these two pamphlets, which give complete information in simple language, both about these Banks and the banking system observed there. They are priced moderately : 0-4-0 each.

We have received copies of a Weekly CALLED BE GHADI MOJ or Indian TIT BITS. We do not review Weeklies.

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

Hungarian Peasants

In a recent number of the *Modern Review* it was stated by a correspondent that the peasants in Hungary under the present regime have been reduced to a condition of abject debasement bordering on serfdom, inasmuch as when they see a landlord they go down on their knees and prostrate themselves before him and kiss the track of his motor car.

Having lived in Hungary for eight years, previous to the Great War during it and after, from 1912 to 1920, and having witnessed the great changes which swept over the country during the war and subsequent revolutions and anti-revolutions, I am in a position to refute the utterly absurd and baseless statement of your correspondent, who either does not know the Hungarians or belongs to some clique inimical to the country.

I shall not in this brief communication touch on the details of the changes and attitudes of the different communities, but can tell you from personal knowledge, that the Hungarian peasant, who is a most dignified and self-respecting person, proud and withal polite like a born gentleman, is incapable of cringing to anybody, or behaving in an abject fashion. He came to the country as a conqueror with the Hungarian leaders a thousand years ago from Asia, and even during the age of serfdom in Europe was a free man under his own ruler and shook off all vestiges of alien serfdom after the Revolution of 1848.

During the four months of Bolshevistic regime he stood opposed to the Soviet in Hungary, and it is incredible that since the re-establishment of the

present regime which he supported, he should have been reduced to such abject degradation as your correspondent describes. And this in the face of the fact that under the present Parliamentary Constitution which Admiral Horthy protects as a Governor, against Communism, the peasant now more than ever forms one of the main supports of the Government with his agricultural party. I never saw or heard of any degradation of the Hungarian peasant, who is now more prosperous than ever—which cannot be said of the city workman—since the Great War and its economic changes for the conquered people especially. The peasant gets more for his products than before and lives as simply as ever, and is thus becoming richer—and he was never poor in Hungary. Although I left Hungary about six years ago, when the present regime was well-established, friends have kept me well-informed about the state of things there, and recently I have learnt from friends who came to India that there has been no change for the worse so far as the peasants are concerned. I am told that not long ago an English traveller in Hungary was perplexed to find a peasant who came to his rescue after an accident to his motor-car, behaving just like a well-mannered and dignified gentleman, courteous and polite and withal proud and self-respecting, as if he did not belong to a boorish or unrefined class to which the peasants and workmen belong even in civilised Europe and America. He could hardly believe that his host was after all a peasant and a villager.

I can assure you that your informant is either misinformed or has some object in misrepresenting

the Hungarians owing to some party spirit or other reason.

I am no admirer of autocracies, or so-called democracies which in actual practice do not behave differently, and I believe in the right of the poor, above all, being an admirer and student of Tolstoy's ideas, but one must be just and not distort fact for fiction.

A PENNIE.

Colour Prejudice in Edinburgh

To most of us the severe disabilities under which Indians are suffering and the indignities to which they are being subjected in Edinburgh will strike as strange and unusual. But such as have been watching the march of events in America during the past few years may attribute it to the contagion that has spread from that country eastward. The germ of colour discrimination might have also been communicated by that country through their missionary organisations in India, and I believe that this evil can be successfully counteracted through the instrumentality of Christian Missionaries of the United Kingdom in this country. They, by their contact with the public of both the places and also by their principal missionary message of equality and fraternity, occupy a position of advantage. But a change in their own attitude must precede a successful effort in this direction.

Those who are well-acquainted with the internal working of foreign missions in India will not be surprised to hear of the shutting out of Indians by foreigners from public places of amusement in their own country when foreign missionary bodies are doing worse in even religious matters, in our own country. Although an Indian is not forbidden by law from attending service of worship at the Kellogg Memorial Church at Landour, a hill resort of American Missions in India, the treatment meted out to those who make bold to attend the service there makes it amply clear that they should consider their colour a serious disqualification, and should not dream of equality with their white brethren even in the house of God. The immediate and instantaneous shifting to a hotel by a few missionary boarders from a land-lady's boarding house on hearing from her that an Indian was coming to reside there for a short time, and their condemnation in unhesitating terms of the

idea of receiving white and coloured race in the same house is another instance in point. The controversy aroused by the notice "Indians and dogs are not allowed" put up outside a club house, another hill station, will be still fresh on the mind of many. Some foreign missionaries seem to have gone so far as to take up in their churches the task of producing class mentality in Indian Christians, not only during their social and educational but also in meetings of religious nature. An American professor of the Dacca Christian College, Allahabad, is said to have been teaching, in his Sunday school lessons, a book named "Racial Problems" and there he has tried his best to drive home to his class that white races are destined to dominate dark ones, and the latter are doomed to remain under subjection for ever. The Indian Christian community has been smarting under these indignities but a vast majority of its members being in mission employment had to put up with them as a necessary evil, and only a handful of a dissident voice as could afford to suffer the consequences of the criticism thereof.

The ban imposed on Indians at Edinburgh is an insult to the whole of Indian Nation. It is a pity to note the unanimous condemnation of the ban by the Edinburgh town council, but the attitude of the trustees of Indian interests in the debate in the House of Commons is not easy to divine. The reply of Mr. Mac, Question No. 1, to an invitation to attend a protest-meeting against the colour bar is extremely disappointing, because besides being characterised by want of sympathy, it possesses the sting of sarcasm in it. Escaping the chances of contracting undesirable acquaintance and of wasting the time to be spent in study are the reasons why according to Mr. Mac, Question Indian parents should be glad of the ban. He advises Indians to reciprocate by excluding Scottish lads from such places in this country.

Before this colour prejudice assumes huge proportions, it is hoped that foreign Christian missionaries in India will rise to the occasion, and will not only wash themselves clean of all colour distinction within the small circle of the Indian Christian community, but will also take early steps to approach their brethren in their country and appeal to their sense of love and justice and exhort them to set an example of the high Christian ideals of inter-racial intercourse on terms of equality.

AN INDIAN CHRISTIAN.

JAPANESE WOMANHOOD

By D. C. GUPTA

NEITHER religion nor law has given women proper protection. For thousands of years, women have been subjected to cruel submission to the other sex. This has been particularly the case with Japanese women, says Mr. Matsumoto, M. P., who always supports the women's cause in

Parliament. He has made an extensive study of the subject and found all established creeds entirely contrary to the right principle as he believes, of perfect equality of sexes.

Women Ignored By Moses.—Mr. Matsumoto is sure that the Ten Commandments were a

moral code for men, women being mentioned as merely in connection with men. In the law-giver's eye there was no women, as the object of legislation. Even Christ himself, proceeds the learned politician, cast a contemptuous glance upon marriage. Peter and Paul, most important leaders of the Christian movement in the primitive stage, taught that women should submit to men at all times, not allowing any women to teach but instructing all women to keep silence. Mr. Matsumoto does not think it worth while extending his argument to any other religions, when the recognized "best one" is so much below the modern ideal.

Law Knows No Woman.—When Mr. Matsumoto says, "Law knows no women," he means the Japanese law, especially, the Civil and the Criminal Codes. Women's rights, if any, are ridiculously smaller than men's in all prospects. The special features of the legislation against the fair sex are all based upon the traditional thoughts deeply rooted in the religions and philosophies that have been ruling in the orient.

Manifest Irregularity.—Mr. Matsumoto refers to the recent deliberation at the proposed amendment of the Civil Code pointing to the funny expression, 'manifest irregularity' as ground for divorce not for the wife, but for the husband alone. As for the poor women, she may be put off for any offence even remote akin to adultery. The man is not blamed even in the revised Code for any irregularity that is not manifest. Mr. Matsumoto recalls the violent dispute over the use of such a "barbarous" phrase in the Imperial law. The opinion in favour of its insertion prevailed, because the members who advocated it argued that purity of blood ought to be maintained by a pure woman, while the husband had nothing to do with the blood.

Who will decide whether "Manifest" or not?

According to the legislation's view the presiding Judge, whoever it may be, will be authorized to distinguish between 'manifest' or not regarding the husband's irregularity. Such a Judge will be instructed to decide

the matter, according to the current social standard of morality.

There are 3581183 women wage-earners in Japan, in various kinds of works, ranking all the way from open air labour and mining to the higher professions, according to statistics, just published by the social affairs Bureau of Tokyo. Of the total 1315900 women were engaged in agricultural work, 980000 in the factories and mines, 428544 in Government service, teaching, medical, semi-medical and other professions, and 400000 in commercial activities.

The return for Tokyo alone, up to August, 1924, shows that women workers are classifiable into three groups, the first including teachers, doctors, pharmacists, journalists, authors, business clerks, guides and detectives. The second group includes dentists, masseurs and shampooers, midwives, typists, stenographers, telephone operators, hairdressers, actresses, artists, musicians and teachers of polite arts. The third group is of women who are engaged in physical labor.

In the matter of income, below 60 Yen a month is considered the minimum. Practising women physicians have a monthly income of 200 to 700 Yen; musicians and artists 150 to 500 Yen; stage and film actresses 100 to 300 Yen, dentists 150 to 600 Yen, beauty experts 120 to 150 Yen; hair-dressers 80 to 100 Yen; midwives 80 to 500 Yen; chauffeurs 80 to 300 Yen. These are grouped as the highest class.

The middle class includes teachers in middle grade education, guides, pharmacists, shampooers and masseurs, journalists, art models, stenographers, detectives, restaurant girls, office hands, car conductors, government and public officials and school teachers, who earn from 70 to 150 Yen a month.

Under the third group come typists with 30 to 100 Yen a month; office clerks 24 to 70 Yen; nurses 36 to 100 Yen; telephone operators 20 to 85 Yen; women for hire by the day 15 to 45 Yen; theatre and concert hall employers 30 to 50 Yen; factory hands 15 to 70 Yen. These are almost all young girls of 15 to 23 years of age.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Was Ashoka a Buddhist ?

Prof. B. M. Barua subjects the opinion of the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., that Ashoka was not a Buddhist but a Hindu, to critical examination in *The Mahabodhi* and comes to the conclusion :

Asoka was a man, a member of Hindu society, an Indian king, and, above all, a Buddhist. His inscriptions themselves, as I have sought to show, contain evidences proving his Buddhist faith. These evidences may now be summed up as follows:—

1. Asoka went on pilgrimage to Lumbini and worshipped there, because, as he knew, it was the village where the Buddha Sakyamuni was delivered. A Brahminical Hindu is never known to have gone on pilgrimage to Lumbini because it is the birth-place of Gautama Buddha.

2. Asoka undertook a pilgrimage to Nigali-Sagar on the road to Nepal for the consecration of the Stupa of the Buddha Konagamana enlarged by him five years back.

3. If Asoka had been a supporter of the Buddhist sect founded by Devadatta, he would have gone to the Stupa of a previous Buddha, such as Konagamana and avoided going to Lumbini, the birthplace of Gautama Sakyamuni, the Buddha whose name was *ex hypothesi* repugnant to a follower of Devadatta.

4. Asoka bestowed certain cave-dwellings upon the Ajivikas. But there is no evidence to show that he formally consecrated them. In the votive inscriptions Asoka has referred to the donee simply as Ajivikas, without such honorific prefix as 'Bhadanta,' while in the votive inscriptions of Dasaratha, the grandson and successor of Asoka, they are invariably honoured with such a prefix.

5. Asoka's statement that for a little over two-and-a-half years he remained a *upasaka*, and subsequently became associated with the Buddhist Sangha, is clear enough to indicate that he embraced the doctrines of Gautama. If it be not taken to imply his change of faith in favour of Buddhism, the successive periods of time during which he remained a *upasaka* and became associated with the Sangha are rendered unmeaning.

6. The First Minor Rock Edict which is an instance of *Dhammasarvana* greatly emphasises the Buddhist cardinal principle of *Parakrama* or *Apramada*.

7. Asoka in his Bhabru Edict, assures the members of the Buddhist Brethren of his deep and extensive faith in the Buddhist Triad, which he could not have done if he were not a Buddhist.

8. In the same Bhabru Edict, Asoka has been concerned to recommend seven texts selected out of the Buddhist scriptures then known to him for the constant study and meditation by the Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, Upasakas and Upasikas of the Buddhist community, and that with a view to making the Good Faith long endure. If he had been a non-Buddhist, he would not have referred to Buddhism

as *Saddhamma*, nor interested himself to make it long endure and ventured to recommend the selections made by him out of the Buddhist scriptures for the constant study among the Buddhists.

9. Asoka honoured all the sects with various kinds of honours in the sense that he showed various kinds of favours to them. If he had tolerated the different faith and impartially protected the law, he did so as a wise Indian monarch.

A Suggestion for Muhammadans

The editor of *The Vedic Magazine* writes with reference to the Muslim agitation to secure punishment for attacks on their prophet .

It were far better to trust in the morals of the Prophet himself than in any uproar which the Muslims could raise against attacks on his life. For the former alone can stand the onset of time, while the latter is invariably found to be only a flimsy safeguard.

History is bound to sit in judgment on makers of history, of whom Muhammad was surely one. Instead of strangling the voice even of his enemies, let all have their say on the subject. The present is an age of liberty. Sometimes adverse criticism, even if malicious, has been found to pave the way to ultimate adoration.

It appears the faith of the Musalman in the intrinsic greatness of the Prophet is not deep enough, or else the intellectual level that the Islamic community has yet reached is miserably low. The insensate campaign they have launched against both the Hindu community and the Punjab judiciary is doing the cause of Muhammad a distinct disservice. The book which they are denouncing has been read and re-read throughout the province in the course of the lengthy trial of M. Rajpal in court. And now that the Muhammadan row against it is growing louder and louder, attention even of persons indifferent to religion is being drawn to it, and men of non-partisan mentality are getting confirmed in the belief that Muhammadan intellect must have found itself incapable of answering the attacks of non-Muslims in open polemics so as to have taken recourse to uproarious protests and frantic appeals to the Government.

German Trade and Shipping in Asia

Mr. St. Nihal Singh has contributed an article to *Welfare* to show how the Germans are gradually recovering their Asiatic trade with amazing rapidity and success. Here are some extracts :

What business had those intensely patriotic Britons on board a German ship? Why were they

not travelling on a British steamer? Surely there were ships flying the Union Jack going from the Far Eastern to European ports of call. They, however, would have had to pay more had they travelled by a British instead of a German liner.

"Even the 'Jap' mail costs more," said a lady of British extraction, while discussing this matter with me. Another passenger—also an Anglo-Saxon—had calculated that if he had taken a British boat from Shanghai to Genoa instead of this it would have cost him nearly £20 more. "Quite a consideration, especially when a man is travelling with his wife and two or three kiddies," was his comment.

In the chase for economy sight is soon lost of patriotism, though patriotism bobs up in talk now and again. Inasmuch as Britons permit practical considerations to outweigh the patriotic impulses, I am not a bit surprised at their proclivity to ascribe an action taken by members of another nationality to anything but a patriotic motive.

The Germans are winning back their trade because they possess many sterling qualities. They are both intelligent and industrious. Despite all libels upon their character, they give remarkably good value for the money. They do not, above all, become easily discouraged, but persist in using every resource at their command until success crowns their efforts.

The *Derfflinger* serves as a good example to illustrate the individual and national traits that are enabling Germany, by degrees, to overcome the handicap imposed upon her people by the war. The economy of labour with which efficiency was secured was really remarkable.

The steward who looked after my cabin cleaned it and also several other cabins near by. He helped, besides, to wash the windows and polish the brass. He awaited at table each meal time. The man who made my bath ready every morning went to the printing office when all the baths were over and set up the type, printed the menus for the day and the news bulletins received by wireless and at meal-time waited on table. So far as I could discover none of the stewards performed just one function, but had other jobs to which he must apply himself when one was finished.

There were only two stewardesses for the whole ship—one for the first and the other for the second class. They had to prepare the baths for all the women and the children passengers, clean the bath-rooms and lavatories even to the extent of scrubbing the floors, and attend to any ladies who might be suffering from sea-sickness or other ailments.

I never saw such economy of labour on any British ship by which I travelled. The owners of such steamers usually resort to a different expedient in order to cut down the running expenses. They employ Indians or Chinese at ridiculously low wages instead of paying the union scale to their own countrymen, who would, as well, refuse to work beyond the union hours.

On the *Derfflinger* the entire crew was German with the exception of the six Chinese employed to do laundry work.

Despite the economy of labour, the service was quite good—certainly no worse than that I have had from British stewards on the Atlantic and elsewhere. The cabin was always cleaned, the

beds made and the washstand attended to by the time the officers, made their tour of inspection daily, round about eleven o'clock in the morning.

Bengal Villages and revival of Cottage Industries

Mr. Haradaya Nag writes in *Welfare* :

Every one irrespective of sex and age has to pay some money in purchasing Lancashire cloth which may be fairly termed as tax. Even a poor family consisting of say, five members must pay at least fifty rupees a year. This it can hardly do without borrowing because it can hardly save any money for such a purpose. The destruction of cottage industries has thrown the bulk of village labour out of employment. There is no profitable use of this unemployed labour. The village people fully understand these difficulties but they do not know how to get out of them. Nothing but economic reconstruction of our villages can save them from their imminent economic ruin and such economic reconstruction must be based on the regeneration of our cottage industries. For such a purpose our village people are badly in need of intellectual strength and organising capacity. It is urged on behalf of the supporters of British Imperialism in India that cottage industries do not pay and cannot compete with the machine industries. Cottage industries may or may not bring riches to the villages but they are sure to provide the impoverished villagers with sufficient food and clothing which they are so badly in need of. The question of competition does not arise when one who has not money to buy cheap foreign goods, has to provide himself with the bare necessities of life. Under the existing circumstances nothing but revival of cottage industries can save them from the all-devouring jaws of foreign exploitation. This should be brought home to the people of our dying villages by our selfless intellectuals and sacrificing patriots.

Panini's Excellence as a Grammarian

Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewala writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

Panini avoids the confusion naturally caused in the Western system of grammar. We, who have learnt according to the Western system, have an idea that there is some inherent power in the concept itself, in other words, that there is a sort of *śabda śakti*, which determines the "part of speech." This confusion arises, as we have seen, because the compilers of grammars in the West have had no special terminology of their own, but have borrowed it from the science of thought. In fact, until quite recently, there had been practically no investigation of grammar *qua* grammar in the West. Panini, on the other hand, keeps the science of thought strictly apart and confines himself solely to the analysis of the language. And in the course of his investigations

he has fully understood the nature of the language he is analysing, he has grasped firmly the fact that the sentence is the unit of language and he has therefore, laid down that the *grammatical* worth of a word (in Sanskrit) is not dependent upon the concept embodied in it but is to be determined by the ending which has been added to it

Hinduism and Proselytisation

Professor Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee writes in the *Hindu Mission Bulletin* :

One of the most noteworthy epigraphical documents of ancient India is the Besnagar Pillar Inscription in Gwalior state. It is in early Prakrit and in ancient Brahmi characters of the second or third century B. C. and is inscribed on a stone column which had the figure of Garuda, the divine bird, vehicle of Vishnu, on the top. The inscription records that this pillar, the "Garuda-dhvaja" of Vasudeva, the God of the Gods (*Devadevasa Vasudevasa Garudadhvaje*) was set up by a Greek named Heliodoros, the son of Dion, who was the ambassador (Duta) from a Greek king of the North-Western Frontier of India named Antialkidas, to the court of a Hindu King Kasinutra Bhagabhadra. Heliodoros called himself a "Bhagavata," that is, a follower of Vishnu a Vaishnava.

This inscription is an incontrovertible evidence of Orthodox Hindu (i. e. Brahmanical, as opposed to Buddhists, Jaina and other heterodox, non-Brahmanical form of Hinduism) proselytisation of foreign "Mlechha" peoples in times before Christ.

Other evidence is not lacking. The Sakas, the Parthians and other foreign tribes, like the Greeks, were completely Hinduised, and in most cases they were accepted as Kshatriyas in the Orthodox Hindu community. In two or three generations non-Indian names like Zamotika, Damazada, Kanishka Huvishka Mihiragula, etc. give place to Jayadaman, Rudradaman, Vasudeva and other Sanskrit names, showing their Hinduisation. Large Indian communities which are now regarded by all as Orthodox and Hindu have been shown by historians to be of foreign and non-Hindu origin. Even within recent centuries, the Ahoms of Assam a Shan tribe allied to the Siamese, have become completely Hinduised: names like Su-ka-pha, and Su-kien-pha for instance are given up for Visvesvara Sinha and Gadadhara Sinha.

Conversion of original non-Hindus to orthodox Hinduism with the authority of the Brahmins has ever been a common event in the History of the Hindu people. The History of India in the early phase is in its cultural side is the History of the expansion of Hindu organisation and Hindu socioethical and philosophical ideals from the Punjab and the upper Ganges valley (the true Aryavarta) to the outlying tracts. This cultural expansion is still at work—silently, slowly and surely without any heat or conscious propaganda, through the innate force of the Hindu world of ideas, among the rude peoples on the borders of the Hinduised tracts in Chota-Nagpur, in Assam, in Nepal, in the Central Provinces—among the Kols, the Bodos,

the Nagas, the Magars and Gurungs, the Gonds and others.

Orthodox Hinduism in the ancient days when it had not lost its vitality overflowed spontaneously the natural boundaries of India and was carried to the outlying lands—to Burma (Suvannabhumi), to Siam (Dvaravati), to Cambodia (Kamboja), to Cochin China (Champa), to Malaya (Kataha), to Sumatra (Srivijaya), to Java (Javadvipa), to Bali, to Borneo (Barhina). The original peoples were converted to orthodox Brahmanical Hinduism with Brahman priests from India and Vedic sacrifices and this we know from Sanskrit inscriptions found in those land, later Buddhism followed suit. Even at the present day the people of Bali retain their Hindu religion, with the Hindu Gods, ritual of worship and philosophy and even the Hindu caste system. Brahmanical Hindu Gods and Goddesses like Yama, Indra, Kubera Sarasvati etc are even to-day worshipped and honoured in Japan. Hinduism spread as a cultural force no doubt; but its ethical and philosophical doctrines brought about no less a civilising and humanising influence on the outlook of the peoples (whether in India) who adopted it, spread along the path of peace only: there is no evidence anywhere to suggest that it followed the path of the sword.

Santiniketan

Mr. B. G. Reddy writes in *The Volunteer* :

Rabindranath has a religious temperament from the very beginning, which we can trace in his earlier poems. He is very well-versed in Hindu scriptures, and he is second to none in his great admiration for Vedic India. Nevertheless he never failed to discern the degeneration of Modern India, from his Himalayan summits of learning and wisdom. He found that "the clear stream of reason" instead of fertilising the minds of people, "has lost its way into the dreary desert sands and dread habits." And in founding his small ashram at Santiniketan: he had laid the foundation stone for a big aqueduct to make the stream take its course through its former channels.

The second intention of the founder was to give perfect freedom of thought to his students. He himself was a great lover of that liberty and tasted its delicious fruits even in his nonage. He wanted to give the same liberty he enjoyed to his pupils and allow them to have their own course of study, thus giving them scope for a full expression of their thought and creative power. In other institutions when a boy is found to possess different taste and capability his teachers will take particular care to check and curb them so that he may not fail in his history or geography examination. The result will naturally be a displeasure towards any sort of learning. In Santiniketan the students are saved from such misery.

Students have their own elected captains who look after their discipline. The teachers have practically nothing to do with their general conduct. Any misbehaviour of any student will be considered by the Panchayat or the committee of the

students. Students get up early in the morning and after finishing their morning rites, sit, meditate for 15 minutes like young *Rishis*. After their individual meditation, they all gather together in a circle and sing a hymn from the *Upanishads*. This is again performed in the evening after sunset. Every Wednesday, being a holiday, all the students and teachers attend the sermon in the *mandir*. Rabindranath himself, when he is not absent from the *Ashram* conducts the sermon. All the inmates anxiously wait for Wednesday to hear Rabindranath revealing the depths of many problems of the world in his peculiarly fluent and poetic language. Those who have not heard him speaking cannot have any idea of how he delivers his sermons. That one hour of Wednesday in the *mandir* will be the happiest and noblest hour in the whole week and they leave the *mandir* feeling that they have learnt something tangible. Every day before they begin their class-work they have "Baitalik" a religious song from *Gitanjali* or some other book sung in a chorus and another song before they go to bed after their daily routine. Thus religious instruction is imparted to the students.

The recent Great War had horrified Rabindranath a great deal. He had seen how every country in the West had fallen a victim to the heinous crimes of war, which are with great pride performed in the name of patriotism and nationalism. He also had found out how detrimental the spirit was to the establishment of world peace. This demon of false patriotism and aggressive nationalism, had not allowed him to rest in peace and he was greatly troubled by it. He had thought about the problem deeply and had come to the conclusion that unless these countries are tied with silken cords of cultural unity, world peace could not be established. He thought that an exchange of the knowledge of different cultures would make the people understand each other thoroughly by which there would be an end to these wars.

With this idea in his mind, he founded the Vishva-Bharati or international University, at Santiniketan in 1921 to provide a centre where scholars from East and West could gather together and exchange their thoughts. Scholars from France, Germany, Italy, Norway, China, Tibet, Russia and other countries have already responded, to the bugle call of Vishva-Bharati.

There are no class-rooms or lecture-halls at Santiniketan. Classes are held in the open air under the green shade trees and in the verandas of dormitories during rains. Class work is conducted from 7 to 10-30 in the morning and from 2 to 4-30 in the after-noon. Only Wednesday full-moon and new-moon days are observed as holidays. There is regular arrangement for teaching from infant standard to B. A. and also there is the Vidyabhavan department where students are given facilities in Indology, philosophy and comparative philology etc. There are both boys and girls in all classes and special arrangements are made for lodging and boarding for the girls. The small boys and girls have their own special departments and they are kept under direct supervision of expert educationalists. They have their own library, association game, poultry, gardening, masonry etc. and are the objects of envy for all the inmates of the ashram, not excluding even the founder. They live in perfect happiness and cheerfulness and love

the *ashram* more than their homes. Specific arrangements are made for painting and music and this is the most successful department in Santiniketan. This forms the pivot of the congenial atmosphere of the place which is at the same time artistic, poetic and musical yet very simple.

Students leave Santiniketan reluctantly as the social functions are so varying and interesting.

Every day there will be some entertainment or other, literary associations, recitation competitions, picnics, feasts, musical entertainments, enacting dramas and so many other varieties of activities which keep the inmates ever active and cheerful. Poet Rabindranath himself very many times takes part in these functions, specially in musical entertainments and dramas.

Santiniketan students are known as very good sportsmen in Calcutta and other mofussils. Football, hockey cricket and tennis are their favourite games and they will be winning trophies every year. Very many students do exercise regularly both in the morning and evening and they are expert boxers, wrestlers and fencers. There are well-trained volunteers who go and render their services in all big gatherings in the vicinity.

We have expressed our difficulty in undertaking this great task of writing this article about our *alma mater* and we hope that this brief survey will give an idea of Santiniketan, its ideals and activities to the readers.

—

The Staff of Veterinary Colleges

The editor of *The Indian Veterinary Journal* says :

A lecturer on Rs. 120- or even less is a common sight in some of the Veterinary colleges! Is it not necessary that a certain amount of dignity or shall we say sanctity, should be attached to the post of a lecturer? If the Veterinary Advisers themselves can submit to the present state of treating their lecturers as such cheap men, who else would regard them (the lecturers) as men worthy to train the future Veterinary Surgeons of this land? How will the Alumni of such colleges be valued in the world? Cheapness is generally associated with bad labour. But it is unfair to suggest that the present incumbents are in any way lacking to justify the confidence placed in them. Our contention is that by merit and the responsible nature of the work alone, if by nothing else, they deserve to be raised to the Provincial gazetted rank. Prudence, necessity and professional dignity, all point in the same direction. How many Veterinary Advisers have moved in this matter?

Every province must have its own centre for production of Sera. The necessity for this is being felt more and more every day. What aggressive proposals have been placed before the Local Governments by their respective Veterinary Advisers? Will the Government dare to oppose such a measure? We hope not. Only, we fear, the matter is not pressed upon them as it ought to.

A comprehensive scheme of the extension of Veterinary aid in rural areas should be arrived at.

There ought to be a Provincial gazetted officer at the head of each district as in the case of the medical department. He should be held responsible for efficient control of any contagious disease within his district. He can help research work from the field and direct the activities of the assistants under him in the best interests of the ryots at large.

Hand and Mind

We pick out at random the following passages from D. Spencer Hatch's stimulating article on "Hand and Mind" in *The Young Men of India* :

Misguided youths, and possibly certain communities, will hardly understand these recent words of President Coolidge:

'I like to dispense with the kind of service that is necessary for me to have at the White House and wait on myself. If I find a strap is broken, I like to get out the tools that are used by shoe makers and harness makers, make a wax end, and repair it. I like to do a little blacksmithing around what is left of our old shop ; try my hand again with the carpenter's tools ; go out and repair the fence, when it is breaking down ; and mend the latch on the kitchen door. Most people in this country do these things themselves and do not hire them done. I want to keep in mind how people live and what is necessary for them to do to get along and meet their bills out of their ordinary income. My father and my people led that kind of a life, which is altogether natural and wholesome. It seems to me to be the foundation of independence.'

The Board of Educational Survey, in its recently published survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands, has this to say:

'The building in which the school is to be housed should be erected by the pupils, under the guidance of the teachers. In certain places this is done now and is found to be entirely feasible. Thus by placing responsibility for the construction of the buildings squarely on the shoulders of the pupils a twofold educational result is achieved. The pupils are made to acquire certain desirable carpentry skill and, through the example of teachers whom they respect, are taught a respect for manual labour.'

For similar reasons, the upkeep of the school plant should be a charge upon the pupils. All repair work should be undertaken by them, under the direction of their instructors. There should be no janitor, in these schools. One of the fine things in the elementary school noted by the members of the Commission was the pride exhibited by the pupils in keeping their buildings clean. Each building had its various squads for sweeping and polishing the floors and for the removal of waste. In sharp contrast was the condition found in the regular high school. Here there was a man to pick up the dirt of the pupils and to take care of the plant. Instead of a well-ordered physical plant, manual labour was looked upon as a thing that degraded the life of the student instead of being a work with hands. If such a

spirit creeps into the rural high school, its doors may as well be closed.'

In 1924, commodities were produced in Philippine school gardens and on school farms to the value of 500,000 (approximately Rs. 1,500,000), but, of course, the value of the product in money is nothing to the value of the instruction given to the country.

The Government Unemployment Committee are now asking us what changes can be made in our system of education to prevent such an unemployment problem as we have among the uneducated classes of Travancore State, where we have so much education. First and foremost, by all possible means, let the schools teach the dignity of labour.

At our Rural Demonstration Centre we find that the boys of the Weaving School really enjoy thatching the school themselves when thatching is necessary. The night school has had to meet in the Weaving school among the looms. The inconvenient place impressed upon the students the need of a better place for the night classes. They decided to build themselves a building and they are building it meeting in their spare time each day and putting it up with their own hands. When the deep well needs cleaning, those who receive the benefits of the Demonstration Centre join together and clean it.

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Parbati Kinkar Chatterjee writes in *St. Xavier's Magazine* :

After weary days of strenuous labour and toil through hope and despair I am at long last a graduate. From dreams let me turn to facts. I am not the son of a rich man and hence I cannot go in for a costly course of training. The medical and engineering lines are thus out of my reach. Post graduate studies are a fine cluster of grapes but of a kind that would set my teeth on edge. How about the Law College with its wide open doors and roomy passages? After three short years I could pass out with flying colours, but the envious eyes of starving colleagues would prove too much for me. The very thought of justifying in my own case the ruthless principle of "the survival of the fittest" would drive me mad, for it is one of the ideals of my life to live and let live. Clearly, I am cut out for commerce. But how to begin? I have no almighty *burra sahib* among my relations to elbow me into a job, and worse luck, I own no widowed aunt who calls me sonny. Still,

I have not given up hope. Wealth may come from some unexpected source. Aladdin's lamp or an uncle from Australia. While there is life there is hope. If Othello could win the fair Desdemona could I not with my tolerable appearance find favour with some speculative father-in-law, who would present me with his only Rebecca and half his kingdom. Never say die is my motto, and I live on the glory of being a graduate.

A Remedy for Factionalisation of Holdings

Prof. Radhakamal Mukerji observes in *Indian Journal of Economics* :

An exchange or consolidation of holdings is impossible under the existing Tenancy Law of the United Provinces, since occupancy tenants cannot be bought out. Where the land system stands in the way of restripment and consolidation, we have to depend on the traditions of voluntary social co-operation. Such methods of solution are witnessed in the south where there are villages which are re-divided annually. But the tendency here is more marked because of the established communal tradition. Thus in Tanjore there are larger fields and holdings than in other districts. This points to a gradual consolidation of holdings under the supervision of the village *panchayats* which also supervise the equitable distribution of irrigation water, the maintenance of village public works, etc. The exchange of plots of land, so as to give the different owners contiguous blocks so far as possible, is called *parivarthana* (Sanskrit—exchange) in Tanjore. It is difficult to come to an agreement because the advantages of plots as regards fertility, distance, irrigation facilities, etc., have to be equalised; and sometimes the rich peasant would refuse to exchange in such a way as to convenience a small neighbour and the small owner is often at the mercy of his rich neighbour. Similarly in Travancore consolidation of holdings is taking place, the tendency being for the owner of very small plots of land to sell them or to take more land on lease from others and thus enlarge the unit of cultivation. It may be advisable for the Government to initiate an experiment by acquiring villages under the Land Acquisition Act, re-aligning the land properly, providing proper drainage and irrigation channels and then re-letting to the original tenants. This would furnish a valuable object lesson, though such lessons cannot serve the purposes of legislation or voluntary adjustment by the villagers themselves.

That is particularly true of the American industries which consume rubber—firms engaged in making tyres, linoleum, etc.—which between them absorb four fifths of the world's annual supply. Investigation has shown them that the rubber plant thrives in certain islands comprised in the archipelago, and they are intent upon the production of rubber in them under their own control, as that is the only way in which they can outwit the producers of rubber in Ceylon and the Malay Straits Settlement where the application of a scheme of restriction of output has led to a considerable rise in price.

As the industries expand in the United States and the system of mass production tremendously increases the output the need for new markets becomes clamant. Control of the Philippine tariff, which the Philippine legislature cannot change without American consent, enables the American manufacturers and exporters largely to monopolize the Philippine market.

The retention of the Islands under American Tutelage serves even a more useful purpose, inasmuch as they lie near the trade routes connecting the New World with the Orient, and can be utilized as a jumping-off ground for the acquisition of the Chinese and other Eastern markets with almost limitless potentialities for the absorption of American goods markets for which Americans are hankering.

The domination of the Philippines puffs up the pride of the prestige-loving American. It makes him feel that his people, too, are the arbiters of another nation's fate. Contact with Europe during the war, and the acquisition of wealth during and after the conflict, have resulted in the development of these tendencies to a degree undreamt of by stay-at home Indians.

Americans who call themselves Democrats are as much affected by these, or at least some of these tendencies, as Americans who delight in proclaiming themselves as Republicans. The movement for freeing the Filipinos from American tutelage has therefore, received a rude set-back.

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engineers or the quiet rapidity with which they are extending the iron road all over the world. The airplanes intended for the Cairo-Karachi service are probably capable of carrying about 3,000 lbs. each dead-weight of passengers and luggage, whereas the corresponding figure in a railway train might well reach between two or three million pounds. However engrossing a future our imaginative writers may draw of a world in which transit and transport will all take place in the air, we feel convinced ourselves that it is only a future and not a very near one at that. There is no need to sell railway shares on this ground as yet or to speculate unduly in airlines. There is yet a tremendous future of expansion for the railways of the world ere circumstances call "Halt!" and extensions are no longer the order of the day.

Hinduism and Indian National Unity

The editor of *Prabudha Bharata* observes :

In the realisation of the Indian national unity, Hinduism must supply the nucleus and pattern of crystallisation. What is our national ideal? It is as we have pointed out before the spiritualisation of life. No other culture or religion has stood for it so clearly and unflinchingly as Hinduism. This has been her one constant main endeavour through the course of her long history. All other Indian communities also must accept this as their ideal. We know that unless this motive is already existent among the different communities, Hinduism cannot force it into them. But this is already present in all men all over the world in greater or less degree. The tendency to spiritualisation is the fundamental motive of all human life. Hinduism only emphasises it and seeks to make it consciously active in order to a rapid development. Therefore this would be no innovation with the other communities. And there is that in India's atmosphere which slowly induces all to follow the sacred path to spiritual self-realisation. By and by all come under the magic spell of her great ideal. Besides, the turn of the world events has made it more imperative than ever that all life, individual or national, must be conceived spiritually if we are to escape final disaster. No communities in India therefore have any valid reason to deny the ideal that Hinduism holds forth.

But in order that Hinduism may become the basis and the guiding spirit of Indian nationalism, it is absolutely necessary—that it should conceive itself as super-credal, as the meeting ground of all the different cultures. So long as Hinduism thinks of itself as of a stereotyped form, bound and limited by infinite details of negation, it cannot be the foundation of that which is the Indian nationality and which is also consequently the international unity,—for India is really the epitome of the world. Hinduism must shed its crude limitations and must become again the grand synthesis of the age. Hinduism in its original character is always super-credal. Accepting as it does the truth of all spiritual experience and the validity of all honest methods for its realisation, it has always provided infinite scope for the accommodation of

various races and cultures. It is only in the periods of its decay that it seems to forget its universal character and mission and becomes a bundle of negations. Once again it is waking up and calling forth its pristine nature, and its present communal struggle is really the first onrush of its resurgent life.

It is our deliberate opinion that the realisation of the Indian national unity and also of international unity is peculiarly and mainly the concern of the Hindus. They of all people are best fitted by history to accomplish it. It is not by the equal co-ordination of the self-contained communities, but by the leadership of one and the obedient following of the rest, that all great unions become possible. Hinduism has to provide this great leadership.

That is why we do not consider the present communal troubles as absolutely evil. Evil they are, but a necessary evil. For through these clashes with other communities and through sufferings from their onslaughts, Hinduism is learning to divest itself of its credal limitations and discover the greater hidden unity behind its negations. The requirements of the situation are teaching it to discover its historical purpose and its immortal strength.

The Buddhist Revival in Ceylon

The Rev. C. H. S. Ward writes in *The National Christian Review* :

The Buddhist Revival is stirring the hearts of Buddhists in every part of the Island, and their enthusiasm for reforms grows in intensity from year to year.

Great interest is being shown in the reform of the *Sangha*, the Buddhist Priesthood. It is generally deplored that so many Bhikkhus have 'burdened themselves with worldly goods. Let the monk throw the goods overboard, and save the ship from sinking.' We view with concern this alarming increase of the number of Buddhist monks (7,000), who ultimately have to live on the charity of the land, idling away the livelong hours, not fulfilling their duty to their family or their obligations to the Order to which they have dedicated their lives.

There is an increasing desire for the better education of the Bhikkhus. More attention is now being devoted to their studies, but it is felt that 'holy living and high thinking ought to be cultivated along with scholastic studies. It is pleasant to note that English is being taught in some classes, but it is too early yet to pass any judgement on the results.'

Some Buddhist laymen desire to have their Bhikkhus given a thoroughly up-to-date education and training for their work, such as is given to Christian ministers. This scheme, however, does not meet with general acceptance. Many Buddhists fear that such a training would be too unsettling, and would be much more likely to render the young men unfit for their future work than to prepare them for it.

Regular public services are held in some Buddhist halls, at which sermons are preached

from Pali texts, and a big Buddhist Street preaching Campaign was attempted, some years ago, in Colombo, on the lines of the Colombo City Mission's work. This movement aroused a good deal of enthusiasm at first, and there were many speakers and big crowds. But soon the novelty wore off, and it was given up.

Since about the year 1889, when Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott came to Ceylon as the champions of Buddhism against Christianity, it has been the settled policy of the Buddhists to establish a vernacular school in every village where a Christian school had been opened. The movement was slow at first, but now there are hundreds of such schools, and they have been so successful that a very large number of Christian schools have had to be closed in consequence.

But, notwithstanding all these movements and the energy that is being expended upon them, I have been able to find little evidence of genuine revival of Buddhism as a religion and a system of ethics.

The revival of Buddhism does not appear to have penetrated to the innermost lives of the people, and the reason for this is clear. The movement did not originate in a widespread sense of spiritual need. Fear of Christianity, and the new spirit of Nationalism, are chiefly responsible for the Buddhist activities of the last fifty years.

- i. The almost universal prevalence of idolatry and demon worship,
- ii. The prevalence of crimes of violence in the Buddhist sections of Ceylon,

Importance of small Gains in South Africa

Mr. C. F. Andrews discourses in *The Indian Review* on the real problem in South Africa. He says :

At the very beginning of the struggle in South Africa, Dr. Norman Leys wrote to me from England and said, that if only a very slight gain could be obtained against the imposition of segregation in South Africa at a time when the tide was running so strongly in its favour all up and down Africa, it would indeed be well worth while fighting on to the end. For a victory, however small, gained in South Africa in the struggle against segregation would have its reactions right up as far as Kenya and Uganda.

My hope is, that though, under this India Agreement, we have not obtained for resident Indians all we asked for, or required, nevertheless something has been done to stem the tide of segregation. In the long run, therefore, we may hope, that the good work now begun, may be continued; and that the effects of it may be felt far beyond the boundaries of South Africa into Central Africa also and all along the East Coast. For if it is possible, even for one generation, to prevent the enforcement of 'segregation,' then human nature, with its kindlier instincts, will, in the long run, be likely to get the upper hand; and among the younger people, who are growing

to man-hood and womanhood, those kindlier instincts will prevail that are the saving graces of man-kind.

So-called Transfer of Merit in Buddhism

Maung San Tha writes in *The Bhammeah High School Magazine* :

Buddhists believe that after performing an act of piety, they should share the merit accruing therefrom with other living beings. This act is termed *pallidana* (sharing) which is made public in an audible tone by the worlds. "Take a share." The hearer on his part accepts the share and exclaims "Well done I accept it." This act constitute *pattanumodama* (acceptance.)

Regarding this, most Buddhists themselves do not know how they acquire the merit, though Poussin's riddle seems no riddle at all to them.

Poussin alludes to some of the Buddha's statements, when he says that "Merit is strictly personal." Probably is means the last words of the Buddha on his death bed :

"*Appamadena Sampadetha*"—Exert yourselves diligently."

Elsewhere too mention is made to the effect that in life we must work out our own salvation *by ourselves*. For Buddhas can only point out to being the right path. The exertion lies within the power of the beings who desire merit,

If the above statements are true, there can be no question of transfer or share of merit. No one can have a portion of another's merit. It is a double edged puzzle.

To understand thoroughly any intricate point in the religion of the Blessed Master, a seeker after knowledge is to bear in mind one main principle, *viz.* volition, will or action in the mind. The importance of the play of mind cannot be over estimated. Almost all questions in Buddhism can be explained in terms of mind-power.

When a devout Buddhist has accomplished an act of merit, he calls on the living beings to take share in it in the prescribed formula mentioned above. This is merely a form of intimation. He announces to them that he has done a meritorious act. The hearer on his part is glad to learn what his co-religionist has done in a moment many pious thoughts flash across his mind. He thinks of the good deeds the sharer has done. He begins to remember all the virtues of the Buddha. With a heart full of joy he exclaims "Well done." A volition has occurred : an action is made in the mind. He has wilfully exerted to his heart's content. His acquisition of merit is proportionate to the extent to which he has exerted mentally. The term "transfer of merit" or "share of merit" is a misnomer. No body can, in fact, share his merit and there is none who is in a position to acquire it as gift. Personal exertion is necessary. The true idea ought to be "aspiration after merit."

Half an Hour's Daily Outdoor Exercise

Dr. S. L. Bhandari advocates deep breathing in the D. A. V. College Union Magazine, and gives detailed instructions as to how it is to be done. He says :

Average span of human life in India is 25 years only. Nature has guaranteed it up to 100 years. Is it not a good news, young reader, if I tell you that every one of you can live up to 100 years. If you are too idle to give half an hour daily to an outdoor healthy exercise, it is no body else's fault. It is foolish economy to grudge giving half an hour daily, but to give 72 years at the end. Remember, consumption is a disease of the young. It is very rare after 35 years of age. Don't say there is no time. Surely we get plenty of time when sickness knocks at the door.

"Death and disease hear no excuses."

Reminiscences of Vivekananda

Mr. A. Srinivasa Pai, B.A., B.L., gives some reminiscences of Swami Vivekananda in *The Scholar*. There are some of them :

Informational talks in the mornings and answering of questions were arranged for in a pandal put up on the Marina, near the old "Copper-House Hotel," somewhere near the site of the present premises of Queen Mary's College. Now, the leaders of Hindu Society in Madras, big Officials and Vakils and people in hundreds came and we students found it hard to get near to the Swami. One morning a European Lady (a Potestant missionary, I believe,) came and spoke somewhat disparagingly of the enforced celibacy of a Sanyasin's life and of the harmful results of the starving of a noble instinct (noble, when rightly regulated). After a short psychological and philosophical explanation of the necessity of celibacy in a Sanyasin (which perhaps was not quite appreciated or understood by the lady,) he turned to her and said half-humorously. "In your country, Madam, a bachelor is feared. But here you see they are worshipping me, a bachelor."

Once he said to a number of young students in the audience that it was their first duty to cultivate physical strength and health. "You may have the Geeta in your left hand but have football in your right." He expressed on one occasion the view that it was the men who were physically weak that yielded to temptations easily, and that those with plenty of physical vigour and strength were far better able to resist temptations and exercise self-control than the former.

When the effect of religious beliefs (Hindu and Christian) on the masses came up for discussion, Vivekananda said, "If like me you had visited the slums of Europe and America and seen how near to brutes the inhabitants of those slums are, and then compared them with our masses in India, your doubts as to the effect of Hindu religious beliefs on the masses would have vanished."

School Education and the targe

Mr. S. Subramanyam, B.A., L.T., writes in the *Educational Review* :—

I think I will be raising a storm of protest from the citadel of orthodoxy in our Hindu society, if I were to say that 'the stage' also takes a prominent place in the education of children. All the more so, an Amateur Saba in educating the ignorant adults of our poorly-educated country. Or rather, I might be allowed to state at the outset, placed as we are under a foreign country which has paid scant attention to education is still talked of, and bringing it into force is left to the sweet whims and fancies of the Taluk Board Presidents and Chairmen of Municipal Councils, while the all-solicitude Education Ministers would not make it the policy of the Government, it is the only programme for India.

To return to the subject, not to speak of the appeal to sight to children, the dead past becomes a living present at the hands of a resourceful teacher who instead of simply visualising an incident, can make the boys act and feel the incident themselves. So then, it should become the important programme of every schools to train boys to take to the stage even from childhood, lest they should cultivate the abhorrence at a later period of life. Of course, I do not mean everybody in a school should be an actor but those that have the aptitude should be properly guided and encouraged. The end of a term, the school anniversary day and other important events in the school should not be missed to stage a play, either in English or in English or in Tamil or in both.

Then we come to the choice of plays suited to the age. What kind of play suits the children best, the boy best and the adult best? The question can be straightaway answered, that staging farces and small plays having short duration, would gladden the young minds, stir up their imagination and provoke thoughts. Historical incidents, even concerning a hero, and social dramas would be well-suited for the boys. As for the grownups, the tragedies and the comedies, plays involving great moral truths, and plays intended to eradicate pernicious social customs and superstitions might be availed of.

Relationship of Canal Irrigation and Malaria

In the *Agricultural Journal of India* Lieut.-colonel C. A. Gill, I. M. S., examines the widely current belief that an increased incidence of malaria is an inevitable accompaniment of canal irrigation and comes to the following definite conclusions :

(1) Canal irrigation is not a factor of any importance in determining the incidence or severity of epidemics of malaria.

(2) It can be asserted with equal confidence that open field irrigation has not been responsible for any appreciable general increase of endemic malaria.

(3) As a general statement it may safely be

concluded that the salubrity (so far as malaria is concerned) of irrigated tracts compares favourably with unirrigated areas.

(4) As a partial exception to the general rule it is certain that wherever canal irrigation gives rise to water-logging a vicious circle is set up in which endemic malaria leads to bad health, bad health to economic stress to further privation and more sickness, and, finally, as the combined result of a high death-rate, a low birth-rate and emigration, to the depopulation of the affected tract.

(5) It is concluded that an appreciable increase in the incidence of malaria is not a necessary concomitant of canal irrigation, but that canal irrigation may become gravely prejudicial to health when it is wrongfully applied or improperly carried out.

(6). There is ample justification for the statement that canal irrigation has proved a great blessing (save in a few areas) and that, assuming water-logging is not allowed to arise, it is calculated to increase the wealth and prosperity of the Punjab, and to promote the health and well-being of its inhabitants.

Begging in London

In the course of his chatty article, "An Indian in Western Europe," in *The Garland* Mr. A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, I.C.S., says :—

While going about London sight-seeing, I had occasion to observe casually some things which threw a flood of light on certain aspects of English life. Beggary in the streets is prohibited in London and the police arrest beggars. But the begging instinct is too strong in some men to be eradicated altogether. Hence I found two or three ingenious devices by which the spirit of begging was preserved while discarding the letter. Thus several men, mostly ex-service men, were grinding hand organs at people's doors producing an intolerable noise miscalled music. Generally, the house-owners preferred to pay something than allow the dreadful noise to afflict their ears. Another method is by drawing some ridiculous figures or pictures on the pavement and taking whatever charitable passers-by give. I told one such man after giving him a three-penny bit "Why, this is sheer beggary". "No sir," replied he "It is an appeal to your artistic charity and generosity, and that is no offence." A third device is by pretending to sell boxes of matches. To one who pestered me to buy a box of matches urging that I would require it for lighting cigars and cigarettes I replied that I didn't smoke and so I didn't want his matches. "It won't hurt you, sir, to pay a penny for a poor man, seeing that you save a lot by not smoking" was the resourceful reply. Needless to say, I paid a penny and went my way. Other disguised beggars sell picture cards, scissors, etc., in a similar fashion.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The student Movement in China

Paul Chih Meng, a Chinese Christian, considers the effects of foreign education received by Chinese students in *Current History* and says :—

Whether returned students are still needed in China has been a popular subject for discussion. Some ventured the opinion that the returned students usually import only Western mannerism and superficialities. Those who studied in France have brought the swinging limbs, shrugging shoulders and a few pleasant vices. Those from Germany introduced the beer, the military bearing and the close-cropped hair. England has given them, though not the monocle, the broad "a" and the aristo-academic air. Returned students from America are most noisy with campaign ideas, challenges and slogans. Their American "speed", is mere nervousness, while their feminism does not go beyond bobbed hair, short skirts and the new dance steps.

But in history, the Chinese student migration has influenced China's national life in various ways during various periods. It brought the influence of Western Europe immediately after the opium war until the Sino-Japanese War. From

the rise of Japan to the revolution of 1911, Japan's modernization and reforms influenced China through the returned students. America's expressions of friendship as evidenced in the open-door policy of John Hay and the return of the indemnity surplus in 1908, have attracted a large number of Chinese students each year for the last twenty-five years. Since the Republic of China was formed, returned students from the United States have become the most influential group in the different fields of China's national life. In 1924, Soviet Russia renounced her special privileges in China and raised with Chinese students the question of an industrial revolution to emancipate the oppressed nations and peoples of the Orient. With the founding of Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow, the number of Chinese students has tripled since 1925. Whether Russia will displace America in cultural influence in China depends upon whether America will make good the ideal of political self-determination which she imparted to the Chinese students.

The Chinese student migration, therefore, has stimulated reforms, helped in the making of a new China, and, above all it has brought to China new cultural elements that made possible creative thinking, social progress, an enlarged outlook and national and racial consciousness.

International Morality

We read in *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* :

It was after Bismarck had retired from politics that he decided that "each Government takes solely its own interest as the standard of its actions, however it may drape them with deductions of justice or sentiment," and the remark recurs to memory after reading what Mr. Inahara has to say in the *Diplomatic Review* (translated elsewhere) on the relations of Japan, China and Russia. Mr. Inahara says that the isolation of Japan caused by the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese agreement made it impossible for her to do anything else than seek an agreement with Russia, but it may be pointed out that Japan was seeking an agreement with Russia during the war, while the Anglo-Japanese alliance still existed so it can hardly be considered that it was the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance that forced Japan into the arms of the Soviet. Japan, moreover is yielding to the embraces of the Soviet so very reluctantly that, at the present rate of progress, it will take along time before complete accord is reached.

The profession of the Powers' good will to China, including that of Japan, must be taken in a diplomatic sense. As Mr. Leonard Woolf points out in an interesting little essay on international morality, Hobbes' remark, that "in the relations of independent States 'right and wrong, justice and injustice have no place,' still holds good and is likely to hold good. The world was conscious of this fact a good many years before the time of Hobbes, for Mr. Woolf quotes from Thucydides the words put into the mouth of an Athenian Ambassador, to the effect that the question of justice only enters into the discussion of human affairs where the pressure of necessity is equal, and "that the powerful exact what they can and the weak grant what they must." The only reason why the powerful do not exact more than they do is that sometimes it is not to their own interests to take all, a fact which seems to have escaped the Allies at Versailles when they laid such a heavy burden on the defeated that it has plunged the world into trouble ever since. They were showed themselves less acute than Wellington, who, asked to arbitrate over the questions of reparations at the end of the Napoleonic wars, gave the Allies far less than they were entitled to, on the ground that "the sacrifice was necessary and we should have got nothing if we had not made it", which sounds like hard commonsense. Even a generous gesture like this appeared to have therefore, at the back of it a basis of self-interest, and it is still far removed from the ideal of a nation doing good, to another for the sake of doing good, an idea that almost arouses laughter, so quixotic it seems. Yet all Governments, according to their own professions, are solely bent upon doing good to their neighbours. All the Powers have expressed the most benevolent intentions towards China—within the bounds, of course of their own interests not being destroyed. Even the proviso has a moral air, for evidently it is to the interests of China that she should keep her promises and not go back on her word. This is what Bismarck described as draping the actions, "with deductions

of justice or sentiment," a course which he himself pursued so successfully.

First Woman Judge in Germany

The appointment of a woman to a judgeship in Germany for the first time has led *The Woman Citizen* to write thus:—

On May 18 the papers carried a despatch from Berlin saying that Dr. Marie Hagemeyer has become the first woman judge in Germany.

It brought memories. Just about twenty-five years ago the first woman to study law in Germany, Anita Augspurg, finished her course. At that time Germany did not admit women to the practice of law. Women were not admitted to political organizations, nor permitted to speak at political meetings, nor even allowed to attend political meetings. Anita Augspurg proceeded to organize a suffrage committee in the free city of Homburg, with members elsewhere as well and to hold occasional meetings. She had said, laughingly, that the study of law had taught her to evade the law, and now she cannily called her organization by the innocuous name "Homburg Committee." Even so, she had to secure the formal consent of the police before she could hold her meetings. Between that carefully guarded beginning and the granting of suffrage to German women stretched only sixteen years; from first woman law student to first woman judge only twenty-five. The world *does* move.

Underpaid Teachers in America

Even in rich America teachers are underpaid and students are underpaying, as would appear from the following passage in *The Literary Digest* :

Colleges are turning students away because there are insufficient funds to provide facilities for teaching them. Why not charge more for tuition? The query is put by the Institute for Public Service in New York, and the suggestion may cause some shock to parents and prospective students until the real conditions are examined. "As it stands now, with college teachers underpaid and college students underpaying so much that many of them spend on luxuries more than they spend on tuition, the largest donor to colleges is the underpaid college teacher, still the lowest paid of all white collar workers in proportion to native ability."

English Translation of Buddhist Scriptures

The Young East reports :

In view of the earnest hankering after the knowledge of Buddhism among the Western people, the West Honganji missionaries in America have recently filed a formal request with the West Honganji head quarters in Kyoto for immediate

translation into English of Buddhist scriptures. This was decided at a recent conference of those missionaries. The West Honganji authorities are now studying the proposal, because it is a matter of importance for the propagation of Buddhism among the English speaking nations. They say that the Honganji authorities are going to attach to the English Buddhist scriptures, an explanation of Mahayana Buddhism, of creeds and ceremonies for Buddhist believers, etc. Meantime, the Buddhist world of Japan is considering the compilation of Buddhist scriptures in English, German, French, Russian, etc. in commemoration of the 2,500th anniversary of the birth of Buddha, which falls in 1934. It is said that the West Honganji authorities will shortly appoint an editorial staff for the translation of Buddhist scriptures.

"Give us Men"

The following poem, which the *China Journal* reproduces from *The North-China Daily News*, may be read with profit in India also :—

God give us men. The time demands strong
minds. Great hearts, true faith and willing hands.
Men whom the lust of office does not kill ;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy ;
Men who possess opinions and a will ;
Men who have honour ; men who will not lie :
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And dawn his treacherous flatteries without
winking ;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking !
For while the rabble with their thumbwore creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds
Mingle in selfish strife, lo ! Freedom weeps !
Wrong rules the land, and waiting Justice sleeps !
J. G. Holland

Buddhism and Christianity

The British Buddhist writes :—

Thirteen hundred years ago, Roman Catholic Christianity was planted in England. About the same time Mahammad established his religion of Islam, and Japan received Buddhism from Korea. Nearly a thousand years ago Central Turkestan Buddhism was destroyed by the Moslems, and Indian Buddhism was destroyed by successive invaders belonging to the cult of Islam. Afghanistan was at one time full of Buddhists and so was Kashmir. The Catholic Church borrowed many of its rituals and ceremonials from the Buddhists of Turkestan. Jesus did not establish any of the ceremonial that are current to-day in the Roman Church. The altar, the lighting of candles, the incense, the flowers, the flowing robes, all are borrowings from the Buddhist Church of Turkestan. From Turkestan Buddhism went to China. The present day dress of the Moslems of Afghanistan, and the North-Western frontier Provinces, formerly known as Gandhara was copied from the Buddhists of the pre-Moslem period. The fresco paintings rescued

by Central Asian archaeologists are evidence to show the origin of the Catholic rituals. The Catholic Church copied from the Buddhist church the institution of Bhikkhuni nuns.

Many of the alleged sayings of Jesus are really echoes from the cryings of the lord Buddha. As yet no attempt has been made to discover the origins of the sayings of Jesus. A guild of Pali scholars who have made a thorough study of the New Testament should sit in conclave and make an effort to find the origins of the New Testament ethics. A number of them can be traced in the Pali texts. Some of them are interpolations wherein the meek and gentle Jesus is made a nonarchical despot.

The American Occupation of Haiti

India is, no doubt, the only member of the League of Nations which is both in name and reality a subject country. But another member, Haiti, is in reality a subject country, though nominally independent. For writes Paul H. Douglas in the *Political Science Quarterly* of America :

The relationship between the United States and Haiti is full of interesting paradoxes. Thus the constitution which Franklin D. Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, wrote for that country in 1917 declares that "the Republic of Haiti is one and indivisible, free, sovereign and independent. Its territory is inviolable and cannot be alienated by any treaty or by any convention." Haiti is indeed a member of the League of Nations and maintains diplomatic representatives abroad. In fact, however, the United States has controlled the country by military force since 1915. A regiment of American marines is quartered behind the President's palace, and Brigadier-General John H. Russell, acting as the American High Commissioner, gives the directions as to what shall be done. An American, Dr. W. W. Cumberland, appointed by the President of the United States, is the Receiver of Customs and the Financial Adviser. He not only collects the customs but draws up the budget and controls expenditure. The Haitian gendarmerie, which is a combined army and police force, is mainly officered by commissioned and non-commissioned American marine officers and the gendarmerie as a whole is constantly under our direction. Americans appointed by our government are also in charge of the sanitary and the public works services and of agricultural education.

Modern India and the Drink Traffic

We read in *Ablari* :

Dr. Rutherford's book is a plea for Self Government for India, and while we are not concerned with the political issues with which the book deals, his descriptions of the poverty and degradation of the vast majority of the Indian peoples must challenge our attention and careful thought. The stark reality of Dr. Rutherford's book shows us India

in the mass, shorn of all romantic glamour. In the chapter, "Public Health and War against Disease," the author includes Drink with disease as being 'an important factor in the production of disease, and second only to syphilis in the list of racial poisons. The chapter 'Public Health and Prohibition' shows the immeasurable harm done by the liquor traffic, and shows, too, that all over India there is a demand for prohibition.

India is ripe for prohibition, and her great religious being so strongly opposed to Drink; should make the difficulties of successful enforcement much simpler and easier than in America. The book as a whole emphasises the fact that every effort to forward the cause of prohibition is blocked by the British Government. The policy of the Government with regard to the Opium Traffic is also warmly criticised.

Prevention of Diseases and Social Insurance

Andreas Grieser observes in *International Labour Review* :—

"There is nothing which is not capable of improvement."

In future the campaign against infectious diseases must be carried on by social insurance with even more vigour than in the past. In tuberculosis, for instance, not only the sick person but also the danger of infection must be considered; thought must be given to the members of his family, to his environment, and to his fellow workers who may be injured by him. It is therefore essential to provide curative treatment in good time, to lessen the risk of infection, and to increase the share of the insurance institutions in the general work of social hygiene.

The rational organisation of preventive measures in the undertaking calls for the foundation and the activities of some form of joint organisation to ensure collaboration between the various insurance carriers, and especially to regulate the relations between sickness funds, invalidity insurance institutions, and doctors. Joint organisations are also necessary to ensure contact between insurance carriers on the one hand and public health authorities and private welfare organisations on the other. The right to membership of these organisations will entail the obligation to accept freely the conditions they impose.

"Timboel"

Timboel, which is an Indonesian journal conducted in Dutch, has given a translation of the Note in our March number in which we showed how great a portion of the earth is under European control and how the preservation of the *status quo* by the League of Nations is practically equivalent to perpetuating the subjection of the majority of mankind.

Poetry "a Drug on the Market"

John Gould Fletcher writes in *The Modern World* :

There can be no doubt that just as much poetry is being written in this age as in any other and that in future histories of literature, some one will be mentioned as being the representative poet of our time. The problem that concerns us all, poets and non-poets, is how to distribute our work to best advantage. The problem is rapidly becoming the leading problem of our age, in poetry as in other fields, and the multiplication of publishing houses, newspapers and periodicals does not settle it. Ask any dozen publishers and they will all tell you that poetry does not pay, that it has no commercial value despite the fact that they all probably publish it to some extent.

If your acquaintanceship extends also to the poets, you will find that the shifts and dodges the young poet is put to today, to obtain a hearing are endless. I know of at least two young poets both Americans, who are trying to get a publisher in England in the pathetic hope that their work will somehow be favorably received there. Poetry which quite a number of people were ready to talk about in this country twelve years ago, is now a drug on the market.

The writer suggests that there should be an endowment fund for the publication of new books of poetry.

The details of administering such a fund could be easily worked out. Suppose the fund provided for the publication of ten fair-sized books of poetry in a year. An advertisement could be inserted in a few of the leading literary journals asking for manuscripts and stating that no poet was eligible who had already published more than one volume. A jury would be selected of practising poets to pass on these manuscripts. The manuscripts submitted would be sorted out by a sub-jury in the first instance, with the object of eliminating the obviously impossible, the thin and the trite. The remainder say fifty manuscripts would then pass into the hands of the main jury. Out of this remainder, ten manuscripts would be selected which would represent the best of the year's poetry.

Love and Wisdom

Message of the East reproduces the following English translation of a poem by Bhai Vir Singh :—

(Note: A nightingale, imprisoned by a gardener, escapes from her cage after long confinement only to find the garden despoiled and in ruins, and her heart's love, the rose, gone. In absolute despair she stops a wayfarer with her lament and asks what has become of "that all-owner of the loveliness of youth," her rose. A dialogue ensues, of which we give the concluding portion. The wayfarer asks why the eye of the nightingale failed to discern that one day "both the garden and its

blossoms gay" would die, that spring would pass and "the autumn of dead and decaying leaves take its place." In agony of soul, the nightingale cries out for death and in pity the wayfarer strives to comfort her with the assurance of ever-recurring spring. "Again the purple leaf buds. Again the green leaves shall appear in millions! Again the buds blow and the armies of flowers come and encamp again! Why weepest thou, O bird?"

The nightingale sings :

"If beauty lasts not forever,
Of what worth then is beauty ?
If my garden waves not forever,
If all is the sport of time,
If time conceals him we love behind its ever-
enwrapping sheets and reveals him at will
below its folds,

And conceals him again from us.

If love is not our own, but time's,

If time is supreme, and we only propose for time

To dispose, and our heart

Is merely to run to waste in time's sands,

Then all wanderings in search of him, ay, even
life and goodness, all are as death.

To thirst for love, to roll through despair and
Separation for the hope of meeting him is all
illusion :

If the lightning flash of love shows itself only
to kill us, then where, where is love ?

If all is change, and there is naught save waiting
and thirsting, and waiting and thirsting for
nothing to be,

If this is the law eternal as thou sayest,

If we are but the passive balls that a mocking
destiny rolls :

Then let me tell you that too sad is life."

The wayfarer replies :

"Peace ! Peace ! O lovely bird !

There is the rose still perfuming thy tender heart.

If it be thy wish to see the glory that fades not,

If it be thy longing to be with thy rose forever.

Turn within, turn within thine own self thy love-
thirsty glance !

In vain is thy search for thy rose in this visible
world of change.

The eternal spring is theirs who have entered in
and seen him within their soul.

If it be thy wish to dwell in the internal glances
of thy love, then be at peace with thyself.

Let the flame of the heart burn slow and steady ;

Let the mind be clam, like an unrippling clear,
transparent lake ;

And pass, O bird, into the being of the beloved,
whence come these forms of beauty !

Thou hast indeed thy rose when thy heart falters
not—sure, unmoved.

O bird !

The worlds are all within thyself.

There blossoms thy rose which no hand of might
can rob or destroy ;

The eye of the soul, so fixed on the beloved,
drinks deep at the fountain of life.

Good-bye, O bird ! This is the ancient wisdom !

The law of beauty that ye learn amid the young
brood in the nest,

This is the law of true life, which is the life above
this life,

The life of rapture caught from the lips of the
rose,

The rose that blossoms within, where eternal spring
doth roll

There, as thou sayest ; and only there—only there
It is a subtle, subtle feeling,
An unbalanced and balanced joy.
An unconscious and conscious love ! soft delicious
reeling, a little rippling, and a slow breeze.
The heart is full of glory,
And the life full of peace.
Within that *Golden Land* there is neither right
nor wrong ;
And might is frail and love is strong."

Sea Power at Geneva

The New Republic observes :

It is essential that the redistribution of sea power which was recognized by the Washington conference of 1921 should be confirmed by, and, if possible, rendered still more explicit by, the Geneva Congress of 1927. As long as an American, an Asiatic and a European sea power all exist side by side, and independent of one another, European world imperialism, as it existed towards the end of the nineteenth century and as it was encouraged by British maritime supremacy, not only cannot recover its momentum, but is bound steadily to lose ground. The British imperialists, are chafing under the limitation, and with the help of the Singapore base and their preponderance in commerce-destroying cruisers, they are trying to regain for the Empire a fraction of its former exceptional position. But the American representatives at Geneva will have every reason to insist on a confirmation of the principles which underlay the agreement of 1921 rather than a modification of it for the benefit of British sea power. The British behaved with admirable wisdom and forbearance in 1921 in recognizing that they had to share with Japan and the United States their former supremacy. They will, we hope, behave with similar forbearance and statesmanship in 1927.

The Late James Bryce

We read in *Unity* of Chicago :—

The late James Bryce was an extraordinarily learned man. Mr. J. A. Hobson, in his review of H. A. L. Fisher's recent biography of Bryce in the *Nation* (April 20th), declares that "he knew more than any other man of his own or any other time. There may be tucked away in the seclusion of some university or other home of learning two or three scholars who have read and remembered as much booklore as Bryce, but when one takes into account his first-hand intercourse with men and things in all parts of the habitable globe, he assuredly stands outside all competition." In the light of this impressive statement, we are tempted to wonder as to what learning amounts to anyway. What is its use ? "What does it all come to," to quote the question John Morley used to put to any one who praised a book or other achievement ? For this same biography of Bryce shows that this most learned of men went stark mad during the War. He swallowed hook, bait, line and sinker the ridiculous myth that Germany had precipitated the conflict in a gigantic endeavor

after world-conquest. His prodigious knowledge and wide travels left him as gullible as the London costermonger who had never read a book, or journeyed beyond his native slum! All his exhaustive historical investigations didn't save him from being fooled as easily as the simplest curate in a country village! All through the War, Bryce was a "die-hard"; it was "on to Berlin" for him, with Germany ground prostrate in the dust. His travels the world around, his knowledge of men and places and languages everywhere, had taught him no lesson of tolerance and understanding! Why be learned and traveled and intellectual, if this be the result? Why bother with education, if it leaves a man undelivered from superstition and barbarism? We never get quite so low in our mind, never feel quite so hopeless for the future, as when we see a man like James Bryce running amuck under the mad influence of patriotic passion. Here, in the person of such a man, is already seen the collapse of civilization.

Local Self-Government in Asia

The following passages are taken from an article by Dr. Sudhindra Bose in the same journal:—

Every man, and every body of men on earth, possesses the right of self-government. They receive it with their being from the hand of nature. Individuals exercise it by their single will, collections of men by that of their majority; for the law of the majority is the natural law of every society of men.—*Thomas Jefferson*.

It is not true that the government "which is best administered is best." That is the maximum of tyranny. That government is best which makes the best men. In the training of manhood lies the certain pledge of better government in the future.—*David Starr Jordan*.

Democracy is direct self-government, over all the people, for all the people, by all the people.—*Theodore Parker*.

Democracy is not the exclusive monopoly of the West: it is to be found in the East as well. Oriental democracy has its roots in the communal life of the people. The political thinkers of the East—notably of China and India—have seldom recognized absolute and indivisible sovereignty. In the Orient, sovereignty has always been shared by local bodies and communal groups. The Asian state may be thus described as a political federation with a very large share of local autonomy in village communities, communal assemblies, guilds and village unions. The local organizations, over which the central government exercised but a slight control until recently, have from the time of venerable antiquity looked after the internal administration of the community. The people had thus the right of democratic control over their political, economic, and religious life. Nor are these ideals altogether obsolete in today's world of Asia.

Japanese Food

The Japan Magazine for June contains the first part of an informing article on Japanese food from which we learn:

Rice, barley, *awa* (millet), *kiye* (barn yard grass) soja beans, small beans, etc. were used as food by the Japanese in remote antiquity as they are at present. The *Nihon-Shoki* and other of the oldest books in Japan state that the Imperial ancestral goddess, Amaterasu-omikami, who obtained seed of these cereals from Ukemochi-no-kami, spoke of them as vitally important for human beings to live on. Since then, these cereals, or *gokoku* (five cereals) have formed staple articles of food in Japan. Rice was of primary importance among them, and its seed was taken with him by the Sun-Goddess's grand son on his descent at her command. The seed suited the soil very well and the crop was abundant. This was the source of the name of *Mizuho-no-kuni* (the land blessed with rice) by which the country was called since then.

In old times, unhulled rice was commonly eaten by heating or boiling, although the noble families on rare occasions took it after cleaning. Rice was not eaten but by upper class people, as for the middle and low class people, it was too costly and they usually took such cheaper cereals as barley, *awa* and *hiye* instead. Then they ate only two meals a day.

As side dishes, they had vegetables, meats or fruit. These vegetables were mostly *nazuna* (shepherd's purse), *ninjin* (carrot), etc., which were called *sai*, radish, garlic, etc., which were called *karana* and *wakame*, *kanbu*, and other seaweeds. There were some other kinds of vegetables eaten.

As meats, they took beef, horse-flesh, brawn, deer-flesh, other animal flesh, chicken, fish and shell-fish. They did not dare to slaughter oxen and horses for eating, as these animals rendered useful service to them, helping them in farming.

They ate mostly wild bear, deer and other wild animal flesh, which was called *keno-aramono*, as distinguished from birdflesh, which was called *kenonikomono*.

Religious Trends in India

The Rev. A. M. Chirgwin observes in the *London Quarterly Review*:—

The *zeitgeist* in India is at present moving primarily in the realm of politics, and not of religion. The real deity whom Indians worship to-day is 'Mother India'; for her they are willing to suffer and, if need be, to die. Most young Indians feel that the gods and goddesses of Hinduism are the most satisfactory expressions of 'Mother India' available. Accordingly the young men are powerfully attracted just now to Hinduism. However, it may repel them intellectually, it has a certain emotional appeal as the religion of the Motherland. The rising tide of nationalism is leading to reaction against organized Christianity as being Western. It is the more significant that in spite of this, the most striking progress that has been made in recent years in the realm of

religion in India is undoubtedly in a Christian direction.

It is not to be inferred from this that great numbers of educated Indians are accepting Christianity as their own personal faith. As a matter of fact, the number doing so is not considerable. The numerical growth of Christianity in India is mainly among the lower castes and the outcaste community. In modern India, as in the early years of the Christian era, Christianity makes headway mainly from the bottom up. Fully one hundred thousand people, chiefly from the lower strata of Indian society, are becoming Christians every year. The Indian Christian Church shows an increase of 22.5 per cent in the last ten years as against an increase of 1.2 per cent in the general population—a far more rapid growth than that of any other faith in the land. But it is not the numerical growth of the Church which has led to the almost complete capture by Christ of the citadel of India's thought.

Educated India does not seem to find much that is attractive in the Christian Church to-day, on the contrary, it appears to be repelled alike by Christianity as a system and by the Church as its Western organized form.

Successful Marriage

Frederick Harris writes, in part, in *the World Tomorrow*:—

The ordinary theory is that man and wife form a partnership in which all of life is shared. If this completeness of sharing were taken as the test of successful achievement, there would be little success to record. As a matter of fact, casual observation tends to impress one with the narrow range of the interests which most husbands and wives do share. To whom does the house usually belong? Whose taste is displayed in its furnishings? In the midst of modern city life, children may actually command little interest on the part of either parent. Companionship and recreation are essentials of a balanced life. Taking a dozen married couples selected at random, what is the proportion of actual sharing in these activities? Religion has been a puzzle of many children because practices which one parent seems to regard as fundamental are entirely neglected by the other. The sex experience itself may be highly distasteful to one while it is eagerly sought by the other. There is plenty of evidence, too, of another type of difficulty. A man and woman who share much at the start grow older; new interests emerge and suddenly they awaken to the fact that they are leading separate lives. Again, some striking experience may transform one partner and leave the other cold. Even under the best of circumstances, there are ranges of experience which are not shared between husband and wife and some few perhaps which never can be shared.

The facts are plain enough, but the matter cannot be left at this point. How much sharing is necessary? Where does success leave off and failure begin?

There are no fixed points. We can estimate success in such a personal relationship only

with regard to the persons concerned. One can imagine that in the early days of most marriages romantic affection is the supreme interest; and for a while this may be sufficient. Success at the moment makes an intense but very narrow demand. As the days go on, husband and wife begin to face real situations. Homely needs arise, place to live in, food, companionship, recreation, religion, love; and then there emerge the new interests. As this experience proceeds from the wedding, presumably different people are reasonably well satisfied at different levels. Since we have to consider not only range but also depth of interest, in some cases the sharing of a very few vital concerns may create a stable arrangement. It is extremely precarious to make positive statements where our knowledge is so strictly limited, but one may suspect that the marital relationship between a man and a woman becomes more and more successful as the number of shared interests steadily increases. Such a procedure suggests that these two have found partnership such an interesting experience that they are continuing their explorations. Each new interest of one is submitted to the other as a possible basis for further extension of the relationship.

The picture usually drawn of a successful marriage represents a mild peace gradually deepening to deadly monotony. This is not the case with those who are ever expanding the area of their shared interests. Life is adventurous and exciting. The whole attempt to form a real co-operation involves many disagreements, some trivial, some really serious—"the tragic fission of marriage" of which Count Keyserling speaks. It is the personal adjustment over many contacts that is difficult and dangerous, holding alike the possibilities of the noblest satisfaction and of the deepest degradation. Let our too-confident radicals ever bear in mind that the profound conflicts of life appear not where each goes his own way but where the two are trying to work together.

The Late Dr. Estlin Carpenter

The Inquirer of London contains a beautiful and discriminating tribute to the late Dr. Estlin Carpenter by Miss Helen Darbishire of Oxford which appeared in *the Times*. We take the following passage from it:—

No one who received his teaching would use words lightly, and I say only what those who knew him will wholly endorse. He spoke the word of God with the authentic voice of one who knew its meaning; he had the divine sympathy that knows the secrets of the human heart and reaches to the farthest depths of grief. Religious passion is not common; a pure and austere religious passion is the rarest thing we meet. In Estlin Carpenter it was one with a singularly strenuous intellectual life, but its roots were in the human experience that is common to us all.

Some Chinese and Some Foreigners

The following extract from an article by Dr. Edward H. Hume, M. D. in the *International Review of Missions* goes to show that the minds of all Chinese are not full of hatred of all European foreigners even of the British race :—

Word comes from all over China of the sincere and continued friendliness of the people. All classes have vied with one another to prove their friendship during these past six months of stress and confusion. What could have been finer than the spirit of the girls at Ginlung College in Nanking on March 24th last, as they took matters into their own hands, hiding their teachers, advising them, escorting them out of danger, and in every other way proving their loyalty? Was there ever greater friendliness than that of the people around the grounds of West China Union University in

Chengt'u, where British, Canadian and American forces co-operate? They brought in food by night when a boycott was in force, suggested means for escape, and aided in countless other ways to preserve the normal status in the work of the institution. There is no single point on which all are so much agreed as on the desire of the people that their western Christian friends should continue among them.

The knowledge that Dr. John Williams had been killed threw all the Chinese Christians in Nanking on to the side of their missionary friends, at the very moment when their own homes were being ransacked and, in many instances, burned to the ground, while their very lives were threatened. The efforts made to save the foreign missionary community in Nanking, by Chinese Christians and non-Christians alike, is a story of fine Christian achievement and one which makes worth while sacrifices and service of devoted lives over many years.

GREATER INDIA

(Translated from the Bengali of an Address delivered before a farewell gathering organised by the Greater India Society by Rabindranath Tagore)

I am heartened by the address that you have presented to me on the eve of my voyage to Java. We discover our inner strength only when we meet the claims of our neighbours. We are able to give what is in our gift, only in consequence of other people's eagerness to take. If the demand is strong, the way to give becomes easier.

Where the claim from outside is a reality, it kindles the power to give lying within us. Even when we have gifts within us, we cannot give them so long as an eager desire for them is not born in society. To-day a longing has taken birth among us,—the longing to search for the greater India outside India. This longing has taken the concrete form of the Greater India Society. It is this longing that is voicing its own expectations in the address of welcome offered to me. May your wishes make my efforts attain to success!

It is the mark of a savage that his self-consciousness is confined within very narrow limits. He cannot know himself in a wider region than the present time and his immediate environment. Hence, his weakness in thought and action. The Sanskrit verse has it : "As a man thinks, so does he achieve." Limitations of conception—about our indivi-

dual selves or our country,—lies at the root of the creative power of endeavour. A feeble aim and a lowly achievement carry us to failure. It is the historic endeavour of every civilised nation to exalt its own character in its own eyes,—to liberate its nature from the narrow bounds of a particular country or age.

In my boyhood, seated at the window of our house, I could see only a small bit of the natural features of my country. I had no opportunity of beholding the comprehensive expression of our country's self from outside. This city of Calcutta, built by foreign traders, cannot give us a deep and far-extensive revelation of India's soul. I was so eager to see for myself the great self of India, because I had been as a boy too often confined within the four walls of a house.

Then at the age of eight or nine, I went to live for a time in a garden-house on the bank of the Ganges. My heart was filled with a sense of bliss. This river conveys a grand revelation of India. Its streams carry the harmonious blending of many ages, many provinces, many hearts, of India. It conveys a message making India known to others.

Again, a few years later, my father took me with himself to the Himalaya. This was

the first time when I made an intimate acquaintance with my father—and with the Himalaya. There was a harmony of spirit between the two.

Then in early boyhood I began to study the history of India. I had to commit daily to my memory a list of names and dates of the unvaried tale of India's defeat and humiliation in political contest, from the days of Alexander the Great to those of Clive. In this historical desert of national shame, there were a few oases formed by the heroic deeds of the Rajputs, and these latter alone could satisfy my blazing hunger to learn about the greatness of our nation. You all know, with what desperate eagerness Bengali novelists, poets and dramatists ransacked Tod's *Rajasthan* in that age. This fact is a clear proof of our unsatisfied craving to know our country's true self. Country does not mean the soil; it means a body of human characters.

If we are taught about our country as eternally weak, then that sense of lowliness cannot be driven out of us by reading about the heroism of foreign nations.

A star whose light has become extinct is congealed and contracted within itself. This self-confinement is a humiliation. Such an extinct planet has no place of honour in the galaxy of blazing stars; it is unknown, uncelebrated, nameless. The shame of this obscurity is as bitter as that of prison life. Light alone can deliver it from this shame,—light in the form of an emanation that will join it to the universe, light in the form of a truth that the world will honour.

It is the burden of our Scriptures that he alone realises truth who perceives the Universe within himself and his own Self in the Universe. In other words, the soul confined within its own individuality is not in its healthy normal condition. This great principle is as true of the historic efforts of a nation as it is of every individual man's life's work. The devoted endeavour of every great nation is to make itself known to the outer world. Otherwise, God would cast it forth as useless in the creation of human civilisation.

The voice of India that we hear was not confined within the verses of the Upanishads. The highest message that India has preached to the world has been conveyed through renunciation, through sorrow, through love, through the spirit,—and not by means of soldiers and arms, oppression and plunder.

India has not boastfully recorded in her history in capital letters any tale of her acts of brigandage.

In ancient times our country too must have sent forth heroes who conquered foreign lands. But, unlike other nations, India does not count the names of such conquerors with veneration on her rosary of historic celebrities. Indian *Purans* do not sing of strong robbers (*Dasyus*). India has carefully obliterated from her records the story of their achievements as a thing to be ashamed of.

The man who thinks of Self as the highest and ultimate truth, is lost. This selfishness is the root of all sin and all suffering. The light of our soul reveals the truth that universal love kills this self-centredness. This light India did not keep to herself. She revealed herself to the world outside her natural boundaries in the light of this truth. Therefore, the true expression of India consists in this.

The India in which we have been born is the India of this spell of liberation, the India of these ascetics. If we can keep this truth steadfastly before ourselves, then all our acts would be pure, we shall be able to call ourselves characteristically Indian, and we shall not need to set up a new standard.

In these days the passion for political self-expression is raging among our people with the greatest vehemence. Therefore, we are only dreaming the dreams of gratifying it, and we contemptuously reject all greater matters as irrelevant! But the stream of this political self-expression will only take us to foreign history,—to Mazzinni, Garibaldi, and Washington.

Similarly, in economics, our imagination is moving about in the puzzling mazes of Bolshevism, Syndicalism, or Socialism. But these are mere mirages; they are not rooted in the eternal soil of India; they are all marked "Made in Europe."

Our national self does not reveal itself in the unknown paths where we are madly chasing these unrealities. And yet, as I have already said, our national success is possible only if we build upon the true individuality and character of our nation. If we can realise that we had a sphere of glory outside the political and economic, then only shall we succeed in founding our future greatness on truth.

India has revealed her true self by what she has been able to give to the world. She is known by the exuberance of her spirit

beyond her own territory and people. We can truly give to others only when we admit others as no less than ourselves. Therefore, if you would know India's wealth of truth, you must leave India and visit the scenes of India's giving in lands beyond the sea. Today our vision of India is dimmed by the dust of contemporary local events; but the clear radiant eternal aspect of India will be revealed to us if we go to Further India.

In China I found a race entirely different from the Hindus,—in features, language and manners. But I felt such a deep sense of community with them as I have found impossible towards many people of India itself. This union was established not by political ascendancy, not by the sword, not by paining others, but by embracing sorrow,—on the part of ancient India. The truth that has linked an absolutely alien race like the Chinese to the true self of India,—finds no place in the history of European politics, and therefore we do not heartily believe in it! But the evidence of its reality is still extant in Further India.

In my travels in Japan, whenever I marvelled at the deep patience, self-control, and aesthetic sense of the people even in their daily life, they have again and again told me that the inspiration of these virtues came mostly from India through the medium of Buddhism. But that inspiration is today all but extinct at its source in India itself... These lands [outside India] are places of pilgrimage to modern Indians, because the eternal true expression of India's character can be found in these lands only.

In the middle ages of India there were religious conflicts between the Muslim royal power and the Hindus. But in that epoch a succession of saints were born—many of them Muslims by faith,—who bridged the gulf of religious discord by the truth of one-ness of spirit. They were not politicians, they never mistook a political pact prompted by expediency as a true bond of union. They reached that ultimate point where the union of all men is established on an eternal basis. In other words, they embraced that secret principle of India which lays down that they alone can realise the truth who see others as one with their own selves. In that age many warriors fought and earned glory; their names were recorded in histories of India written on foreign models. But they are forgotten to-day, even as their triumphal

monuments have crumbled into dust. But the deathless message of these saints is still flowing like a life-giving stream through the heart of modern India. If we can derive our soul's inspiration from this source, then only shall we succeed in invigorating our politics, economics and action.

When a message of truth deeply stirs our soul, its self-expression attains to success in many directions. The impact of truth on the soul is proved by the activity of that soul's creative power.

Buddhism was a religion of poor monks. And yet, it inspired an exuberant display of costly artistic work in caves and *chaityas* *riharas*. This only proves that Buddhism awakened such a consciousness of truth in man's inmost heart that it gave fruition to all his nature, and saved his character from being crippled in any direction. Wherever India's magic wand of universal love has touched any foreign land, what a marvellous display of art has come to life there! That country has become radiant with the splendour of a new artistic creation.

And yet, look at the people of exactly the same ethnic stock living in neighbouring countries which were not visited by ancient Indian missionaries. They are cannibals, utterly devoid of art. India lit up the dark hearts of such a savage race by the sublime message of her religion of mercy, renunciation and love. It is not that Indian influence has resulted in certain changes in dress, speech and manners in Cambodia and Borneo, Java and Sumatra; the latent power of artistic creation among these peoples has been awakened. And what a marvellous creation it is! There are many other islands around the India-colonised Java and Bali. But why do we not find any BoroBodur, any Angkor Vat there? It is because the rousing call of Truth did not reach these neighbouring islands. There is no glory in stimulating the imitative spirit in men; but there is no nobler work than that of liberating the latent creative energy of others.

If we content ourselves with boasting of our nation's achievements in the far-off past and do not apply in our own lives the truths that led to those achievements, then our shame will know no bound. To use a truth as a material for our self-glorification, is to insult it. My earnest desire is that we may search for the eternal truth of ancient India and devote myself to the attainment of it,—not for self-advertisement, not for dazzling

the eyes of foreigners,—but for inspiring our own innermost spirit and shaping our daily conduct.

When I visit Java, may my mind be free from [national] pride, may it learn meekness by witnessing the operation of the death-conquering spell (*amrita mantra*) of Truth.

May we realise within ourselves that great principle of universal love ; and then only will temples spring up in forests, fountains of beauty will bubble up in deserts, in our hearts,—our life's devotion will attain to success.

JADUNATH SARKAR

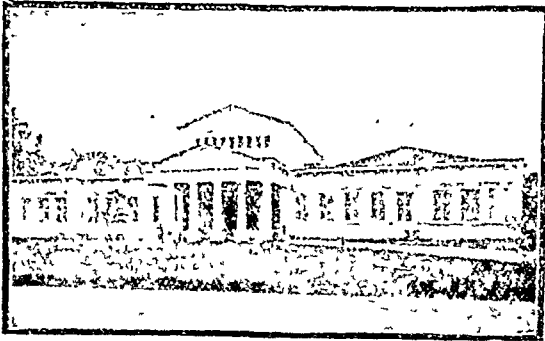
GREATER INDIA REVISITED

By KALIDAS NAG

II

FROM BATAVIA TO SURABAYA

BATAVIA is a modern commercial city with every possible modern comfort, and it palled on me from the very beginning. To escape from its aggressive modernism, I took refuge in the splendid Museum of the city. It contains the richest collection of the products of Indonesian culture and at the same time some of the most important archaeological links between the art and iconography of India and Java of old. I shall come back to a detailed appreciation of this museum, which is a glorious tribute to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences

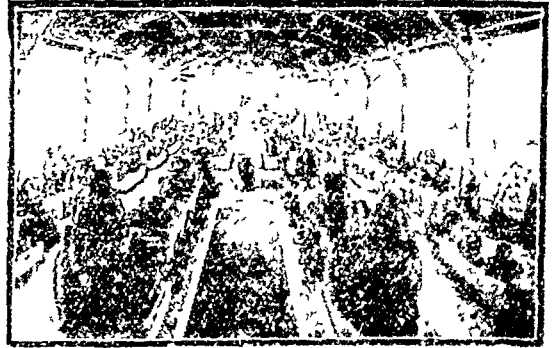


The Museum of Batavia

(Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen). Meanwhile let me proceed to describe how the propitious smile of Lord Ganesha who greeted me first at the threshold of the Museum, gave an extremely happy turn to my chance-driven adventure.

ACADEMIC COLLABORATION BETWEEN INDIA AND JAVA

I saw Dr. F. D. K. Bosch, director of the Archaeological department and he received me very kindly. He had been revising the text of the famous Sanskrit inscription from central

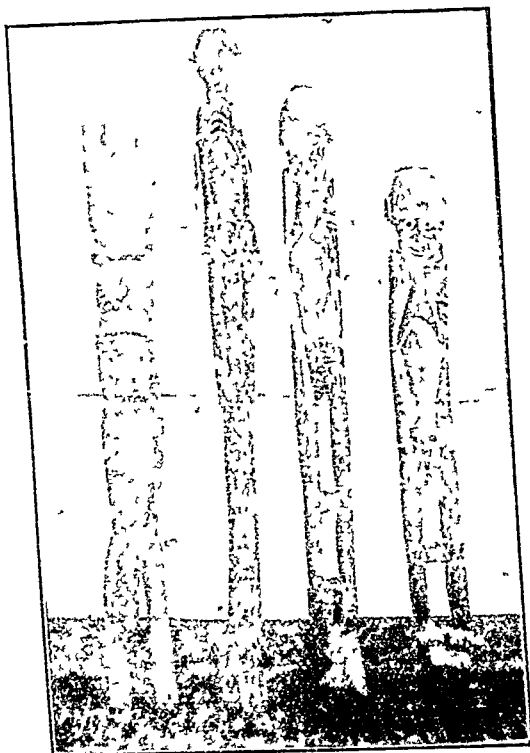


Gallery of Indo-Javanese Sculptures

Java (found in the temple of Chandi Kalasan) which had been already edited by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Brandes. A new fragment of the inscription had been found and Dr. Bosch was getting ready to publish a revised text from fresh facsimiles. We discussed certain technical terms in the Sanskrit slokas, and gradually drifted into a general discussion on the possibility of a more intimate collaboration between Indian scholars and Dutch savants. Dr. Bosch warmly supported me saying that in two departments help from sound Indian scholars would be specially welcome. first, for the proper appreciation of the

Indo-Japanese art it is absolutely necessary that a comparative study of the Javanese and the Indian series of monuments should be made with reference to the *Shilpa Shastras* like Mayamata, Manasara, Vastuvidya and such other texts which are being found in increasing numbers. To ascertain as to what extent the art of India influenced the art of her cultural colonies and also what were the independent contributions of the colonial artists and artisans to the

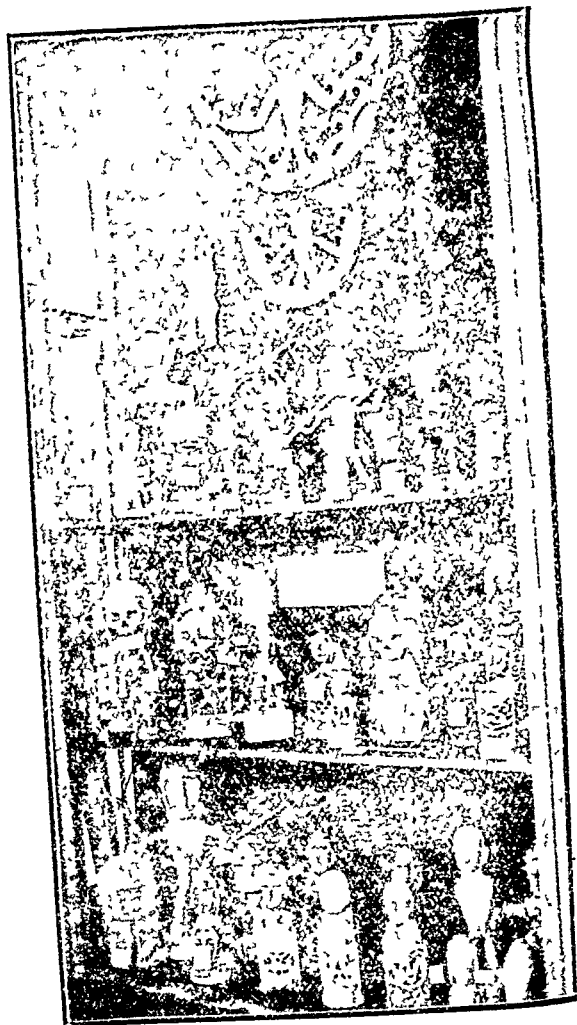
Avalon are too subjective to be utilised for historical purposes. Dr. Bosch strongly urged the systematic study of the Tantras and hoped that Indian scholars would respond to his call promptly.



Primitive totemistic art of Polynesia

borrowed or imported motifs, it is absolutely necessary to make an intensive study along the lines suggested above. But it was a great pity that very few texts of the *Shilpa Shastras* have been scientifically edited and published.

The same difficulty is realised, continued Dr. Bosch, in handling the old manuscripts of Java and Bali. Most of them appertain to the Tantras and the cult of Tantrism. It would be a capital study to compare the Tantric literatures of India and Indonesia. But the critical study of the Tantras has not yet begun. The writings of Arthur



Polynesian Antiquities

PROJECTED TOUR TO THE BALI ISLAND

I consulted Dr. Bosch about my tour programme and he very kindly gave valuable suggestions, letters of introduction and other help for which I was grateful. Incidentally he mentioned that a very important celebration would take place in the island of Bali. A local Raja would celebrate the *shraddha* ceremony of his ancestor, in the right royal and orthodox style,

the like of which was not to be seen for many years ! I had a mind to go to Bali if chance favoured me but I did not dream that the call of the gods and the Brahmanas of that island would be so peremptory. Finding me a little confused, Dr. Bosch generously offered to write to his colleague, Prof. Dr. B. J. O. Schrieke, director of the Ethnographic department, who happened to be then in Bali to study the *shraddha* rituals on the

The alternation of hills and plains with the traces of the cultivators' hand everywhere gives an impression of charm and plenitude rarely paralleled in any other part of Asia. We were passing through the Preanger Regencies where native landlords, euphemistically called Princes, still continue to exercise sovereign rights, cleverly circumscribed by the Dutch residents. However, the country is rich in agricultural products. On the one hand, we find modern big tea, coffee and cinchona plantations in the higher regions and on the other, the old *Sawas* or rice-fields cultivated and irrigated by the "terrace system" so famous in Javanese economic history. Rice, as in India, is the universal favourite and is worshipped as a divine grain. Who knows if the Indian grain-goddess *Lakshmi* emigrated with other gods of India to Java and brought along with her the Indian science of cultivation together with the tradition of pondrous plenty which is still written on place-names like

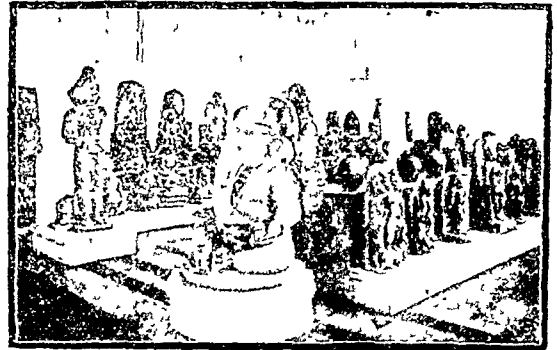


A village scenery

spot. I thanked Dr. Bosch profusely for offering me such an ideal guide and I rushed to make enquiries about my passage, etc., to that romantic island. I came to know that the steamer for Bali would sail soon from Surabaya, the eastern port of Java, and I left Batavia for Surabaya to avail myself of the earliest boat. Mr. Corporaal, the Principal of the School of Goenoeng Sari, did a great service to me by wiring to one of his Balinese pupils (for he had pupils from every part of the archipelago) who resided in Singaradja, the capital of Bali. He further advised me to halt at Bandoeng and see the place on my way to Surabaya. Thanking my friends of Batavia I boarded the train to Bandoeng at 2-30 P.M., buying a ticket for 5-50 guilders.

BANDOENG, THE CAPITAL OF PLANTER'S PARADISE

It took me full five hours to come to Bandoeng from Batavia, the distance being about 100 miles. The trains in Java run only between sunrise and sunset ; so we must previously arrange to halt in a convenient place during the night. My friends of Batavia kindly made all arrangements for my short stay in Bandoeng and so with a mind free from all cares, I began to survey the splendid Indonesian landscape from the train.



Lord Ganesha, the remover of obstacles

Sukabumi (Sukha-bhumi) or the land of Prosperity !

Bandoeng is, next to Batavia, the most important city of Western Java. It is, along with Sukabumi, one of the headquarters for the planters ; it is also the capital of the Preanger Regencies. The native Moslem regent is a pensioner of the Dutch Government, and consequently, as an ornamental figure head, continues the tradition of the bygone age with its puppet plays and gamelan music in the large palace or *dalem* in the centre of the town. But it seems to be out of context when compared with the up-to-date Dutch settlements, the quinine factory and the gigantic wireless installation in the city. The population of over 100,000

souls shows only 10,000 whites, who however are the dominating elements. The relation between the natives and the Eurasian community, as was reported to me, was quite cordial and the cultural discrepancy not so sharp as here in India.

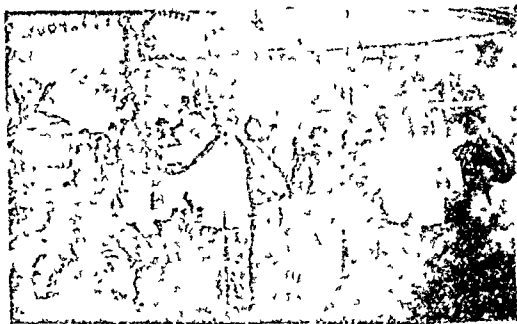
My brief stay in Bandoeng was in the quiet hospitable home of Mr. Fournier and Mr. Van Leenwen who had visited India and Santiniketan and were great admirers of Tagore. In their select family library there were standard works on Java and Bali and I spent most my time glancing through them.



Sundanese Bride and Bridegroom

A SCHOOL FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Higher University education is unknown in Java. The secondary schools are pretty numerous and well-organised. The bulk of the aspirants for Government service have to pass through a type of school test recommended by the Bandoeng one, where the anese youths study the elements of arts, sciences, of drawing and surveying, nay even economics and law! While visiting the school I chanced to come across a manual of



Sundanese Dance

law and I was informed by the teacher that once the influence of Manu's Code was as pronounced as it is to be found in Bali to day; but at present the Islamic and the Dutch Codes are preponderating factors in the legal training of the Javanese officials. The successful candidates, are recruited into service with grades ranging from 25 florins to 400 florins per month according to qualification. Those who aspire after higher posts must go over to the Dutch Universities in Holland and secure Imperial (as opposed to the colonial) service. I shall have occasion to describe the Imperial Service type later on.



A Museum of Indonesian Musical Instruments

A MUSICAL EVENING

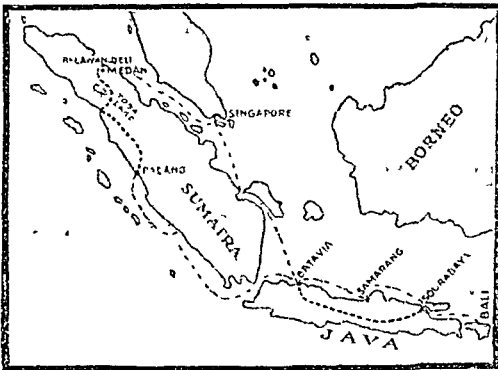
Mr. Van Leenwen kindly took me one evening to a remarkable Dutch scholar who had devoted his life to the study of Javanese music. Mr. Mevrouw Kunst received us in his room, which struck me as a miniature museum of musical instruments coming from Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes and other parts of the archipelago. Mr. Kunst had travelled extensively through the

Dutch Indies and made this valuable collection with a view to write out an exhaustive history of Malay-Polynesian music. He discussed his programme of work with me and I came to discover in Mr. Kunst a musician who shows in him the rare combination of the musical intuition with a sound historical sense. He showed me the excellent photographs he had taken of those reliefs of Borobudur wherein we find the musical instruments, performances and dances, demonstrating the innate sense of rhythm and harmony displayed by the Javanese people throughout history. I felt how the silent stone sculptures might bear eloquent testimony to the musical genius of a people. The musical instruments depicted in the bas reliefs of Borobudur (8th-9th. century A.D.), might supply certain links in the chain of cultural relations between India and Java. Mr. Kunst told me how his studies along these lines had brought out an unexpected corroboration of the intimate cultural relations between Indo-China

covered about 400 miles in 14 hours. This is the southern line which passes Tjibatoe, Tasik Malaya, Bandjar, Maos and Djokjakarta, reaching the final stoppage Surabaya about 7-30 p.m. The whole route is marvellously rich in tropical sceneries, whose softness was occasionally broken by the rude and terrific faces of volcanic rocks. On either side of this route lie the Hindu monuments and temples like Borobudur and Prambanam, but



A Javanese Landscape



A Sketch-Map of the Archipelago and Indonesia. Some Chinese musical instruments penetrated Laos and passing through Cambodia and Siam came as far as Java and Borneo! Where is the historian to write out an account of this musical matrimony between different races? Mr. Kunst struck me as a remarkable personality and I left Bandoeng thanking him for this new vision of human music. He introduced me to Tjokorda Gde Raka, a Balinese expert in Indonesian music, living in Sukawati (Sukhavati), who is the Punggawa (पुङ्गव) or Chief of Oeboed in South Bali.

FROM BANDOENG TO SURABAYA

To reach Surabaya by the evening I had to catch the early morning train which

I had to postpone my archaeological pilgrimage through these sites in order to witness the rare *shraddha* celebration in Bali. While devouring the contents of a book on Bali I suddenly discovered that a Japanese youth was looking at me from the opposite seat. After exchange of courtesies I enquired and came to know that Mr. Narutomi belonged to the Agricultural College of Tokyo and that he had come to Java to study the systems of cultivation special to that island. The Japan Government grants travelling fellowships for such studies, which they consider important. When will our Government Agricultural institutes and our Universities come to realise the value of such direct studies nearer home under Asiatic conditions before sending students to Europe and America?

Arriving in Surabaya, I had to buy my tickets etc., for Bali. I add a few prosaic details on that item for the benefit of future visitors to that island. The railway fare from Batavia to Surabaya comes to about 34 guilders and a ticket to Bali and back cost 93 guilders. Telegraphic charges to Bali came to about 10 guilders. So about 137 guilders were spent to meet the bare charges on the road for this humble Indian pilgrim! But the moment I boarded the steamer I forgot all about exchanges and sea-dues and such other unpoetic yet inevitable things. The

unknown yet very closely related brethren of Bali began to draw me with an overpowering fascination and I lapsed into a dreamy communication with them on board the ship,

"S. S. Both", which heaved gently on the placid waves kissing the shores of Java on one side and the coast of the island of Madura on the other.

INDIA'S WOMANHOOD

News and Portraits

MISS SYAMKUMARI NEHRU, who has this year passed both the M. A. (Previous) and LL. B. (Previous) Examinations of the Allahabad University in the first class, standing first in both, at the outset of her academic career passed the preliminary Cambridge examination in Honours with distinction in Mathematics and Urdu, and passed the Senior Cambridge with distinction in Urdu. She then



Miss Syamkumari Nehru

joined the Muir Central College, Allahabad, with a view to entering the Medical profession, but "non-co-operated" in 1920; appeared for the Intermediate Examination in 1924 and passed first among the girls, winning a Government scholarship of Rs. 20 per

mensum; passed the B. A. in 1926, standing first in the first class among all candidates, winning the University silver medal and a Government scholarship of Rs. 30 per mensum; will now complete her M. A. and LL. B. Finals and then take to Law as a profession. She was elected unopposed Secretary and Vice-president of the Allahabad University Union, and was elected its President after a keenly contested election. She is the first girl to hold office in a university union. She was declared to be the best speaker in the Inter-hostel Debate of her university and also in the All-India Convocation Debate. She was also awarded three medals for speaking, two of them being of gold. In all she is the recipient of seven medals.



Miss Sulabha Panandikar

MISS SULABHA PANANDIKAR has this year passed the M. A. examination of the Bombay University in philosophy, obtaining a first

class and winning the Chancellor's medal and several prizes. To get a first class in philosophy in the M. A. examination is a rare thing in the Bombay University. Miss Sulabha Panandikar has achieved this rare distinction with a learned thesis on the Personality of God. She is the first student to get a first class in philosophy after Prof R. D. Ranade, who took his M. A. degree 13 years ago. She has now obtained a Fellowship at the Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner, and is the first woman student to join the Institute as a research scholar. Miss Panandikar's academic career has been brilliant throughout, and we are assured by one of her professors that her studies have been both extensive and profound.

MRS. TARABEN MANIKLAL PREMCHAND, J. P., is another Hindu woman to be appointed one of the honorary magistrates for Bombay this year. She is connected with various institutions for the welfare of Bombay's womanhood. She is the president of the Bhagini Samaj.



Mrs. Taraben Maniklal Premchand J. P.

DR. MISS KUMUDA MEHTA, L. M., M. R. C. P., of Bombay went to England after obtaining



Dr. Miss. Kumuda Mehta

the L. M. S. diploma of the Bombay University to prosecute higher medical studies and passed her L. M. (Edin) and M. R. C. P. in Great Britain. She is the first Gujarati Hindu woman to achieve this distinction.

MISS JULEKHA BANU, daughter of Nawabzadi Pearl Banu and grand-daughter of the late Nawab Ahsanullah of Dacca, has this year passed the B. A. examination of the Calcutta University with distinction. She is believed to have secured very high marks in Sanskrit.

A woman student, Miss Biswas, has been

admitted into the first year law class of the Dacca University. She is the first student of her sex to do so at Dacca.

MISS ASI MAJID, daughter of Mr Abdul Majid, interpreter, Akyab Court, has passed the I. A. examination of the Calcutta University in the first class from Chittagong College, where she attended lectures with her male fellow-students.

MISS MONEESHA SEN, daughter of Mr. Sunanda Sen of Calcutta, has been awarded a senior scholarship of the Trinity College of Music for playing on the piano.



Miss Moneesha Sen

Several women students have this year joined the Dacca Intermediate College for pursuing scientific studies, as there is no provision for scientific education at the Dacca Intermediate Eden College for girls.

Nine Bengali women, some of them Hindus, have obtained employment at the Howrah railway station as booking clerks. Bengali women ought to receive employment at Telephone Exchange offices also.

Four lady-students have this year passed the Matriculation examination of the Aligarh Muslim University. Among them MISS SARWAT BEGUM has topped the list of successful candidates. MISS AMINA BUTT, another lady candidate aged only 13 years, has also passed the Matriculation Examination of the said University in the first division.



Mrs. A. Catherine Sutharayadu

MRS A. CATHERINE SUTHARAYADU, has been appointed by the Government of Madras, to be a Member of the Taluk and District Board, Kistna.

MRS LALITHAM BALASUNDARAM, has recently been nominated a Member of the District Educational Council, Coimbatore. She belongs to a very respectable Devanga family and had a brilliant educational career. She is a prominent social service worker in the town, and is an active member of the Child Welfare and National Indian Association.



Mrs. Lalitham Balasundaram

In Girl Guide Activities Indian ladies are not lagging behind Mrs. ISORANI BALASUBRAMANYAM, (wife of Mr. M. Balasubramanyam, Supdt., Junior Certified



Mrs. Indrani Balasubramanyam

School, Rajahmundry) has been made the lady Assistant "Cubmaster" in the Madras Presidency. She is the first lady to attain this honour in the presidency.*

* Photos in this section have been kindly supplied by the Indian News Agency, Mr. R. Venkoba Rao, Mr. Rangublas Kapadia and others.

INDIANS ABROAD

MR. SASTRI'S ARRIVAL IN PRETORIA

It appears that inspite of doubts Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has received a very hearty welcome from at least some sections of the South African Indians. The *Indian Opinion*, a sympathetic journal, gives the following account of Mr. Sastri's arrival in Pretoria.

The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, arrived in Pretoria on the morning of June 28, by the Delagoa Bay Mail. Notwithstanding the early hour of 7 there was a large gathering of Indians at the railway station to welcome Mr. Sastri.

Mr. Sastri was accompanied by Mr. Henry Venn, Commissioner for Asiatic Affairs who met him at Delagoa Bay; Messrs Kolanda Rao, J. D. Tyson of the Indian Civil Service and C. S. Ricketts. This party was joined at the station by Mr. Pring, Under-Secretary for the Interior, and they subsequently breakfasted together at the station. Mr. Dobson, Acting Registrar, Immigration Office, was also present.

When the train drew in, Mr. Sastri stepped on

to the platform and after greeting leading Pretoria Indians, was garlanded by Mr. A. C. Tayob on behalf of the local Indian Association, by Mr. A. I. Kajeer on behalf of the South African Indian Congress and by Mr. Sorabjee Rustumjee on behalf of the Natal Indian Congress. Many Indians who had travelled also from Johannesburg to welcome Mr. Sastri also garlanded him.

It was interesting to note that amongst those gathered to welcome Mr. Sastri were also representatives of the Natives, namely Chief Sikukuni (who read the native address to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales), four of the chief's councillors and Messrs T. P. Thompson and I. Bud M'belle members of the Native location advisory board.

In the course of an interview with our representative Mr. Sastri said that he had little expected to be here and was least inclined, but Mahatma Gandhi had, as it were, set the ball rolling and he had no alternative but to accept the office. He had come at the bidding of Mahatma Gandhi and would try to do his bit.

Mr. Sastri's health is, of course, very delicate and he looked, therefore, as best as could be expected in the circumstances. It is advisable, in

view of this, for those who visit Mr. Sastri to give him the least possible strain. Mr. Sastri has put up at the Grand Hotel.

Pretoria Indians were busy throughout the day arranging the function to be given that night at the Town Hall in honour of Mr. Sastri. The telegraph office of Pretoria also seemed to be exceptionally busy; for in the midst of the work telegrams welcoming Mr. Sastri were simply pouring in.

THE HINDOO GYMKHANA, ZANZIBAR

We have received the following communication from Zanzibar:—

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Shastri, P. C. performed the opening ceremony of the Hindoo Gymkhana Institute on the Kikwajuni Quarry near the English Cemetery at 10.30 A. M. on the 19th June. The place was tastefully decorated. After introduction to the President, Mr. C. M. Patel, the Life members and the captains of the various branches, the guest was led to the dais where leaders of all communities also took their seats. Dr. A. H. Spurrier, C. M. G., O. B. E., was one of the distinguished guests.

Mr. B. N. Anantani, Life member of the Gymkhana, requested Mr. Shastri to be good enough to perform the opening ceremony.

In declaring the Gymkhana open, Mr. Shastri said that he enjoyed a real pleasure in performing the opening ceremony of the Hindoo Gymkhana at the bidding of Mr. Anantani.

It was a matter of congratulation for the community that it possessed such an important institution in such a prosperous state. Cricket was so well-known a game in the sporting world that it had been made a synonym for fair play and honesty. The Anglo-Saxon, he said, was proud of his cricket for these qualities. He forgot there were others also who could maintain that great standard in sport as well as in wordly life. He enumerated his own experiences when a student and teacher in sports. He explained to the audience the value of discipline which could be acquired so well from sports.

He was very glad to hear that there was no communal question in Zanzibar. They must understand that besides themselves there was a large section of other people, and that only by merging with them could a great nation be built.

He thanked the members of the Gymkhana

for the honour done to him and wished the Gymkhana every success.

After refreshment had been served on the lawn, Mr. Shastri left in the midst of the vociferous three cheers proposed by the Cricket Captain of the Gymkhana.

EUROPEAN STANDARD OF LIVING ?

A continued press campaign has almost convinced the world that the Indians in Africa live such a life of filth and savagery that it has become practically impossible for the "whites" to breathe the same atmosphere with them, much as their Christian virtues urge them to do so. The "whites" have, it has been advertised, tried their level best to lift the Indians (and probably the native Africans also) up to a higher level of culture and habits; but have, alas, failed on account of the Indians' tenacious backwardness! The world was beginning to feel sorry for the African whites when the following news appeared in the Press.

Charged with keeping insanitary native quarters a European, J. C. Van Rensburg, Railway Street, Maritzburg, appeared before Mr. W. P. Maxted at the Maritzburg Magistrate's Court last week. Evidence went to show that the native living on the premises was housed in an iron shed with less than 100 square feet of floor area. The floor was not constructed with wood, tiles or other materials, and the roof was less than nine feet above the floor. There was no window in the room. In finding Van Rensburg guilty, Mr. Maxted said: "I realise that some white people consider that anything will do for a native, but they are made of flesh and blood and suffer from just the same ailments as we do. They are entitled to housing that will not endanger their health. If you cannot supply suitable quarters you should not keep the servant." Van Rensburg was cautioned and discharged.

A very direct example of exploitation of a "native" by a "civilised" man. If we look deep enough, however, the low standard of living of most exploited races would show up as the result of exactly similar exploitation, only on an international scale.

INDIAN EMIGRATION FROM NATAL

The position in regard to Indian emigration from Natal is stated to be as follows:—

In the period April-June 634 emigrated, the figures being made up as follows:—312 men, 12 women and 193 children. At present the Department of immigration has 400 applications from Indians wishing to leave the country. Each adult receives a bonus of £20 with an additional £10 for each child.

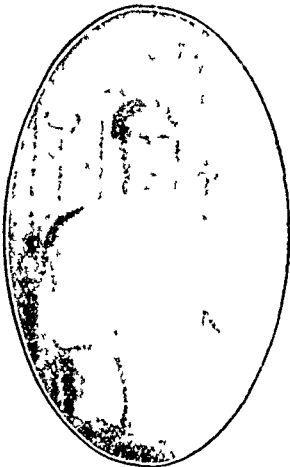
OUR PORTRAIT GALLERY



DR. T. N. MAZUMDAR, D. T. M., D. P. H., F. C. S. (LONDON), F. R. S. (EMN) has been appointed Health Officer of the Calcutta Corporation *vice* Dr. Crane deceased. Dr. Mazumdar is the first Indian to hold this office.



MR. HIRANMOY BANERJI another Bengali successful candidate in the I.C.S. examination.



MR. ANNADA SANKAR RAY, a Bengali candidate, has stood first in the I. C. S. examination held this year in India. Mr. Ray has secured 1214 marks in the aggregate, beating previous records.



MR. DWIJENDRALAL MAZUMDAR has also passed the I. C. S. examination held in India.



MR. GOPAL KRISHNA DEVADHAR, M.A., C.I.E., Vice-President and Senior member of the Servants of India Society, has just been elected President of the Society *vice* Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri resigned. Mr. Devadhar is a well-known worker in the field of co-operation, women's education and social reform. No better selection could have been made.



MR. D. K. MUKHERJEE of the New College Patna, has successfully obtained the diploma of the College of Handicrafts (England) with Honours. Mr. Mukherji joined the Shoreditch Training College, the special subject of his study being educational handicrafts.

* Photos in this section have been supplied by The Indian News Agency, Mr. R. Venkoba Rao and others.

CORRESPONDENCE

CALUMNIATORS OF MUHAMMAD

The *Rangila Rasul* case appears to have stirred the Muslim Community deeply. It is natural that it should. No religiously-minded people can take an insult to its prophet lying down. In our student days, we had to read a book on English Composition—"Studies in English" by a Missionary gentleman, which contained illustrations of a very objectionable character. Here is a sentence which I still remember:—"Krishna was a debauchee and a thief and Siva was no better; yet many Hindus delight in worshipping them as deities." These may not have been the exact words, but the gist was undoubtedly this. We had to commit sentences like these to memory as specimens of good English. I have not yet come across any

copy of the condemned *Rangila Rasul* pamphlet, but I can guess the trend of this objectionable piece of composition from its very name.

I wish to draw the attention of my Muslim brethren to similar vilifications of the Prophet in some recent English publications. One is a study of the *Hadis* literature by Prof. Guillaume, professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in the University of Durham. Readers of this Review are probably aware that the *Hadis* literature records traditions about the Prophet's doings and sayings and its aim is to "provide an authoritative standard of belief and conduct based upon the word and deed of Muhammad, which shall be binding upon the whole of the Muhammadan world." Some maintain that the sayings of the Prophet were written down by a few of his

contemporaries, while others deny this. At any rate, the bulk of the traditions was preserved in memory and handed down from generation to generation, until, about 250 years after the death of the Prophet, Bukhari made his grand collection which passes under the name of *Shahi Bukhari* and is regarded as authoritative all over the Muslim world. Prof. Guillaume's book professes to be based on a study of Bukhari and other standard works on *Hadis*. Here is a passage from this book :—

"Probably nothing is more illustrative of the Prophet's greatness both among his contemporaries and with posterity than the fact that his reputation could survive the publication of the following story by his wife Aisha :—I was jealous of the women who gave themselves to the apostle of God and said—"Does a woman give herself?" Then when God revealed : "Thou mayest decline for the present whom thou wilt of them, and thou mayest take to thy bed her whom thou wilt and whomsoever thou shalt long for of those thou shalt have before neglected; and this shall not be a crime in thee." (F.n.—V. 51). I said,—"I see, your Lord does nothing but hasten to fulfil your desire". (Pp. 153-154).

The compiler says again in a foot-note :—"It must be counted unto the traditionists for righteousness that this and many other *Hadis* so damaging to the Prophet's reputation were not expunged from the canonical collections. It would seem that the Prophet's character among the Faithful

was above criticism; otherwise it is difficult to see how such traditions could have been tolerated in a community which claimed to have received a revelation from God".

I suspect that there must be something wrong in Prof. Guillaume's interpretation of those passages of *Hadis* on which he bases these aspersions on the Prophet's character. A very comprehensive and exhaustive index to the *Hadis* Literature has just been published by a German scholar Prof. Wensinck of the Leiden University (*A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, by Prof. Wensinck. Leiden, 1927.) Curiously, in this book also there are references to *Hadis* which record that women came and gave themselves to the Prophet. (*Op. Cit.* p. 159). Here is the passage :—

"Women that offered or gave themselves to Muhammad :—Bu 40, 9; 66, 21, 22; 67, 14, 32, 35, 37, 40, 44, 50; 77, 49; 78, 79."

Op. cit. P. 57. "Muhammad divorces women who refuse to have connection with him." Bu 68, 3, but of, 74, 30.

It behoves all serious students of *Hadis* literature, all the learned Maulvis and Ulemas of India, to refute these allegations by true interpretations. All Muslims should try their utmost to get the works of Professors Guillaume and Wensinck suppressed: and all lovers and followers of Muhammad and his Faith should try their best to bring the offenders to book.

Dacca. July, 10, 1927.

A SYMPATHISER.

G. B. SHAW ON INDIA'S CIVILIZATION

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

AS a dramatist Mr. George Bernard Shaw has done quite the right thing in contributing a preface of some forty pages in memory of his friend William Archer to a posthumous volume of plays (*Three Plays by William Archer*; Constable) which has been recently published. But, while writing the preface, it was not wise on his part to forget the proverb which advises the cobbler to stick to his last. For in this piece of composition Mr. Shaw has chosen to write about India and her civilization, of which, it is obvious from what he writes, he knows little and understands less. Mr. Shaw's ignorance of India, added to his general character as a writer, should disincline me to take him seriously and undertake a serious refutation of his views. But in India he seems to have been taken by some Britishers and others as an authority even on India. That is my excuse for the observations which follow.

With reference to the opinions expressed by Archer in his book, "India and the Future," Mr. Shaw writes :—

"Archer went to see for himself, and instantly and uncompromisingly denounced the temples as the shambles of a barbarous ritual of blood sacrifice and the people as idolaters with repulsive rings through their noses. He refused to accept the interest of Indian art and the fictions of Indian romance as excuses. He remained invincibly faithful to Western civilization, and told the Indians flatly what a civilized western gentleman must think of them and feel about some of their customs."

Archer was not deceived by what "the occidental renegades" had written about India. So he came to India "to see for himself," and "instantly" "denounced the temples," etc. It was a case of "I came, I saw and I opined," or rather "I denounced." India is a big country, inhabited by various races in different stages of civilization, and with a long history. Archer did not require any time to observe and study—he *instantly* began to denounce.

The method followed by the ancestors of the Hindus in dealing with the backward races of India and Indonesia was somewhat different from the method followed by occidentals in America, Oceania and, to some extent, in Africa. It may be said in general terms that the occidentals have exterminated many backward tribes, the Hindus have not. It is not my purpose to defend or condemn what the Hindus have done instead of exterminating. What I wish to point out is that if, instead of exterminating the aboriginal population, say, of America, the Europeans had allowed them to live and multiply, there would have been at present in America numerous peoples in various stages of evolution, just as there are in India. In that case, some hasty and arrogant oriental Archer or Shaw might, after a brief visit to America or even without one, have *instantly* denounced some of the American cults and customs. When races at different stages of evolution live in the same country for centuries, interpenetration and intermingling of cults, customs, etc., cannot but take place.

Archer denounced the temples of India as the shambles of a barbarous ritual of blood sacrifice. Some, but not all temples are really such. Animals are not sacrificed at Jaina temples, and they are among the most beautiful in India. There is no animal sacrifice in Vaishnava temples, and they form a very large proportion of temples in India. Some of the largest and most famous temples, such as the temple of Jagannath at Puri, are Vaishnava temples. Far-famed places of pilgrimage like Benares, Allahabad, Hardwar and Brindaban, and the principal shrines therein have no rituals of bloody sacrifice. The temples of any importance where animals are sacrificed are a minority. Therefore, to characterise all temples in India as bloody shambles is to be guilty of culpable ignorance or carelessness, born of imperialistic arrogance.

It is an irony of fate that the land where alone the doctrine of *ahimsa* (non-killing) has been taught and logically practised by millions of people for ages should come in for sweeping condemnation at the hands of the people of a country of meat-eaters.

The temple at Jerusalem, where Jesus among others offered animal sacrifice, was famous for the large number of animals sacrificed there. One is curious to know whether Archer and Shaw have ever denounced the Jews and Jesus as barbarians.

The real question is whether it is right

to kill animals which do no harm to man for food or for sport. If it be wrong, it is wrong whether such animals are sacrificed at temples or killed by butchers or sportsmen. It cannot be said that more animals are sacrificed by the Hindus in India than are killed for supplying meat to the people of Great Britain—a much smaller country, than India, or by British sportsmen. Nay, in India itself more animals are killed for supplying meat to the small communities of Europeans and Anglo-Indians than are sacrificed by Hindus. If the animals had and could state their own point of view, they would have said that it did not make any difference to them where they were killed—at shambles or at Hindu temples. The barbarousness of the thing lies in the killing, not in the place where the killing is done.

But, it will be said, religion is such a pure, sublime and spiritual thing that the killing of animals should not be associated with it;—God cannot require or be pleased with the sacrifice of animals. I perfectly agree. And, therefore, I ask, whether it is barbarous to associate religion with the killing only of lower animals or with the killing of human beings also. Obviously it is not less barbarous to associate the killing of men with religion than the killing of some lower animals with it. But in many Christian countries divine service is performed in some Christian churches when their soldiers go out to fight, and again services of thanksgiving are held when they return victorious from the battle-field. And this is done whether the wars are righteous and justifiable or not. (I assume without arguing the point that there may be righteous and justifiable wars.) If the killing of men were not held by some Christians to be pleasing in the eye of God, they would not ask for God's blessings on their arms before setting out to kill and thank Him after success in killing, nor would they keep and display battleflags in churches and chapels or inscribe the names of successful killers on marble slabs fixed to the walls of such temples or keep therein the effigies of great killers of men. Churches, chapels, cathedrals and abbeys are not indeed reddened with the blood of the human sacrifices offered at the altar of Mars, mis-called God, but if the foemen killed were not in essence considered sacrifices acceptable to him, there would not have been any divine services before and after battle or war.

To many who are not Christians, the doctrine that Christ sacrificed himself for the sins of mankind to propitiate an angry God and the doctrine that the consecrated bread and wine become really or figuratively Christ's body and blood for the communicants, are reminiscent of human sacrifice. I have no desire to give pain to any Christian. I only wish to say that many transfigured or spiritualized ceremonies probably had their origin in savage rites, and, therefore, civilized occidentals should not think that they are really very superior to real or mis-called non-European savages.

Indians have been spoken of "as idolaters with repulsive rings through their noses." I am coming to "idolaters" shortly. As for nose-rings, I am not at all in love with them, though I cannot agree that all nose-rings are repulsive any more than that all ear-rings are repulsive. I have in fact seen little girls wearing nose-rings called "*noelok*" looking quite pretty. But that is a digression. Archer and Shaw write as if all Hindus of both sexes and all ages wore nose-rings! That is a ridiculously wrong statement. Only some women and girls wear nose-rings—and rarely a very few male babies. The vast majority of the people of India do not wear nose-rings. Ancient Indian art and literature show that nose-rings were not used by the Indo-Aryans. These either came from abroad or were used by the non Aryan aborigines of India.

Mr. Shaw observes that "the eastern toleration of nose-rings is not justified by the western toleration of ear-rings". One might in imitation of Shaw observe: "The western toleration of ear-rings is not consistent with the western condemnation of nose-rings."

The extreme condemnation of the worship of or through images or idols is of Semitic origin. Among Hindus there are both relative disparagement and relative toleration of idolatry. According to the highest Hindu scriptures, the worship of or through images is for the less spiritually advanced people—the *nimna-adhikaris*. The authoritative Upanishads do not countenance image-worship.

It is a common failing of men that they look down upon the cults or customs of others, not considering that similar things exist among themselves. Hindu gods and goddesses are, no doubt, very strange to occidentals—some of them looking like human beings, some not. But it is not their appearance which is the essence of image-worship. The essence is the use of material

things either as objects of worship or as aids to worship. Now, Hindus are not singular in using material things for such purposes. Among Christians, too, the Catholics use images, etc., for such purposes. In Europe 274,760,000 persons profess Christianity. Out of these 181,760,000, that is, two-thirds, are Catholics and use images in worship. In North and South America 139,300,000 persons profess Christianity, of whom 73,900,000, that is to say, more than half, are Catholics and use images in worship. This shows that among occidentals the majority are image-worshippers. No doubt, they do not wear nose-rings. Making due allowance for that fact, let Mr. Shaw decide whether they are barbarians.

The worst kind of idolatry is that of which inhumanity or licentiousness forms a part; and even of the higher kinds of idolatry I am neither a follower nor a defender. But neither do I despise or condemn idolaters as such. For men are to be judged by their life and character, and many idolaters have led blameless, noble and beneficent lives.

The worship of Kali by the Thugs, both when they set out on their expeditions of murder and plunder and when they returned from such wicked adventures, was one of the worst and most wicked forms of idolatry. But those who are of the same way of thinking with Archer and Shaw should consider whether worshipping, praying to and thanking God in some Christian Churches before and after many empire-building, commerce-promoting and revenge-taking military expeditions do not in all essential respects bear a family resemblance to the worship of Kali by the Thugs. I think they do bear such resemblance.

I know of the immoralities connected with some cults in India. I abhor them with all my heart. The existence elsewhere of such cults, in the past or at present, is no excuse for them. I have no desire to rake up the scandalous things, true or false, told by some Christian sects in connection with the practices or religious houses or religious orders of some other Christian sects. But I may be permitted to draw attention to the fact that among the paraphernalia of Western aggressive imperialism are army chaplains, privates, prostitutes, barracks and brothels. If *deradasis* and priests in some southern India temples are an abominable combination, are not army chaplains and army prostitutes an equally abominable combination?

"The interest of Indian art and the fictions of Indian romance," which Mr. Shaw mentions slightly, can take care of themselves.

In the opinion of Mr. Shaw, "If Western civilization is not more enlightened than Eastern, we have clearly no right to be in India." This implies that Britishers came to India on a philanthropic mission, namely, to civilize India, and that they continue to be in India in pursuit of that object. This is as far removed from the truth as black is from white. Should all the means and methods used for the occupation of India and for the maintenance of British supremacy in India be claimed as civilized, civilization would have to be first very clearly defined. I might then discuss the claim.

In the opinion of Shaw, all Europeans who have had some good things to say of Indian civilization are "occidental renegades." This variety of "renegades" was not in existence a century ago, nor can any British empire-builder of the first or second decade of the last century be considered such a renegade even by Shaw. Let me, therefore, quote such an empire-builder's comparative estimate of British and Indian civilizations. I may be allowed incidentally to observe that western civilization and British civilization are not convertible terms.

Among British empire-builders of the last century Sir Thomas Munro holds a high place. As he did not keep aloof from the people but moved among and mixed with them, he came to acquire an intimate knowledge of them. He won fame both as a warrior and a civil administrator. Such was the man who said in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1813 in answer to a question about the civilization of the Hindus:—

I do not exactly understand what is meant by the 'civilization' of the Hindus. In the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government, and in an education which, by banishing prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans. But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other, and, above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people—then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe, and if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am

convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo."

Much water has flowed down both the Thames and the Ganges since this evidence was given. It is not my purpose to discuss Munro's opinions. But Mr. Shaw may consider whether, if the Hindus have become barbarians since the days of Munro, that is a proof of the civilizing mission of Britishers in India, who have enjoyed supreme power here throughout this period. Mr. Shaw holds that "if Western civilization is not more enlightened than Eastern, we have clearly no right to be in India." Munro expressed the opinion that in some respects the Hindus were more civilized than the British, yet he did not feel called upon to leave India. Mr. Shaw should be able to explain the reason why.

I am inclined to think that in some respects the Hindus are still superior to the occidentals, and the occidentals, too, are superior to us in some other respects. It would be very difficult to decide who on the whole were more civilized.

Mr. Shaw condemns suttee. So do we. Even in those cases where the widows willingly burned themselves with their dead husbands, nay, insisted upon doing so, I think they acted wrongly. But suttee is a bygone custom. It never prevailed throughout India, nor in all ages. It was confined, for the most part, to Bengal, Oude and Rajputana and some adjoining areas. It was forbidden throughout southern India. The Emperor Akbar prohibited it. And when during the British period it was abolished by law, it was the better mind of the Hindu society represented by Rammohun Roy which stimulated and strengthened the resolve of the Government. That shows that if those who thought with Rammohun Roy had the power of the state in their hands instead of the British rulers, they would have found some means to put a stop to the inhuman practice.

Suttee was not peculiar to India, as anthropologists and sociologists know. The custom of cremation or burial of wives, slaves, mothers, servants, high officers, etc., with dead ordinary individuals or kings prevailed in all continents, including Europe, in some age or other of human history. If the Hindus alone are to be branded as savages for a bygone custom which never prevailed throughout India or in all periods of Hindu history, would it not be quite easy to brand occidentals, too, as savages for the burning of numerous heretics by many Christians in

the past, and for the lynching of Negroes in America in modern times?

The practice of throwing oneself under the wheels of the car of Jagannath ceased long ago, and never caused even a hundredth part of the loss of human lives caused by the rash driving of automobiles in the West. But it seems, the suicide of a small number of persons in the past from religious superstition is a mark of greater barbarism than the present-day killing of persons other than oneself due to the superstitious worship of speed!

Mr. Shaw reaches the nadir of the ridiculous when he seeks support for his views from a comparison of the British occupation in India with the Roman conquest of Britain. Every schoolboy knows that at the time of the Roman conquest of Britain the Britons were not a civilised people. They had no literature, no philosophy, no science, no advanced architecture, sculpture or other fine arts. To speak in the same breath of the uncivilised Britons and of the Hindus with their striking achievements in all spheres of human culture, betrays an ignorance and want of judgment which will not add to Mr. Shaw's reputation, though they may not take away from it either.

Neither British nor Hindu civilisation should be judged by some of the worst things that may be said of Britishers or Hindus. They are to be judged by the highest thoughts, ideals, social systems and achievements of the two civilisations through the ages. So judged, the Hindus will not have cause only to be ashamed. Particularly are the two peoples to be judged by what they have done for other peoples than themselves. Like Britishers and other Europeans, the Hindus were in bygone days a seafaring people; they were great colonisers. But they were not like the European peoples described by George Macaulay Trevelyan in the following paragraph of his *History of England*, pp. 74-75:

"The Scandinavians had always been traders as well as pirates in their dealings with one another in home waters, and so they remained in the larger field of foreign enterprise now open to them. They combined the pride of the merchant with the very different pride of the warrior, as few people have done. In a tomb of the Hebrides a pair of scales has been found buried in a Viking chief's tomb

alongside his sword and battle-axe. Their first thought when they founded a colony in England or Ireland was to build fortified towns and to open markets. By land or sea they were prepared to trade with the newcomer or to cut his throat according to circumstances or the humour of the hour. Such indeed, for centuries to come, was the custom of sailors, from every port of mediaeval Europe, not excluding Chaucer's Shipman and some of the Elizabethan heroes". (Italics mine. R. C.)

Nor were the Hindus imperialists given to exterminating, enslaving and exploiting other peoples. Hindu influence went to evoke the best that there was in the ancient indigenes of Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Anam, Java, Sumatra, Bali, etc. The results can still be traced in the marvellous architectural, sculptural and other cultural remains in many of these lands which are still extant, baffling the ravages of Time and human vandalism. Can Mr. Shaw point to a single non-European uncivilized people raised culturally to the level to which the ancient Javanese, Balinese, etc., were raised by the Hindus? Hindu influence is still manifest in and acknowledged by the people of Tibet, China, Korea and Japan. It is not at all my intention to boast of the achievements of our ancestors. But, ashamed as I am of the many evil customs and shortcomings of the people of the land to which I am nevertheless proud to belong, I cannot allow ignorant critics to throw mud at us with impunity. Were we ourselves satisfied with whatever lowers us in the scale of humanity, we should deserve to be castigated even by ignoramuses. But we have all along been fighting our own battles. No doubt, the number of reformers among Indians, as among other peoples, has been small. But there is no evil in our country against which some Indians have not fought or are not fighting.

Mr. Shaw tries to throw ridicule on the "occidental renegades" who, according to him, picture India as inhabited by Rabindranath Tagores and Mahatmas, etc. But should he not have stopped to think why and how even in her enslaved and depressed condition India has been able to produce even one Tagore or one Gandhi? Are men like them plentiful as blackberries in the superior West? Or are such men ever mere freaks or sports in any country?

NOTES

"What Americans Say About Subject India"

Among Americans, as among many other peoples, there have been panegyrists as well as adverse critics of British rule in India. But as the British people and British rulers are wealthier, more energetic and better organised propagandists than the critics of British rule in India, the world, including India, is perhaps better acquainted with the panegyrics than with the indictments of the British governance of India. But for a balanced and impartial judgment, both sides of the shield should be seen, both the advocates and critics should be heard. Most politically-minded Indians attach greater importance to what the critics say, as most Britishers consider only the praises to be true. But if one does not know both the pros and cons, it is best to suspend judgment till one has had an opportunity to calmly hear both sides. When we say this, we do not imply that if the British administration of India were admitted to be very good, India would have no right to self-rule. No. India's case for freedom is independent of the goodness or badness of British rule. Self-rule is an essential part of the highest political good. The best other-rule cannot deprive us of our right to this highest political good.

As all Indians now living were born and have been brought up in subjection and breathe the atmosphere of dependence, even the most freedom-loving among them have to some extent become accustomed to loss of freedom as if it were quite a natural thing. It is, therefore, necessary for us to know exactly what free people think of our political and economic condition.

Though it is well-known that editors do not necessarily endorse every bit of what their contributors write or quote, and, therefore, it is not usual with us to comment on contributed articles, yet as a few sentences quoted in Dr. Sunderland's article may be misunderstood, we think we should say a few words about them.

Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall speaks of "a fire burning day and night for three months," at Rubitan (which we have not been able to locate), "the fuel of which was dead bodies," etc. Those foreigners who do not know that

the Hindus cremate their dead may make the mistake of thinking that dead bodies were used as fuel for some purpose, whereas the truth probably is that during some devastating epidemic of plague so many people died everyday that the funeral pyres continued to burn during three months.

Mr. Charles Edward Russell writes that "after 160 years of this sort of benevolence the gratitude of the people is so very great that they are hourly expected to rise and tear their benefactors to pieces!" "Expected" by whom? Perhaps some British sojourner or other in India told Mr. Russell that Indians "are hourly expected to rise and tear" the British sojourners to pieces. But we are not aware of any such expectation or well-founded apprehension. Again, the same writer refers to the people "incessantly plotting and planning how to get rid of" the British Government. That the people are constantly plotting may be only a C.I.D. story, though it is true that there is grave discontent in the land. If there have been plots now and then, only a small number of men took part in them. Again, Mr. Russell says that his fellow-traveller, an Englishman, told him that the "volcano", i.e., the alleged pent-up rebellious fury of the Indian people, might burst forth any moment. Questions of the practicability, the wisdom, or the need of a rebellious outbreak apart, we do not think there is any probability of any such outbreak—if for no other reason than that the mass of the people are too ignorant, too poverty-crushed, too disease-ridden and too unorganised for such an adventure.

Sir Ganga Ram

The Punjab in particular and the whole of India besides are poorer by the death of Sir Ganga Ram, the eminent man of action and philanthropist of the land of the five rivers. He was a distinguished engineer and agriculturist, social reformer and philanthropist. Says *The Tribune* :—

A man of rare courage, ability and enterprise. Sir Ganga Ram would probably have made his mark in any sphere of life. The sphere that he actually chose was one where his natural talents found the freest play and the fullest scope, with

the result that quite early in life he attained a distinction which in most cases is the reward of mature years. He was undoubtedly the most successful man of his time in his own profession in this Province and perhaps one of the two or three most successful men in that profession in all India. In one respect, however—the application of his engineering skill to India's premier industry and the adoption of scientific methods of cultivation—he stood absolutely unique. It was here that he both had the opportunity of exhibiting to the fullest extent the rare gifts with which nature had endowed him and earned that immense wealth, the liberal and judicious use of which was the prime source of his power over his fellow-men. This is not the place to refer in detail to his many activities in this direction. Nor is it necessary to refer to activities which are a matter of common knowledge. Suffice it to say that whether in the establishment of model farms on plots of land which from time to time were granted to him by Government or in equipping with irrigation channels and up-to-date machinery for cultivation more extensive plots of land which Government leased to him on conditions which, in one case at least, were far from favourable to him, he achieved complete and almost phenomenal success.

The same journal observes truly that it is not for these things that Sir Ganga Ram will be best remembered. As *The Hindu Herald* observes :—

He will be best remembered in this Province for his practical philanthropy on a truly princely scale. To this most outstanding aspect of his life His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey, while opening the Hailey College of Commerce on the 4th March last, paid the following eloquent and well-deserved tribute:—"One had to deplore the fact that our University has not attracted that rich stream of private bounty which has created and maintained our great universities of the West. In Sir Ganga Ram's gift of this site and building we have an example which will, I hope, attract a long line of benefactions in the future. For him it is no first effort in philanthropy or public spirit; a widows' home and school, a hospital, a commercial institute and library, an endowed scheme for assisting widows' remarriage, are among the many causes which his liberality has assisted. I know no man in our province to whom charity seems to make a clearer call, and who obeys that call with a readier hand or a more cheerful heart. His success in life has been the fruit of rare courage and enterprise, but, as I have said elsewhere, *if he has earned like a hero, he has spent like a saint.*"

He also founded a students' career society, an industrial shop and an *Apahaj Ashram*. *The Tribune* draws attention to a special feature of his benefactions.

Many men have been known to bequeath large fortunes to the nation at the time of their death. With the single exception of Sardar Dyal Singh, the founder of this paper and of the College and Library that bear his name, no one, at least in this Province, has given away such large sums of money for the permanent good of the public during his life-time. The properties placed by Sir Ganga Ram

at the disposal of the Trust created by him for the carrying out of his philanthropic aims are worth no less than Rs. 30,00,000 and, the annual income yielded by them is more than a lakh and twenty-five thousand. And yet these did not exhaust the whole of his philanthropic activities. A large measure of his charity was reserved for individuals. His charity, besides, was of the kind that while helping the needy and the distressed did not demoralise them. As often as possible he would, instead of making a large money grant to such people, place them in the way of earning money for themselves. The passing away of such a man, even though he died full of years and honours, would at all times be a public calamity. In the present case the sense of grief at his death is bound to be the keener because he died away from his home and his country.

To another aspect of his personality and career Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar draws attention in *The Tribune*. Says he :—

The passing away of Sir Ganga Ram is a serious set-back to the progress of applied chemistry in our province. There are comparatively few who know how deeply Sir Ganga Ram was interested in Chemical Research. I am glad to know that in the public meeting held at Lahore on the 14th of July 1927, Sir Abdul Qadir made a brief reference to Sir Ganga Ram's latest researches. The two schemes on which he was spending a great deal of his time and attention were :—

1. A new fodder from the peeled off skin of the sugar cane:—The scheme aimed at softening the skin by a chemical process and injecting it with molasses and other nutrient material, so that it would be palatable and nourishing to the animal. The scheme was in a fairly advanced stage and samples were prepared and shown by Sir Ganga Ram to His Excellency the Governor, and approved of by Mr. Warth, the animal nutrition expert at Bangalore.

2. The making of white shakkar:—Not satisfied with the caste of crystalline sugar, Sir Ganga Ram made us evolve a process by which a greater portion of the shakkar could be retained in the crystal sugar and yet the product would be white. This was successfully accomplished in our Laboratory and Sir Ganga Ram carried with him to England samples of the product.

Jogindranath Basu

Babu Jogindranath Basu, who in his long life of 71 years has filled many roles, was in the early stages of his career known best as a good teacher who not only filled the minds of his students with knowledge but influenced their characters for good. While headmaster of the high school at Baidyanath he interested himself in a project for the establishment of a leper asylum. He was drawn to this kind of philanthropic work by the presence at Baidyanath of a large number of lepers, who go to that place of pilgrimage

in the hope of being cured, and by the then recent death of Father Damien who gave his life for the lepers at Honolulu. Mr. Basu wrote a life of Father Damien in Bengali in collaboration with his friend and namesake the late Babu Jogindranath Basu, son of the venerable sage Rajnarain Basu. The leper asylum was established mainly with the help of the late Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, who endowed it. It was named the Rajkumari Leper Asylum after the famous doctor's wife.

Mr. Basu is well-known as a poet and a prose-writer. His best-known poems are *Shiraji* and *Prithviraj* (both epics,) and *Manava-Gita*. His best-known prose work is a biography of the poet Michael Madhusudan Dutt, in which he did pioneering work in the fields of critical literary appreciation and critical biographical composition. He also wrote biographies of the saint *Tukaram* and of the sainted queen *Ahalya Bai*.

Jyoti Bhushan Sen

Jyoti Bhushan Sen, who worked as Librarian of the Servants of India Society in Poona for over four years, and who died last month in the same city of typhoid fever was not widely known, mainly perhaps owing to his modesty, plain living, and unobtrusive manners. But fame is not a standard by which the true worth of men can be gauged. We had the privilege of meeting him only once, but that sufficed to impress us with the worth of the man. *The Serrant of India* writes of him:—

Jyoti Babu had a distinguished academic career, being an M. A. of the Calcutta University in History and Economics. He was attracted to the Society by an appeal which the then President of the Society, Mr. Satra, made in his public address to young men to join the Society, on listening to which he immediately came over to Poona and offered himself "for such uses as the Society could make of him." After the customary probation for a year the Society decided to admit him to membership, but Jyoti Babu himself desired to be given a more time in order that his political views might crystallise still further, though in general principles he agreed entirely with the Society. So entirely conscientious was he, and so scrupulous in anxious to "let life in the blaze of the truth" that although four years had elapsed since his arrival he still wanted more time before he could offer himself to be enrolled in the Society. Just before the Anniversary it was proposed to the Society that they should reconsider his former decision. But when he learned that the very administration of the Society had a terrifying effect on him,

and he would prefer to remain, if only the Society would allow him, a loose and unattached member. The Society, of course, thoroughly understood and respected his scruples, and though they felt that few young men could be more worthily included as members than Jyoti, they never pressed him. One of the members of the Society once dared to mention to him as a reason justifying his misgiving, the precarious position of the Society financially, whereupon he felt great injustice was done to him; as indeed it was, for no one could be more indifferent to considerations of money than Jyoti Babu. Nor would he go out and seek a career for himself, though he had many tempting offers. He had decided to live and work in the Society as a non-member so long as the Society would permit, or till he felt sure he would never change his views and thus could join the Society. Still members of the Society felt that he was one of them and that he was to them more than their blood-brothers. A more loving and lovable soul never breathed. Of his intellectual powers it would be impertinent to write here. The Library of the Society, always a matter of pride to us, has undergone many improvements during the last four years, all of which are the sole work of Jyoti Babu. His writings in this paper are well-known to our readers. His death has caused in the hearts of the Society's members a void which can never be filled.

Detractors of Muhammad

In a letter published elsewhere, a correspondent draws attention to two books which contain passages likely to displease the followers of the prophet Muhammad. The letter contains two suggestions: one is that the books should be suppressed, and another, that Muslim divines should expose the errors of the two European authors. The second suggestion we can at once unhesitatingly support. As for the first, as we have not seen the books, we can only say that if the works are scurrilous, indecent or obscene, their import to and circulation in India may be stopped:—the Government of India has no power to suppress books published in England or Germany. If the books be not scurrilous, indecent or obscene, the second suggestion is the only one that can be acted upon.

We have not read the *Rangila Rasul* or any other book or pamphlet which calumniate the prophet Muhammad or any other prophet, saint or religious teacher. With regard to such pamphlets, we feel that they had best be treated with contempt or be refuted, if necessary. As regards the *Rangila Rasul*, even if it were

assumed that all that its writer wrote was true, it would still have to be explained how a man who was merely *rangila* could be the founder of a great religious movement which has counted among its adherents so many truly saintly men and women. As non-Muhammadans, it may not be difficult for us to believe that he had his faults. But may it not also be that some Muhammadan compilers of the Traditions have not understood him aright and some may have even invented or easily given credence to unworthy stories relating to him? Musalmans may not like a non-Muhammadan to give detailed illustrative examples. But it may be permissible to refer to what has been done with regard to the life of Sri Krishna. Many immoral actions are ascribed to him. But if he was really the author of the *Bhagavad-Gita*, these cannot all be true. And, therefore, authors like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee have felt called upon to examine all scriptural materials relating to Sri Krishna and, rejecting interpolations and spurious additions, place his personality in a true light. Devout followers and lovers of Christ there are who do not accept everything narrated in the New Testament as actual historical truth. We do not know whether any Islamic scholars have thought it permissible, proper or necessary to adopt modern critical methods with regard to the Islamic scriptures. But so far as the Traditions (*Hadis* or *Hadith*) are concerned, we find it stated in the preface to the Rev. William Goldsack's "Selections from Muhammadans Traditions:"

In modern days, intelligent Muslims place less reliance on many of them. It is known that in the first century of Islam Traditions were forged for political and religious reasons. The late Sir Sayyid Ahmad accepted very few as genuine. The Hon'ble Sir Abdur Rahim says: "Nothing has been a more fruitful source of conflicting opinions in matters of law among the Sunni jurists than the question whether a particular tradition is to be regarded as genuine or not, though it may be one for whose authority one or more of these writers (Bukhari or Muslim) may have vouchsafed (*sic*)."*(Muhammadan Jurisprudence, p. 31.)*

So, if it be permissible even for orthodox Muhammadans to consider some traditions as not genuine, they may prove that those which are used to calumniate Muhammad are not genuine, and thus reject them.

The Suggested Law Against "Religious" Calumniation

Various demands have been made by Muslim papers and at Muslim meetings in connection with the *Rangila Rasul* case, among which the only one which deserves to be discussed is that the law should be so changed as to make the vilification of the founders of religions and other religious leaders a penal offence. Living men, when defamed, can sue their libellers, dead men cannot. Hence, it ought to be part of gentlemanliness not to libel dead persons, whether they be religious leaders or not. But the discussion of the opinions, ideals, character and conduct of important personages is necessary for the writing of such historical and biographical works as would be useful to society. Therefore, there ought not to be any legislation which would stand in the way of the proper discharge of their duties by biographers and historians. Religious teachers and leaders are as a class not less but sometimes more important persons than others. Hence, to curtail even indirectly the right of criticising such persons would be nothing short of a disaster. And we do not see why a distinction should be made between religious leaders and others. Why should any man or class of men enjoy immunity from criticism? Immunity of this kind has not done any good. If the ancient Hindu law-givers were at any time literally obeyed, then it must be admitted that a time there was when Brahmins could not be executed for capital offences, though others could be. Did such immunity do any good to society? Could it prevent the degradation of the Brahmins as a class? In some, if not all, Christian countries, there was at one time what is known as benefit of clergy. The clergy could not be tried by secular courts. Did such exemption do good to Christian society? Did it do good even to the clergy?

If it were possible to ensure fulness of criticism while providing for the punishment of the vilifiers of dead persons, we should vote unhesitatingly for such legislation. But we doubt whether that is possible.

All those who believe in a Supreme Being also believe that He is inconceivably greater than the greatest of human beings. But He has not made Himself exempt from criticism by means of any natural laws. It is not a natural law that as soon as a man blasphemes or denies the existence of God

or falls foul of Him, he at once falls down dead or is punished automatically in any other way. Even the man-made laws against blasphemy have become inoperative in enlightened countries. Seeing that God has not exempted Himself from criticism, it does not seem reasonable to seek to bestow that sort of immunity on any human being, however great. As God stands in His own majesty really proof against any attacks, so should the personality of the man of God be so great as to be incapable of being lowered in human estimation by any kind or amount of vilification. A great character is its own defender; no other armour or bulwark is needed. The insistence on providing artificial means of defence would tend rather to raise doubts regarding the greatness of the character sought to be immunized.

The Christian peoples of the world are at present predominant over the greater portion of the world. But they have not made any, even the most rabid and unreasonable, attacks on Jesus or the Virgin Mary a penal offence. Has Jesus or His Mother suffered thereby? Not at all.

Adverse criticism or vilification of a religious leader is a sort of difference of opinion. Some people think of a religious leader in one way, some others do not. Differences of opinion in religious matters have often been styled heresy, and heretics have been burned at the stake. But has even such extreme punishment succeeded in preventing the rise and spread of various opinions in religious matters? It is vain to chain the human mind by penalties.

We are not at all pleading for the liberty (if it can be called such) to vilify religious leaders. Rather, in the interests of human progress and for preserving the real dignity of religious leaders, we are pleading that the innate strength of their personalities be allowed to defend them.

But should the Muslim community insist on giving to their prophet any artificial means of defence which he should not require, we would urge that the slandering or vilification of a religious leader or a prophet be made a penal offence only in the case of Muhammad. And that for various reasons. One is that no other religious community has demanded such protection for its prophet or prophets, saints or other religious leaders—those who have refrained from making such demands have acted very wisely and quite courageously; and therefore, the less freedom

of thought and opinion is circumscribed, the better. Another reason is that the number of religious communities and sub-communities in India and of their founders, prophets, saints, teachers, leaders, etc., would be almost impossible to calculate and fix definitely. A third is that if these persons are to be placed above adverse criticism and vilification, it stands to reason that the objects of worship of some of these religious communities, such as the Hindu gods and goddesses, the Jaina Tirthankaras, the different Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, etc., should also be given similar protection; but it would be a very difficult, if not an impossible task to prepare an exhaustive or tolerably exhaustive list of them

The "Rangila Rasul" Agitation in England

The Amrita Bazar Patrika has written a reasonable article on the way an offshoot of the *Rangila Rasul* agitation has been engineered in England. It says, in part:—

The echoes of the *Rangila Rasul* agitation appear to have reached the shores of Great Britain. Reuter informs us that a number of Englishmen, amongst whom we find such names as those of Sir Conan Doyle and Sir William Simeson, have joined with a large number of Mahomedans and are going to submit a petition to the Secretary of State for India "protesting against the attacks by certain Hindus upon the Founder of Islam and acquittal of Rajpal, the author of *Rangila Rasul*."

We have no mind to question the honesty of these estimable English gentlemen who have taken upon themselves the task of expressing the abhorrence of the British people of the conduct of 'some Hindus'. We ourselves have condemned and would always condemn the actions of all men, irrespective of their religious or political creeds, who wound the religious susceptibilities of others by falling foul of persons revered by the latter. Nor is the feeling of the rest of the responsible Hindu Press in the country in any way different.

Again:—

Let there be no misunderstanding. We have said again and again that we condemn the action of the author of the 'Rangila Rasul'. But when our Mahomedan countrymen are making such a mountain out of a mole hill and some Britishers at home have joined them, it becomes necessary to say a few plain words.

The signatories to the petition to the Secretary of State have apparently taken this unusual step, because they have been shocked at the attack made on the Prophet in the book *Rangila Rasul*. We may well take it that many of them, at least their British friends, have neither read nor seen



SIR GANGARAM



JOGINDRANATH BASU

what is written by the author in the book. But probably they have read what Gibbon has said about the Prophet in his 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' and Mr. H. G. Wells in his Outline of History. One cannot have any doubt about the scurrilous nature of the attack which they have made on the character of the Prophet. What steps have the Faithfuls taken so far to get the authors punished and what are these zealous British friends, who have taken the cudgels to-day on their behalf, going to do? It would be interesting to see how many followers of the Prophet have the courage to demand the British Parliament to eliminate the offending passages from these two world-renowned books.

Lecture on Unequal Treatment of the Provinces under the Reforms

In noticing Babu Ramananda Chatterjee's lecture on unequal treatment of the provinces under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, *The Bengalee* has casually observed that it is not sure whether the speaker quoted the views of Mill on representation with approval. It is true that nothing was said in the lecture to indicate the speaker's acceptance or non-acceptance of Mill's views. That was because Mill's views were quoted only to refer to the different bases of representation which may be taken into consideration. The speaker's object was not to urge the acceptance of any particular basis but to show that no basis has been consistently followed in fixing the number of representatives assigned to the provinces. He said in the course of the lecture that he had not suggested how the provinces should be represented but might do so if a suitable opportunity presented itself in future; but this observation of his was not embodied in the printed summary.

A few other points have not found place in the summary, printed elsewhere. For instance, the speaker said that raw and manufactured jute was not only produced in Bengal but was exported from a Bengal port, for which Bengal had to incur expenditure. But Bengal was not given any the least share of the jute export duty. As regards the educational grant received by Bengal from the Government, he showed that Bengal paid in fees more than any other single province, and consequently was punished for its self-reliance with niggardly educational grants.

"A Hindu Condemns the League"

Under the above heading *The Literary Digest* (of America) for June '25, 1927,

publishes a brief article which is quoted below :—

"A League of Robbers" is the phrase applied to the League of Nations by a cultured Hindu who has just returned to India from Geneva, and who has decided that the new institution is merely "a device invented by the Imperialist nations to consolidate and extend their ill-gotten gains." Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, M. A., a highly intellectual Brahman of Bengal, is the man, and he is the editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* of Calcutta. He went to Geneva at the invitation of the League of Nations itself, which offered to bear all his expenses. His inquiry, we are told, led him to become so disappointed with the aims and activities of the League that he preferred to pay his expenses out of his own pocket, and since his return home he has given frank and vigorous expression to his views. According to a speech delivered by Mr. Chatterjee in Calcutta, as reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of that city—

"The League practically means a League of white people. An ex-President of the League (Mr. Benes) frankly confessed in a League meeting: 'The work accomplished by the League of Nations in the past year...constitutes a step forward in the evolution of Europe and the improvement of the world.' If the robber nations of Europe gave up robbery, the new organization might lead to the improvement of the world; but if it aims merely at the evolution of Europe without giving up international robbery, it means practically the enslavement of the world."

The Covenant, according to Mr. Chatterjee, makes it impossible for the League to help any nation that is struggling to be free. He declares:

"In these days of 'advanced' civilization, people have imbibed the habit of hiding the true color of everything, and at present whenever a big Power annexes a territory and thus becomes its virtual ruler, they are apt to call it a mandated territory. Exploitation and enslavement nowadays go by the name of 'sacred trust of civilization.'"

Mr. Chatterjee adds that there are other mandates than those issued by this "league of robbers," including the mandate from God which ordains "that all are to be free in every walk of life."

The day after the delivery of the lecture a report appeared in some dailies under the caption "A League of Robbers." The speaker at once wrote to say that he had not used the expression "league of robbers," as that would not be justifiable, and the contradiction was published in the papers. It is true no doubt that the League is dominated by some imperialistic predatory nations, but all or most of the nations which are members of the League are not predatory.

As for Mr. Chatterjee's non-acceptance, of expenses from the League, it had nothing to do with his being "disappointed with the aims and activities of the League." As has been explained in a previous issue of this Review, he did not accept any expenses because he wanted to be free from the least conscious

or unconscious pressure of a sense of obligation on his mind. As he did not go to Geneva with any high hopes, he had no reason to be disappointed. Nor did he go with any fixed preconceived notions.

Public Health Scheme For Bengal

It is understood that the Government of Bengal has put into operation what is known as the late Mr. C. R. Das's scheme of Public Health organisation, and actual work in more than 100 centres has begun.

Sir James Donald, Finance member, during the last session of the Bengal Council, virtually accepted the scheme elaborated by the late Mr. Das, and the Council sanctioned Rs. 3 lakhs to begin operations during the current year. It is hoped that by the end of the current year over 200 police stations will be equipped with trained assistant health officers and the necessary staff.

The scheme *inter alia* provides that each of the 600 thanas in Bengal will have a medical officer with the necessary staff.

The Bengal Government has sanctioned Rs. 12 lakhs. It is now learnt that all the districts have been given the option of applying the scheme to 25 per cent of the thanas during the current year, and one district has put it into full operation throughout the whole area during the year.

It is stated that the staff will mainly devote attention to cholera and other epidemic diseases, and look to the general sanitary condition of the area and the question of supervision of food supplies. Besides this they will attend to child welfare work, and will purify water tanks and wells suspected of being contaminated. They will also carry out disinfection in case of infectious diseases. By the careful inspection of their areas the staff will be able to discover incidence of kala-azar, malaria, etc.

It is stated that the actual annual recurring expenditure of the Public Health Department incurred by the 25 districts in 1925 was Rs. 5,88,590. It will be seen that this expenditure together with Rs. 12 lakhs now proposed to be allotted for public health works makes a total of close upon Rs. 18 lakhs, the sum required for the Das scheme.

Lessons in Schools on the League of Nations

The following is a verbatim copy of Circular No. 16, dated the 23rd May, 1927, sent by the Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division, Bengal, to the Head-masters of all Government and Aided schools in that Division:—

Sir,

I have the honour to invite a reference to this office Circular No. 10, dated 7th January, 1927 forwarding a copy of the publication "The League of Nations" and to request you to issue definite

instructions to the history teachers of your school that he should give lessons on the back (*sic*) in the four upper classes.

2. You are also requested to give an address on the subject occasionally.

3. You are further requested to submit to this office a brief report indicating what has been done in your school towards the dissemination of a knowledge among the children in the aims and objects of the League of Nations.

4. Your report should reach this office by the end of July next.

In the first paragraph, "lessons on the back" is probably a mistake made by the typist for "lessons on the book," the book, we are told, being Sen and Hall's booklet on the League of Nations published by Macmillan and Co. and priced Re 1-12. Those who believe in omens or in unconscious humor may apprehend or suspect that the unintentional mistake of putting down "back" for "book" is due to the French having dropped bomb-lessons on the "backs" of the people of Syria, a "mandated" territory of France which is bound to accept French "advice" whenever France feels it necessary to give such help. It is to be hoped our schoolboys will have a pleasant time of it during these "lessons on the back".

It is understood that politics, which means politics of the kind which criticises the British Government, is taboo in Government and Aided schools, if not in all schools recognised by the Calcutta University. But as the League of Nations is not an immaculate organisation and as it and the British Government are not identical, would it be permissible to give critical lectures and lessons on the League in these schools? Is it suggested that lessons are to be given only on the book named? Why are not the teachers not told in the alternative at least to obtain copies of the pamphlets issued by the Information Section of the League, priced a few pence each and sold by the Oxford University Press in Calcutta? In this Review and *Prabasi* we have supplied some information and offered some criticism on the League from time to time. No one has yet been able to show that what we have written is inaccurate or unfounded. Teachers may use our articles and notes. And if Mr. Oaten agrees, we may undertake to write a booklet on the League from our point of view and supply copies at cost price to teachers and students. We would give full and exact references for whatever we might write in the booklet.

The Labour Organisation of the League of Nations

At the conclusion of a lecture on the League of Nations delivered by the editor of this Review in Rangoon a young gentleman connected with the Scindia Navigation Company asked him why he had not referred to the work done by the Labour Organisation of the League. The question was answered.

Some people are or profess to be under the impression that the International Labour Office of the League at Geneva has done and is doing great things for labour in India. Our idea is that if the British Government in India wishes to do any good to our factory hands according to any researches or investigations made or ideals established by the League, the cheapest way to do so is to spend a few shillings and buy the publications of the Labour office containing these researches, etc., and act according to them, instead of sending delegates to Geneva to increase the British vote and paying from the Indian treasury a contribution of more than seven lakhs a year to the League. We have also asked more than once why, if the great nations who guide and control the deliberations of the League mean to do good to Labour, have not the greatest manufacturing nations ratified the Hours of Work Convention, though India was made to ratify it six years ago?

As to the good done to factory labourers in India, here is something from *The Bengalee* :—

A conference of the United Textile Factory Workers Association sent out a delegation to India last year to inspect Indian labour conditions in the textile industry. A delegate speaking at Blackpool recently declared that "the home life and outside conditions of the Indian worker are a scandal to the civilised world." The material conditions and surroundings of the work-people off the working hours have been condemned by every observer. A representative of "The Times" of London once told us at Bombay after his inspection of the mill area: "The wonder is not that there is discontent in the land, but that there has not been a revolution to alter the conditions prevailing in that area."

And yet Sir Atul Chatterjee and other representatives of the Government of India progressing morally and materially year after year, the reputed patron saint and protector of Indian labour, never tire of condemning the Japanese conditions, as if the Indian conditions are better or even equal. We published on the 3rd of July an article from Miss A. M. Karlin giving particulars of the conditions of labour of Japanese work-girls in the cotton mills there. But who cares for truth? Surely not

the patron saint, who cannot escape a share of the condemnation published at Blackpool.

We do not agree with the Blackpool speaker that the comparative low stamina of the Indian textile worker was due to his or her living on ricegrain and vegetables. The truth is that they do not get enough of grain or vegetables. And the Indian vegetarian has no objection to taking ghee if he can pay for it. Grain, vegetables and butter, if taken in proper proportion, should produce as much stamina in the tropics as bullybeef. But does the Indian worker get food enough or proper sanitary environments? Go to the patron saint for an answer.

—

The Opium Trade at Geneva

Miss Ellen N. La Motte, known for her book on the opium trade, has exposed the real attitude of some governments interested in the opium trade, in *The Nation* of America. She tells the world that

The ninth meeting of the Opium Committee of the League of Nations was held in Geneva from January 17 to February 1. On this occasion the committee threw overboard all pretensions to the contrary and came out boldly as the upholders of the opium trade. For this time the fight centred on drugs rather than opium. Drugs, it would seem, pay even better than opium, and it is evident that the drug interests are able to exert powerful pressure on their various Governments and upon the delegates sent by these Governments to this Opium Committee of the League. But, bad as it was, a mighty fighter has been raised up in opposition to these sinister interests. Italy has come into the arena, and Italy—and Mussolini are in earnest. Their spokesman was Signor Cavazzoni, and never once was the Italian delegate daunted in his fight against the Opium Bloc. Never once did he fail to address himself directly and earnestly straight to the British delegate, recognizing in him the leader of the opposite camp.

Miss La Motte gives the reasons why Cavazzoni, the Italian delegate, fought so stoutly against the drug traffic.

Italy, he said, was a country that neither grows opium nor makes drugs, yet it was being flooded with drugs in common with the rest of the world. But Italy did not like it and wanted to protect itself. He reminded the committee, therefore, that the countries they represented were all tied to the Hague Convention, and that Article 9 of that convention calls upon the contracting Powers to limit drug manufacture to the medicinal needs of the world. He said not one of them had done that; that they were all manufacturing vastly in excess of those needs, and that an international obligation like the Hague Convention should be binding upon its signatories.

Such being his views, one morning Mr. Cavazzoni burst in with the following resolution :

The Advisory Committee, taking note of the fact that the manufacture of drugs is unquestionably carried on on a scale vastly in excess of the world's medical requirements, and that in consequence the contraband traffic continues to increase, as is proved by the quantity of drugs seized :

Considers it advisable that full application should be given to the principles contained in the Hague Convention, Article 9, and confirmed in the Second Geneva Convention, Article 5, by which the contracting parties undertake to reduce the production of manufactured drugs to the quantities needed for medical and scientific purposes...It is of opinion that it would be advisable to make a study of the measures which should be taken in order that the manufacture of drugs be reduced to agreed quantities...In order to attain these objects...the Advisory Committee proposes to the Council that it should hold an extraordinary session at a date to be fixed by the Council.

After some manœuvring the members of the committee had to vote. The complete vote was as follows :

Great Britain	No
British India	No
Holland	No
France	No
Switzerland	No
Serbia	No
Japan	No
Italy	Yes
Siam	Yes
Germany	Abstained
China	Absent (ill with influenza)
Portugal	Absent (from the room)

We have given the bare outlines of Miss La Motte's article. The amusing and disgraceful byplay at the committee meetings we have omitted—at any rate for the present. This episode is one more proof of the hypocrisy of powerful governments.

Education Endangered by Proprietary Institutions

The constant calls made upon the public purse by educational institutions point to one thing very clearly. It is that to provide sound educational facilities one has to spend more than what one receives from the students. If one attempts to cut down expenses in order to balance the budget or to make profit, the quality of the education provided suffers greatly. It is for this reason that we do not find any private profit-yielding school or college anywhere which at the same time also gives the best class of education to its students. And wherever there is any profiteering in connection with educational institutions, it is always at the

cost of the education directly as well as indirectly through the exploitation of the poor teachers and through violation of the principles of sanitation, hygiene, physical culture, etc.

There are still in India many proprietary institutions. In most of these institutions, the teachers are inhumanly under-paid and over-worked—the boys are huddled into ill-ventilated rooms and made to pursue their studies under conditions that often injure them for life. There are other forms of corruption and evils also which need not be discussed. Recently the University of Calcutta disaffiliated two high schools, the Morton and the Cotton Institutions on account of the undesirable way in which those institutions were being run. Their fate, however, did not serve as a warning to another Calcutta school, which is at the present moment busy carrying the "principle" of proprietary tyranny beyond all limits of justice.

The proprietor of the Athenaeum Institution, who is reputed to be a successful school-owner, some time ago appointed himself to the post of the headmaster and reduced the actual headmaster to a joint-headmastership in order to enjoy fully the privileges of a headmaster enjoined by the new school code. The degraded headmaster as well as some of the teachers who had enough moral courage to stand up against such tyranny, approached the University for redress. The University ordered the proprietor of the Athenaeum Institution to reinstate the headmaster, and also to improve the management of the school in certain other ways. The proprietor did nothing of the kind. Instead he dismissed the headmaster and several other (troublesome!) teachers.

The University authorities have since written further letters to the proprietor ; but he seems to be thriving well inspite of the letters. The teachers, who have been so unjustly deprived of their job, are going about looking for justice. Whether they will obtain it or not will largely depend on how the University is going to tackle this defiant school-owner, who, it is rumoured, has influential friends and sympathisers in the Syndicate.

British Labour Party's Swarajya Bill

The *Englishman* has attempted a scoop by mentioning that its political correspondent understands that

A group of the Labour Party in England have drafted a Bill providing complete Swaraj constitution for India. The correspondent adds that the Bill when introduced in the House of Commons will get no further than first reading but it is significant propaganda.

The air of mystery which has been sought to be given to the matter is quite unnecessary. Now that the matter has become public, it is permissible to state that the editor of this Review, among others, received the draft of this Bill with a covering letter about a month ago, *not for publication*, but for careful consideration, discussion with colleagues, expression of opinion and suggestions.

This draft constitution for India has been prepared by a number of members of the Independent Labour Party in consultation with their Indian friends. That Party recognise the right of India to self-determination. They believe that the representatives of the Indian people have the right to decide what the constitution of India shall be. At the Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party last year, the view was accepted that the right course for the next Labour Government would be to ask representatives of the Indian Parties in the Legislative Assembly to submit a Constitution for adoption.

The members of the I. L. P. stand by that principle of self-determination. They know that a satisfactory settlement of the Indian problem cannot be imposed from Great Britain. It must come from India itself.

At the same time, they earnestly want justice to be done to India as soon as possible, and do not want the delay which would be occasioned if no preliminary steps were taken before Labour comes again to office. The appointment of a Royal Commission to prepare a revised constitution for 1929 also makes early action desirable. The Independent Labour Party are, therefore, venturing to take the initiative in seeking to bring about an understanding between the Indian Parties and the British Labour Movement, with a view to action acceptable to India being taken when Labour next has the opportunity.

They wish to make it perfectly clear that they are not limited in their commitments to this draft constitution. They would support any democratic scheme which had the endorsement of representative Indian opinion. They would support the transference of responsibility for "defence" to India

at the earliest possible moment, and would urge the withdrawal of British troops from India as soon as Indians considered it possible. They would also desire that relations with the Indian States should be directly a matter for the Indian Legislature and not for the British Government. If Indians thought it well to put forward demands less drastic than these, they would, of course, still support them; but, naturally, the more fully Indian demands embody democratic freedom, they declare, the happier they will be in championing them.

There are two points, they think, which require a special word. They have based the Bill on Dominion status; but they recognise the right of the Indian people to full national independence. If that were the considered judgment of a representative gathering of the Indian Parties, they would feel that they should support it, but they realise that such a demand would probably delay the coming of political freedom and lead to antagonisms. If, however, India, after a full consideration of the consequences, made such a claim, they would not falter in their championship of it.

The Bill, as drafted, also embodies the bi-cameral system of Government. They have incorporated this system in the draft, because it is the accepted system of government in democratic countries. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Double Chamber system of government has not always worked well for democratic purposes, and it might be considered whether a single Chamber, with a Committee system for the detailed consideration of Bills, might not be more satisfactory.

The present draft bill is the outcome of the I. L. P. India Advisory Committee, accepted by the Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party, at Whitley Bay, in the year 1926. It has been drafted with a view to formulating a constitution for India whose terms should, as far as possible, harmonise with the views of all shades of progressive Indian political opinion, while at the same time it embodies those principles of democracy, self-government and freedom which the I. L. P. regard as fundamental to such an undertaking.

It is important to bear in mind, however, that the Bill is in no way put forward as being fixed or finally determined as regards its contents, or in connection with the policy to which it seeks to give effect;

but that, on the contrary, it is advanced simply as a tentative basis upon which future work may be done. No part is unalterable; the whole can, if necessary, be changed in any way which is desired.

The task of preparing this Bill has been considerably lightened by the existence of the Commonwealth of India Bill, known as the Besant Bill. The drafters of the Labour Swarajya Bill consider the Besant Bill an exceptionally able and carefully prepared piece of work, whose form, at any rate, they deem incapable of improvement. And, in addition, a considerable portion of its matter can be regarded as non-controversial. The Besant Bill has, therefore, been quite frankly taken as a foundation for the I. L. Party's Bill and those alterations and additions introduced which seemed best calculated to bring it into conformity with the ends which the I. L. P. desire.

We do not intend to examine in any detail the draft provisions of this Bill. But the number of members assigned therein to the Provinces for the central legislature shows that no basis of representation has been uniformly and consistently followed, which is a defect. The numbers assigned are given below.

Senate or Upper House.	Legislative Assembly.
Assam 13	Assam 26
Bengal 33	Bengal 66
Bihar and Orissa 33	Bihar and Orissa 66
Bombay 33	Bombay 66
Burma 26	Burma 52
Central Provinces 17	Central Provinces 34
Madras 33	Madras 66
Punjab 26	Punjab 52
United Provinces 33	United Provinces 66

High Schools in Big Centres and Small Centres

In his Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1925-26 Mr. Oaten, the Director, observes :

"At the risk of being accused of being an opponent of educational expansion, one must emphasise the fact that there are too many high schools in Bengal. What is wanted is concentration in the bigger centres of high school education, and a consequent reduction in status of the others to a middle school standard. Perhaps in the future agricultural and other courses fused with such middle schools will provide a type of education which will meet more nearly the needs of that majority who can never hope to enter the University, or carry education beyond the school stage."

"It might then be possible in time to provide for the rest a real high school education by first

class teachers, in good buildings and in good surroundings."

We do not impute any bad motives to Mr. Oaten, but we do not support his opinions. Bengal is mainly an agricultural province with mostly a rural population. Big towns are smaller in number here than in many other provinces. The number of villages being large, and there being a demand for English education, it has been necessary to found and conduct a large number of schools, many of which have a comparatively small number of pupils. Many of these schools have to depend to a great extent on the income from fees. The reduction in status of high schools to a middle school standard would mean loss of income without corresponding decrease in expenditure, and hence such a step would practically amount in many cases to the abolition of the schools and the deprivation of village boys of the advantages of education. Most parents in Bengal who live in villages or small towns and desire to educate their children are too poor to send them away from home to bigger centres of population, paying in cash for all items of expenditure. Agricultural and other courses may be fused with high school courses also in schools situated in villages and small towns. As for good buildings, we appreciate architecture, but think that in a poor country and for poor boys well-ventilated and well-lighted school-rooms with cemented floors free from damp should quite suffice. As for good surroundings, sanitary condition being the same, we should prefer the surroundings of villages and small towns to those of big towns.

If one can examine in detail the intellectual and moral qualifications and methods of teaching of the teachers, one may be able to judge who are "first class teachers" and who not. But in the mass the only means possessed by the public of judging whether the teachers of a school are "first class" or not, is to look at the results of public examinations. Crammers may pass as good teachers. But surely examinations may be so conducted as to baffle crammers to a great extent.

Judged by the standard of examination results, some schools in small centres of education would seem to possess good teachers. For instance, this year, on the results of the Matriculation examination

four students belonging to Bankura, one of the smallest districts in Bengal in which there is not a single big town, have won four places out of the first ten in order of merit. The first place has been occupied by a student of the Maliara school in this district. Maliara is a small village. The other three belong to the Bankura Wesleyan School.

Let us take an example from another district. The school at Ilsoba-Mondlai, a small village in Hughli, was founded in 1856. This year it sent up 7 boys, all of whom have passed, 5 in the first division and 2 in the second. In spite of debts and the small number of students, the villagers and teachers have bravely struggled to keep it up for well-nigh three-quarters of a century. Surely the proper thing to do with regard to such schools is not to practically abolish them, but to increase their grants from public funds and for members of the public to help them with subscriptions and donations. That would be a fitting recognition of the educational zeal of their conductors.

We may also add that in the conditions which prevail in Bengal it is more practicable to pay attention to the individual needs of the pupils in small schools than in big ones.

Well-supported schools in comparatively small centres of population may become big centres of education; *e. g.* Eton, Harrow, Rugby.

Vidyasagar Anniversary

The celebration of the Vidyasagar anniversary reminds us once again of the character and life-work of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. The combination in the same individual of stern resolve, uncompromising independence and self-reliance and tenderness of heart surpassing that of mothers, such as was met with in this great son of India, is rare in all countries. He is best known and will be best remembered for starting the movement for the remarriage of girl widows. He also practically helped forward the cause of the education of girls and women. He was one of the makers of modern Bengali literature. He was the first to establish a private unaided college for high education in Bengal. He was interested in and practically promoted many other social service movements and philanthropic causes. While he deserves all the

praise that is bestowed on him, the best way to do him honour is not to pay him mere lip homage but to do as he did—particularly to help girl widows by getting them remarried and in as many other ways as possible.

Destruction of a Hindu Temple

The destruction of a Hindu temple in Calcutta, at dead of night, by the police with desecration of the idol, has naturally caused widespread indignation, which is not confined to Hindus. The police commissioner has trotted out the excuse that the temple was built on Government land without permission. But it was built years ago. Why was no objection then raised? And why, again, was not the Hindu community given notice that the Government wanted the few square yards of land on which the temple stood for very urgent purposes of state and therefore the idol should be removed? Why was the destruction of the temple effected in the darkness of night? This act of cowardice and vandalism should be visited on its authors in an exemplary manner by the Bengal Government and the temple rebuilt and the idol replaced.

Russia and the League of Nations

The Soviet Government of Russia has been accused of refusing to enter the League of Nations, which has been construed as refusal to co-operate with the members of the League in the promotion of world-peace. M. Rykov, president of the council of people's commissars, thus refutes the charge:—

"Is the League of Nations really struggling for peace? As is known, both China and Great Britain are members of the League of Nations. The question arises, what changes have occurred in the relations between these two States as a result of this circumstance? The British armed forces are carrying out in China an intervention just as bad, if not worse, than before the organising of the League of Nations, which has not even brought out for discussion the question of the war in China. Not to mention the conflict between Yugo-Slavia and Italy, the treaty between Italy and Albania, the war in Nicaragua and so forth. If a war or an attack by a strong State on a weak State is taking place then the League of Nations is not to be seen. The League of Nations is a tool in the hands of a small group of a few very big Imperialist States for dominating all the other States. We are quite prepared to support any real pacifist

organisation, but we will not enter organisations of the type of the League of Nations."

The Nizam's Efforts to Preserve Ajanta Paintings

The Ajanta cave temples are situated in the Nizam's dominions. His Exalted Highness the Nizam began to interest himself in their preservation some years ago. *The East Bengal Times* publishes the following details of what has been done and what is intended to be done in this direction:—

The importance of Ajanta Paintings as a rare and precious heritage of the Indian race, rather of all mankind, is well-recognised by H. E. Highness the Nizam's Government. It will be remembered that a few years ago two expert Italian Restaurateurs were employed at princely salaries to conserve the frescoes. This difficult task being achieved with singular success, the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, is planning to publish faithful copies of paintings by latest scientific methods. Last winter (1926-27) they engaged a British expert in colour photography, who worked at Ajanta for four months and has copied nearly all paintings there.

An album is now under compilation, which will comprise several parts, each containing a large number of colour plates, representing marvellous brush work and colour schemes of the original frescoes. The plates will be accompanied by a suitable account from the pen of Mr. G. Yazdani, who, besides having intimate knowledge of Ajanta paintings, is fully conversant with the technique and ideals of Western art in all phases. The first part of the album, dealing with paintings of the cave 1 and containing 25 colour and 17 monotone plates (20 into 16), is already in the press.

Nawab Hyder Nawaz Jung Bahadur (Mr. A. Hydari), whose name is invariably associated with every progressive movement of Hyderabad, has evinced keen interest in this undertaking from the beginning, and besides placing his own expert advice and judgment at the disposal of the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, has secured the guidance and help of authorities like Sir Aurel Stein, Sir John Marshall and Sir Francis Oppenheimer in various matters connected with this scheme.

Bengal Detenus

No one who is not in the secrets of Government can say why exactly Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has been restored to liberty. Medical reasons could not have been the real cause, though they were stated to be such; for there are several other detenus who have been and continue to be as seriously ill as Mr. Bose—some of them more seriously ill.

All the reasons put forward by officials for not bringing detenus to trial have been repeatedly proved to be false. Still they are not set free. What is worse is that in many cases very inaccessible and unhealthy places are chosen for their internment. In some places the huts where they have to live are not rain-proof and have unwelcome visitors in the "persons" of snakes. More details are not necessary to show that these detenus have a worse time of it than prisoners sent to jail after trial and conviction. In some jails, too, *eg*, Hazaribagh, the detenus are alleged to be so badly treated as to be compelled to have recourse to hungerstrike. Many of the detenus, had they been punished after trial, could not have been kept in prison for a longer term than the period for which they have already suffered loss of freedom.

Outrages on Women in Bengal

Girls and women, unmarried, married or widowed, childless or with children, continue to be kidnapped, abducted and ravished. The police in Bengal can find out alleged political offenders from the obscurest nooks and corners of the province, but they cannot find out many of the ruffians who are guilty of offences against women. For months, ruffians, sometimes with the help of their women-folk, move from place to place with the victims they have kidnapped and assaulted. The police cannot trace them. Some abducted women are never found. Some are believed, on strong circumstantial evidence, to have been murdered after ravishment. During the trial of some cases of outrage on women, the rescued victims have again been carried off—such is the daring and organisation of the ruffians. Gang rape prevails to an alarming extent. During the last few years at least a thousand girls and women have been subjected to nameless cruelty and dishonour. Yet the Government has taken no special steps to cope with the evil. There can be little doubt that there is a secret organisation, with ramifications, at the back of many of these outrages, and that there are money and brains behind it. If the Government wills, it can find out the organisers.

No one has tried to find out any excuses for or explain away the offences against women committed by Hindu and Christian brutes. In the case of Musalman ruffians, accused of such

crimes, it has been sometimes asserted by some correlative religionists of theirs that the women said to have been abducted or kidnapped ran away from home of their own accord, and conversion to Islam has also been sometimes pleaded as the motive. Taking the first explanation first, if it were true in all or most cases, why should force, house-trespass, house-breaking, removal from place to place, gang rape, etc., have been necessary in even a single one? As for the second explanation, Christian missionaries also convert Hindu girls and women. But we do not know of a single case where a Christian desiring to convert a non-Christian girl or woman has been accused of the kind of outrages under discussion. It may be and has been urged that Hindus bring false cases against Musalmans. But why do they not bring such cases against Christians? Again, there is no need for Musalmans to convert Muslim girls and women. Why then are there so many cases of Musalman men abducting, kidnapping or ravishing Musalman women?

There are non-Muhammadian organisations for rescuing and otherwise helping women who have been victimised. We shall be really glad to know that there are such Muhammadian organisations also. We shall thank our readers to let us know the address of any such.

Sedition and Imputation of Bad Motives

Recently in Bengal there have been several cases of sedition. It appears from the judgments delivered in such cases that the imputation of bad or base motives to Government is one form of sedition for which the offenders must be punished.

As it is some individuals who constitute governments and as they are human beings, they are morally and intellectually as fallible as other human beings. It is not axiomatic, therefore, that such persons are incapable of acting from bad motives. Hence, if in some circumstances, some motive of action or inaction appears very probable and reasonable, the imputation of such motive cannot be morally wrong. It may, no doubt, be legally wrong all the same, and therefore punishable.

But the punishment of such imputation of bad motives is not a sufficient remedy. It ought to be proved that the persons accused of such motives were not guilty of them. Otherwise, though a few persons may

be punished for *openly* imputing bad motives to the Government, the public at large would continue to believe in such bad motives. It may be that the duty of the judges is simply to punish persons who are guilty of any legal offence; it is not their duty to convince the public that the Government was not guilty of wrong motives. In that case, it ought to be the duty of some other officers to prove the innocence of the Government. As that is not done, in spite of punishments inflicted on many persons guilty of sedition, that offence continues to be committed. For there will always be persons who will not be deterred by fear of punishment from saying and writing what they consider to be true. A more effective means of preventing them from saying and writing such things is to prove the falsity of their belief.

Punishable Words, Unpunishable Actions

The following paragraphs, taken from *The Leader*, show that while in India mere words are punished, in Britain and Ireland preparations for rebellion were not punished:

The *Sunday Times* is publishing extracts from Sir Charles Calwell's biography of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson which show that he was actively engaged in the consultations for organizing a rebellion in Ulster while director of military operations at the War Office. Among the important personages involved in this interesting pastime were Lord Stamfordham, Lord Roberts, Lord Milner and Mr. Bonar Law. Early in 1913 Sir James Craig came over from Ireland with the complete plans of the proposed Northern Ireland rebellion. This was what Sir Henry Wilson wrote in his diary at the time:—

"Jemmy arrived, having come over on deputation to Bonar Law. He told me of the plans for the North, of the 25,000 armed men to act as citadel, and 100,000 men to act as constables, of the arrangements for the banks, railways, etc., election, provisional government, and so on. As far as I could judge, all very sensible."

Three days earlier he was asked by Lord Roberts if he, the paid servant of the Crown and of the British Army, would take a position of the chief of staff for the insurgents in the event of an Ulster rebellion. Here are his exact words in his diary:—

"Dined at Almond's Hotel with the chief, Aileen and Ladyship. He is just back from his speech at Wolverhampton, which was a great success. He told me he had been approached to know if he would take command of the army in Ulster, and if he could get me to go as his chief of staff, and he wanted to know if I would. I said that if the alternative was to go and shoot down Ulster, or shoot for Ulster, I would join him if he took command. Imagine our having come to such a state."

Lord Roberts ultimately decided not to lead the British troops. These opposed to Irish home rule used their physical threats and intimidation and the occasion for the rebellion did not arise. It will be the words of the *New Leader*, the leading Tories were 'openly engaged in equipping a rebel army, suborning the armed forces of the Crown, bullying the King, and generally exercising disloyalty and insurrection'. It further remarks, 'There are the patriots, many of them still brave and valiant, who are now priding of constitutionalism. Conservatives, however much they may talk of the undiminished loyalty to the Crown, discipline of the army and constitutionalism, will not hesitate to resort to unconstitutional methods for their purpose'. This is the moral to be drawn from the sterling facts disclosed in Sir Henry Wilson's diary.

—

suit the taste and convenience of lip-reformers and dilettante destroyers of untouchability? How is it that no mention has been made of the Brahmo Missionary Mr. V. R. Shinde, the founder and for years the chief worker of the Depressed Classes Mission Society? How is it that no mention has been made of the work of Mr. K. Ranga Rao of Mangalore? How is it that the work of the Arya Samaj and of many of its energetic and self-sacrificing workers has not been referred to? Nor that of the Abhaya Ashram? The Theosophical Society in the days of Col. Olcott and Madame Blavatsky did similar work. But we need not try to prepare an exhaustive list of workers and organisations in this field: for we do not know all that has been done.

It is provoking and absurd to talk of "the great progress [in education] during the past century" in India. And why is India's need for education "never-to-be-satisfied?" It is true, of course, that no country can at any time be said to have received enough education. But in that sense each and every country's need for education is "never-to-be-satisfied;" insatiability as regards education is not a peculiar characteristic of India. Or, has Lord Birkenhead in an unguarded moment betried his inmost desire that India should ever remain subject to Britain, tantalised with hopes of the life-giving waters of knowledge but never given a sufficient quantity of it?

Unless the highest scientific and technical education is made available to Indians, unless large numbers of Indians themselves can do their own broadcasting, it is bound to remain a luxury for the few. If the millions of India remain steeped in illiteracy and ignorance, how can they understand and benefit by "quickenings thoughts and ideas"?

It would have been tolerable if Lord Birkenhead's speech had merely fallen flat on us. But it is irritating.

Did not the absurdity of making a grandiloquent speech on the occasion of a very belated opening of a single broadcasting station for a vast area strike Lord Birkenhead's mind?

Under British rule in India, the opening of the "sluice-gates of education and enlightenment" cannot very often fail to be the opening of the sluice-gates of official propaganda.

Political Prisoners in Russia and India

Describing the lot of socialists in prison in present-day Russia, *The Manchester Guardian* writes:—

The agents of the G. P. U. (the Cheka) make arrests without a warrant. As a rule there is no trial and no possibility of defence. The arrested man or woman is sent to prison or exile without any kind of legal procedure, simply by an administrative order. The system somewhat resembles that of the *lettres de cachet* which flourished in France under Louis XIV.

How people are blind to their own faults! *The Manchester Guardian* ransacks past history for a parallel and finds it in France under Louis XIV! Why, under its very nose, so to say, there are to-day scores of Bengalis imprisoned or interned without any kind of trial! We suppose such things are very wicked in Russia and smack of barbarism.

But in the British Empire they are proofs of humanity and enlightenment. The British journal states that in Russia the sentences are indefinite. That is the case in India, too. The mental torture of this indefiniteness has unhinged many minds, leading some to commit suicide. Others have fallen a prey to fatal maladies.

Profession, Not Practice

In reply to the Muslims' claim for a share of the appointments in the public services proportionate to their numbers in Bengal, the Governor of Bengal is reported to have said at Khulna—

No government could override the claims of efficiency of the public services in an endeavour to secure a mathematically proportionate representation based merely upon population. It should be the Government's unremitting aim to attain a position where it should no longer be necessary to secure by safeguards the special representation of any particular community.

Sir Stanley Jackson knows that Musalmans have been given a fixed proportion of posts in many services, irrespective of the fact of the existence of far better qualified candidates among non-Muhammadans. Even in the Indian Civil Service the system of nomination has been introduced in recognition of what are called communal claims.

Floods in Gujarat and Kathiawar

The floods in Gujarat and Kathiawar have already caused such terrible devastations and had assumed such alarming proportions that it is some relief to learn that the waters are subsiding. Relief workers are already busy in many centres in giving all the help they can. We hope and trust contributions to the relief funds will be sent from all parts of India.

Satindranath Sen Goes to Jail

Satindranath Sen, leader of the Patuakhali Satyagraha movement, has preferred imprisonment to binding himself down to keep the peace and giving securities. He has done what was expected of a man of his high character. To have bound himself down to keep the peace would have been indirectly to admit that he had criminal tendencies.

The trying magistrate paid high tributes to his character and self-sacrifice, but inconsistently enough did not acquit him. That Indian magistrates should have to write judgments like the one written by Mr. J. K. Biswas is a tragedy and a source of humiliation to Indians.

The Registration of Graduates

The *Educational Review* of Madras gives the following comparative statement of the fees charged by different Indian Universities for the registration of graduates :—

Name of the University.	Initial fee	Annual fee	Late fee	Compound- ing fee.
Calcutta Rs.	10	10	10	150
Patna "	5	5	10	40
Allahabad "	5	2	10	20
Punjab "	10	2	10	25
Bombay "	5	2	2	10
Madras "	3	1	10	5

The journal adds :—

These figures are not a correct guide, however, to the relative charges, as the facilities in the shape of the supply of publications and other things differ in the various Universities. Apart from the fees charged for registration, there is also the question of other restrictions imposed on the graduates. In all Universities, there is a restriction with regard to the number of years which should elapse before a graduate can be eligible for registration. The figures with regard to the years' standing required by the various Universities are given below:

Calcutta :	Ten years.
Punjab :	Ten years.
Madras :	Seven years.
Patna :	Six years.
Allahabad :	Three years.

Progressive and Independent Siam

A recent issue of the London *Times* gives the following account of the "new standing of Siam" in the family of nations :—

"With the exchange, on March 25 last, of ratifications of the treaties with Belgium and Luxembourg, the last of the Consular Courts in Siam were closed, and two days later the new

Customs tariff came into force. The attainment of fiscal and jurisdictional autonomy coincided with the Siamese New Year, and at a State banquet in Bangkok the King referred to these developments.

Addressing the leading Princes and officials, His Majesty said that Siam had attained a new standing among the nations, a position for which she had laboured long. The first three Kings of the Chakri dynasty had fought against the enemies on their frontiers as in olden days. The danger that had to be guarded against came from possible foreign invaders. Then came a new danger, springing from the country's more intimate connexion with the European nations, if unprepared for that eventuality. That danger Siam's neighbours were unable to resist, and they succumbed and became dependencies of European Powers. Siam alone was able to save her independence, thanks to the sagacity and ability of the second three Kings of the dynasty. It was to be regretted that King Rama VI., who had carried this development to so near its end, had not lived to see the completion of his labours.

On an altar in the room were placed the golden caskets containing the relics of the three preceding Kings—Mongkut, Chulalongkorn, and Rama VI.—placed there. His Majesty said, that they might all make, as it were, an offering to those august predecessors of the knowledge of what their labours had now accomplished, an offering, too, of love and devotion. Before the altar His Majesty prayed for a blessing on all his people and that they might have the strength and will to work steadily for the further advancement of Siam.

We suggest that the Government of India should appoint a worthy Indian statesman to represent India in the court of Bangkok. There are several tens of thousands of Indians now residing within the kingdom of Siam ; and there is a traditional cultural relation between India and Siam. It is necessary that some scholars chosen by the Greater India Society should go to Siam as India's cultural representatives to promote Indo-Siamese friendship. Will the Hindu University or the Calcutta University or the Visvabharati invite a Siamese scholar to give a course of lectures on Siamese history and civilization ? Will the All-India National Congress send a proper message of congratulation to the King and the people of Siam for Siam's assertion of full sovereignty as an independent Asian State ?

TARAKNATH DAS

ERRATUM

M. R., July, page 11, Col. 1, l. 16 : for *second* Pandava read *third* Pandava.



CHITRAGUPTA
The Clerk of Death
By Mr. Promodekumar Chattopadhyaya
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RABINDRANATH TAGORE: THE MAN AND THE POET

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

STRONG in the human heart is the desire to claim kinship as between man and man, between the man standing in the ruck and the man standing apart on an eminence which others may not share with him. It is this human feeling and not merely the spur of curiosity that stimulates the desire for knowledge about the personal peculiarities of great men and women. The baser form of curiosity is usually satisfied with the knowledge of such important events as the donning and doffing of a royal hat, but men desire to know of the ways of men who are not great by the accident of birth, but in their own personal right, the rare gift of a divine afflatus. Between all men there is the bond of a common humanity, common frailties and a common mortality. And when some man towers above his fellows because he happens to have been touched by the magic wand of genius, men wish to assure themselves that he is still one of them, unlike them in some respects but very like them in others.

Of the millions that come and go in the never-ending procession of life and death the world retains no trace: a pinch of ashes here and a handful of dust there, dust unto dust. The earth covers the nameless legion with the mantle of oblivion. Not all: for now and again, out of this mass of vanishing humanity, some one leaves behind him some living thought, some deathless message, some creation of beauty that does not die, that eludes the death-grip of time, and pulses and throbs with life through the passing centuries. The two are easily detachable, the man who goes the way of all flesh and the achievement that does not depart. It is of such a man that we

wonderingly ask, what manner of man was this that lived and died as other men, and yet is living still, deathless in death?

If it were not for the heritage left by such men humanity would be poor indeed, with the stark poverty of a barren and arid past, a flat and unstimulating present and a future without promise. Here in India millions who look upon Rama as an incarnation of God and utter his name living and dying are barely conscious of what they owe to the Rishi who composed the Ramayana. Those who speak of the principal characters in this sublimest of epic as mere myths do not understand that to a whole nation Rama is as real as the conception of the deity in many lands. History is a thing of yesterday and most of the great things happened long before history came to be written. The Ramayana is not merely a book to be read at leisure and to be put back on the shelf, but it has been for more years than history can count an important part of the spiritual pabulum of one of the most ancient races of the world. Every stratum of Hindu society is penetrated through and through by the living influence of the story of the Ramayana. Rama, intensely human in his trials and sufferings, is an avatar whose divinity has never been questioned; Sita, whose life-story is a long-drawn tragedy, is the ideal of all womanhood for all time. Year after year the passion-play of the Ramayana brings home to the mind of the humblest Hindu its power and pathos, its idealism and its lofty teachings. And yet but for the Rishi-bard Valmiki there would have been no Ramayana, none of the characters which are as immortal as the gods. Beyond what is mentioned in the epic itself,

we know nothing about this earliest and greatest of poets. What, again, does the world know about Kalidasa, the master-singer who saw and depicted beauty as no other poet has done, before or since? The man, however great, passes, indistinguishable from the herd; his work, if it bears the hall-mark of immortality, endures.

And hence this human and normal interest in the latest Indian poet, whose fame encompasses the world to-day, whose name is on every lip and whose likeness is to be found in a hundred thousand homes in every country in the world. No modern poet has ever attained such fame as has come to Rabindranath Tagore. There is scarcely any language in the world in which some of his works have not been translated, there is hardly any important city in the world in which his figure has not been seen and his voice has not been heard. He has moved as a classic writer whose place among the immortals is already assured. And everywhere men and women have waxed enthusiastic over the dignity and fascination of his personality. This is the appeal of the man to his fellow-men as distinguished from the impersonal appeal of genius apart from the man and unrestricted by limitations of time. A great man of genius may be physically unattractive, but in the case of this Bengali poet nature has been bountiful inside and out, and the distinction of the man is as remarkable as the genius of the poet is great. As he appears to-day, with the fine lineaments of his face and his silver locks, flowing beard and wonderful eyes he resembles a Rishi stepping out of a sylvan glade in ancient Aryavarta or a patriarch full of wisdom moving in the sight of God. I can recall him as he looked when he was just twenty years of age, slender, tall, with his black hair curling down to his waist. He was fairly famous even then as a poet and an elegant prose-writer. I remember an eminent Bengali writer,* who died several years ago, then wrote about Rabindranath Tagore predicting a great future for him, but warning him against being carried away by the plaudits of the public. It was a rhetorical effusion addressed to "Brother Handclap" (ভাই হাততাল) and entreating the said brother not to turn Rabindranath's head by excessive

demonstrations of goodwill. I wonder what this writer would have thought if he had been living to-day and had been an eye-witness to the world-wide homage that has been the guerdon of the poet. Brother Handclap has not succeeded in doing much damage to Rabindranath. As a matter of fact, an answer to this writer was anticipated is one of the early songs of the poet :—

এসেছি কি হেথা যশের কাঙালী,
কথা গেঁথে গেঁথে নিতে করতালি,

* * *

কে জাগিবে আজ, কে করিবে কাজ,
কে বৃগতে চাহে জননীর লাজ...

"Have I come into the world as a beggar for fame, to win handclaps by stringing words together? Who will awake to-day, who will work, who wants to wipe out the shame of the Mother?"

A few years later Bankim Chandra Chatterji, then the greatest writer in Bengali literature, suggested to Rabindranath that he should write an epic poem to establish his reputation as a poet. The reply came after some time in some beautiful lines addressed to the poet's Muse as his beloved :—

আমি নাব্ব নহাকাব্য

সংরচনে

হিল ননে,—

ঠেক্‌ন কখন ভোবার কাকন—

কিহিনোতে

কল্পনাটি গেল ফাটি

হাজার গীতে।

নহাকাব্য সেই অভাব্য

দুর্ভিনায়

পায়ের কাছে ছড়িয়ে আছে

কণায় কণায়।

"I had a mind to enter the lists for the composition of an epic poem, but I do not know when my fancy struck your jingling bangles and broke into a thousand songs. Owing to that unexpected accident the epic poem, shattered into atoms, is lying at your feet."

Nearly fifty years of comradeship may constitute some slight claim to an intimate knowledge of a man's nature, though I am not so presumptuous as to imagine that it is of any advantage in measuring the poet's genius. His works are accessible to all readers and competent critics, either in the original or in translations, and are already a part of the literature of the world. Still I have the

* Akshay Chandra Sircar.

memory of having listened to many poems and songs fresh from the pen of the poet and recited or sung in his matchless voice, of many intimate rambles in the flower-strewn fields of literature, of wide ranges of conversation. Many of the friends who forgathered with us are no more, and as the sunset of life is coming on apace, the lengthening shadows of the past are receding in the distance behind us. The years that have brought much fame for Rabindranath have also brought him many sorrows, domestic bereavements of which the world knows nought.

Of school and university education Rabindranath has had no share. As a boy he attended school for a very short time, but his delicate and sensitive nature rebelled against the thoughtless indiscrimination which passes for discipline; neither was the companionship of the average school-boy to his liking. He shook the dust of the school from his feet after a brief experience, but at home he was a careful and diligent student, and he began composing poetry at a very early age. He went to England as a young lad, but he did not attempt to qualify either for the Indian Civil Service or the Bar. He read, however, for some time with Mr. Henry Morley, who was much struck by the elegance and accuracy of Rabindranath's English composition. During his sojourn in England Rabindranath used to write Bengali letters, which were published, descriptive of his English experiences. For a lad in his teens the descriptions were remarkably vivid and showed considerable powers of observation. On his return to India two things were noticeable: he was entirely unaffected by his visit to England in his ways of living. He never put on the European dress and acquired no European habits. The other thing was that in spite of his undoubted command over the English language and his extensive reading of English literature he rarely wrote English. All his literary work and even his correspondence was done in Bengali. Until he began translating his own poems he had made no serious attempt to write in English, and now by his translations, his lectures and his letters he ranks as a great original English writer.

If genius is a capacity for taking infinite pains and hard and sustained work, the Indian poet has amply demonstrated it by his unswerving devotion to literature. Of course, the original spark must be there, for it is absurd

to contend that genius is latent in every man and can be brought out by unremitting toil. You cannot delve down into the bowels of the earth anywhere at random to find a precious stone. Our poet has fed the flame of his genius steadily and loyally, and the light that he has kindled has penetrated as a gentle and illuminating radiance to the remotest corners of the earth. Poetry, drama and fiction have been enriched by his contributions, and he has shed fresh lustre upon various departments of human thought. Nor has he been heedless to the call of his country, though his temperament is unsuited for the din and jar of practical politics. He presided once over a political conference and delivered a profoundly thoughtful address in Bengali. When Bengal was embittered by the partition of that Province and feeling ran high, the heart of the poet-patriot was deeply stirred and the songs he then composed were sung everywhere, at public meetings and in processions, by prisoners in prison vans and prison cells, by women in the home and by boys in the streets. Two or three years later, Rabindranath narrowly escaped having a signal political distinction conferred upon him by the Government of Bengal. He had read a certain paper in Bengali at a crowded meeting in Calcutta and it was published in the usual course. Shortly afterwards he received an official letter from Mr. Chief Secretary Macpherson conveying the warning of the Bengal Government against what was considered a seditious speech. The Government stayed their hand so far that they did not forthright launch a prosecution. Rabindranath told me that he sent no reply to this letter, but though this little incident is not generally known it is well worth being recorded as the first official appreciation in India of the Indian poet. For some time the school established and maintained by Rabindranath at Bolpur and now known all over the civilised world as Visvabharati was under grave suspicion as a hotbed of sedition. It was a fair and accurate index of the working of the official mind in India.

A few more years passed and the Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to Rabindranath Tagore. How did this come about? The panels which make the selections for the award of the various Nobel prizes are constituted of men who know nothing about the language in which the works of the Indian poet are written. It is contemptuously designated an Indian provincial vernacular

language, as if every living language in the world is not the vernacular and the mother-tongue of some people. English may be a classical language, but we have not heard that the vernacular of England is Hebrew ! All that the judges had before them was a thin volume in which the poet had rendered into English a few of his original poems in Bengali. It was not a metrical translation, but the spirit and soul of poetry were to be found in the marvellously musical and rhythmical lines. They disclosed a hitherto unrevealed subtlety of fascination in the English language with delicate nuances of the poet's own touch. Even so the judges could have scarcely realised that in going so far east as India and making a selection from a race ruled by a nation in Europe they were conferring a great honour upon the Nobel Prize itself, for in the list of Nobel prizemen no name stands higher to-day than that of Rabindranath Tagore.

A large and influential deputation from Calcutta waited upon the poet at Bolpur in his country home, well named the Abode of Peace (শান্তি নিকেতন), to congratulate him on his having been awarded the Nobel Prize. In his reply the poet spoke with a shade of bitterness. Was not all his work done in his own country and were not his books accessible to all readers in Bengal ? Those that had given him the Nobel prize had only seen a few of his poems in translation and did not know a word of the language in which they were originally written. The poet was right,* for was it not humiliating that his countrymen in Bengal should have waited for the recognition of his genius to have come home all the way round from Europe ? In the introduction, written about this time, to his valuable work, "A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation," Mr. Havell writes :—"If Anglo-India or the Calcutta University had awarded a prize for literature, open to the world, neither would, have discovered a Bengali poet."† Unfortunately, it is a besetting weakness of our people that they see through other people's eyes and cannot always appreciate worth

for its own sake. If a man gets a good Government job or some trumpery title, there is an epidemic of entertainments in his honour and he is acclaimed as a hero so long as the novelty of his distinction lasts. If not widely popular, the name of Rabindranath was a household word in Bengal even before the Nobel Prize was conferred upon him. His poems and specially his songs were known everywhere and there was not a single Bengali home in which his songs were not sung. The most striking tribute is that of imitation and this has been rendered to him in abounding measure, for there is hardly any Bengali writer of verse who has not imitated Rabindranath's language, his metrical originality and versatility and his unmistakable distinction, though of course the supremacy of the Master remains undisputed. When he was fifty years of age, his educated countrymen of Bengal made him a public presentation in the Town Hall of Calcutta, an honour which has not been shown to any other Bengali writer. Moreover, has it often happened that full and adequate appreciation has come to a great writer or a great man of genius in his own life-time ? Such a man lives in advance of his times and it takes time for later generations to arrive at a proper understanding of him. The world was not always the huge sounding board and the rounded whispering gallery it is to-day and great books were, written without the world hailing them as important literary events. Was not William Shakespeare an obscure individual in his life-time, and he lived only a little over three hundred years ago ?

The Nobel prize looms large in the world's estimation and yet one wonders whether a money prize is the best tribute to genius. For a struggling author the prize is a considerable sum of money and Rabindranath himself has received letters inquiring how the Swedish prize for literature may be won. But while it is only about eight thousand pounds of English money, a heavy-weight boxing champion may earn a prize of eight hundred thousand dollars by having his head and face mashed into pulp ! Rabindranath himself kept no part of the Nobel Prize money for his own use, but handed over the whole amount to the Visvabharati. Literary giants like the late Anatole France and George Bernard Shaw have refused to retain the money of the Nobel Prize for their personal use. But the present age is ruled

* This is not the place to enter into a discussion on this point ; but we have always felt that the poet was not right, as his genius had received marked and unprecedented recognition in Bengal before the award of the Nobel Prize to him.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

† That would have only proved how entirely ignorant Anglo-India and the Calcutta University were of Bengal's appreciation of her greatest poet.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

by the almighty dollar and the greatest writers are those whose books are considered the best sellers in the market. Judged even by this standard Rabindranath easily holds the first place, for a single German firm has sold five million copies of some of his books. To borrow a phrase from the turf, it is the best stayer that wins a race, and the life of a book is to be measured not by its vogue for a season but by its passing the ordeal of time.

What detracts greatly from the intrinsic value of the Nobel Prize is that it is an annual award. How is it possible to discover a great name in literature every year when a century may pass without producing a really great writer? Consequently, the prize has frequently to be given to mediocre writers whose reputation cannot be enhanced by any prize. It is somewhat like the appointment of a poet laureate in England. What great names besides those of Tennyson and Wordsworth are to be found in the list of English laureates? The royal seal and sign manual can create ministers and governors but not a poet who fills his place by right divine and holds a commission from God Himself. Lord Dewar, a master of epigram and perhaps the wittiest living after-dinner speaker, recently said at a dinner of an Institute of Painters in London, "Poets are born—and not paid." This fine epigram was garnished with a story about the present English Poet Laureate, who refused to give the press reporters an interview when he happened to be in America some time ago. The next morning the New York papers came out with the attractive headline, "The King's Canary Won't Chirp!" The King's canary is sometimes only a house sparrow faked to look like a canary, but its chirp gives it away. Nor can a gift of money add to a poet's reputation. Money is here today and gone tomorrow, and has no element of stability. Therefore, in ancient Rome they crowned the poet and the man of genius with the laurel crown, a handful of ever-green leaves, emblematic of the freshness and immortality of fame. It could be had for the mere plucking but not all the gold in the world can produce a single leaf of laurel.

Among the messages of congratulations received by the Indian poet there was one of genuine respect and homage from the late Mr. E. S. Montagu, then Under-Secretary and afterwards Secretary of State for India. At the next distribution of honours Rabindra-

nath received a knighthood. There may or may not be some connection between these two incidents, but it is a speculation of no interest. All that has to be noted is that the Government of the country displayed an interest in the poet on two occasions: first, when they threatened him as a purveyor of sedition and the next time when they conferred upon him a knighthood in the wake of the Nobel prize. This is not the end of the story, for there is a glorious sequel to it. When the Punjab lay prostrate under the iron heel of martial law, bruised, bleeding, outraged and martyred, the great patriot heart of Rabindranath went out in throbbing sympathy to his stricken countrymen in that Province, and he cast away from him, in indignant protest, the knighthood with which he had been honoured. The letter that he wrote to Lord Chelmsford on that occasion will remain a historical and human document of a lofty and dignified protest couched in language of singular force and eloquence. And his decision has been accepted without question throughout the world, for no one now thinks of addressing him as a knight. What an object-lesson for many of our countrymen who cling to their petty titles and blazon them on their door fronts! By surrendering his title Rabindranath flung down his gauntlet as a challenge to oppression and it was a deed more truly knightly than the breaking of a lance in a joust of arms.

At different times it has been the privilege of genius to disregard the conventions of social life and to live amidst picturesque, bizarre surroundings. But the blandishments of Bohemia have never had the slightest attraction for Rabindranath Tagore. In his hermitage of peace, surrounded by the young Brahmachari scholars of the Visvabharati, the teachers and learned men from distant lands, he has brought back the atmosphere of the open-air teaching of the ancient Aryans. At Bolpur he is revered and addressed as Gurudeva just as the Rishis and teachers of ancient India were addressed by their disciples. To such of our countrymen as delight in the garb of the West and look upon England and Europe as the Mecca of their dreams, a visit to Bolpur may prove something of a shock. Time and again, the magnet of Rabindranath's personality has drawn famous and learned scholars of Europe to his academy. During their stay these learned pundits from the West discard the stiff and inelegant clothing of Europe for the

graceful raiment of Bengal. But for the strange and humiliating obsession which is euphemistically called the cultural domination of Europe, no thought would have ever come to Indians of exchanging their own costumes for European clothing. There is so little imagination and such lack of individual choice in the West that practically all Europe and America have only a single kind of dress. Apart from climatic suitability, so far as western countries may be concerned, I can conceive of nothing more inartistic than the clothes of Europe with their close fit, straight lines and sharp angles, making a man look like a rectangle set upon two straight lines. So great an authority as Thomas Alva Edison has condemned the garments of Europe and America without reserve on the ground that they cramp a man's movements and his life. On the other hand, most Indian costumes are full of grace, generously fashioned, giving free movement to the limbs, and falling in artistic curves and folds. There is no more attractive head-dress anywhere than the turban of the Punjab, no upper garment so well-proportioned or so suggestive of dignity as the robe worn in northern India, no costume so wholly beautiful as that of Bengal, the *chadar* being an improvement on the Roman toga. The robes that Rabindranath himself wears when travelling in foreign lands are distinguished by originality and individuality. There is probably no Indian living who is in deeper sympathy with the intellect of Europe, or has better assimilated the finest literature of that continent, but he has not made the mistake of accepting the husk for the kernel of European culture.

Does the Nobel prize afford an explanation of the wonderful reception accorded to Rabindranath Tagore in the West and the Far East? Rudyard Kipling, the much-blauded poet of the Empire, is also a Nobel prizeholder. If he were to undertake a tour of the world, would he be acclaimed in the same manner as the Indian poet? For Rabindranath the Nobel prize has served as an introduction to the West, but that is all. For the rest the Nobel prize has been of no more use to him than his cast-off knighthood. From continent to continent, country to country, capital to capital he has passed as a vision of light, East and West rendering him the reverence due to a world-teacher. It has been a royal progress and Rabindranath has moved like a king, ay, a king of hearts playing with wizard fingers upon the heart-

strings of the nations. The great ones of the world have vied with one another in doing him all possible honour, learned and intellectual men have received him as a leader and elder brother, the Universities have opened wide their doors in scholastic welcome, men and women have jostled one another for a sight of this poet and prophet from the East. He has lectured to crowded audiences in English which was subsequently translated into the local language. He has recited his poems in the original Bengali to hushed houses which listened, without understanding the words, to the music of his voice. In China, the representative of the dethroned Manchū dynasty presented him with an imperial robe. Everywhere and in all lands he has been greeted and acclaimed with an enthusiasm and a reverence of which the world holds no parallel.

Since at the moment we are concerned more with the man than with the poet, it may be fittingly asked whether apart from his great gifts Rabindranath has any claim to greatness. The answer is, strip him of his God-given dower of song, even as he himself has laid aside his man-made title of distinction, take away from him his treasure of wisdom garnered during the years, and still he is great—great in his lofty character, great in the blameless purity of his life, great in his unquenchable love for the land of his birth, undeniably great in his deep and earnest religiousness and the faith that rises as an incense to his Maker. As a mere man he is an exemplar whom his countrymen, in all reverence and all humility, may well endeavour to follow.

As a poet Rabindranath has won wider celebrity than any poet in his own lifetime. His works, or parts of them, are familiar to most readers in Europe, Asia and America. The best translations in English are by himself and these have been translated into other languages. Critics in Europe and America, almost without exception, have bestowed high praise on his writings and ranked him among the great poets of the world. Occasionally the criticism is shallow, specially when the Indian poet has been compared to some European poet. A comparison between two writers in two different languages may have the merit of suggestion, but it is not helpful to constructive criticism. A critic who undertakes such a comparison must satisfy his readers that he has read both writers in the original

with full understanding. I doubt whether any European critic can make such an assertion in regard to the poetical writings of Rabindranath Tagore. An English admirer, residing in India, of the poet claims to have read him in the original Bengali and he considers the Indian writer in some respects superior to Victor Hugo. He has not, however, thought of comparing the poet to any English writer. If an Indian critic were to make such a comparison he should be asked whether he had read the works of Victor Hugo in the original French. The similarity between the French and the Indian writer is in their versatility and range of creative genius. Both are masters of prose and verse, both are writers of prose fiction, both have written dramatic and lyrical poetry, both are child-lovers and have tendered the homage of exquisite song to the sovereignty of childhood. There the comparison ends and it can be carried no further, because the two writers belong to two widely divergent schools. Tennyson rightly called Victor Hugo 'Stormy Voice of France.' The great French poet was 'Lord of human tears' but he was in his element in the *Sturm und Drang* of nature and human passions. 'French of the French', he smote and withered Napoleon *Le Petit* with the flail and fire of his scorn and his burning philippics in prose and verse. He nicknamed Napoleon III the Little in contrast with Napoleon the Great. The muse of the Indian poet moves in the glory of early dawn and seeks the gathering shadows of evening. She finds her pleasure, not in the storm and stress, but in the smiling beauties, of nature. She haunts the moonlight and strays in the ripe and waving corn. She listens to the voice of the sandal-scented wind from the south and knocks gently at the door of the human heart.

In the case of a great poet or writer contemporary judgment may not always be in agreement with the ultimate verdict of posterity. A man standing close to the foot of a mountain cannot form a correct estimate of its height or its imposing position in the landscape. Similarly, a certain perspective of time is necessary for an accurate appreciation of a great original writer or creative genius. But the faculty of criticism has grown with the development of literature and we cannot expect the suspension of contemporary judgment in the

case of any writer, great or small. That judgment as regards the Indian poet is entirely gratifying and will be endorsed by future generations of critics. Rich and varied as is the output of Rabindranath's literary work, he stands pre-eminent as a lyric poet. The world of readers outside his own province of Bengal knows him only through the medium of translations. Poetry divides itself easily into three main sections, epic, dramatic and lyric, the three clearly demarcated and separated by wide stretches of time and the evolution of the human intellect. Of these epic poetry is somewhat easy of translation, because its essence is narrative. Some loss is unavoidable in translation but the outlines and central structure of an epic can be retained even in a new language. Drama is more difficult but the excellent renderings into English of the powerful Greek tragedies prove that the difficulties of translation are not insuperable. A fine lyrical poem is the despair of the translator. A great epic is fashioned in a Titanic mould of which a cast may be taken. A drama is a panoramic view of human nature and may be copied. But a beautiful lyric is a sparkling little jewel of which every facet is carefully cut by the poet-jeweller and its setting is the language in which it is composed. Any duplication or imitation of such a gem may prove to be mere paste. To be fully appreciated a lyrical poem must be read in the original with due understanding of the language in which it is written. It is a compact and component whole from which no part can be separated from another. The words, the figures, the metre are all wedded together. Rabindranath has translated his poems as no one else could have done, but how is it possible to convey in another language the grace, the metrical arrangement and the musical harmony of the words of the original poems?

It can scarcely be expected that readers and admirers in far lands will learn the language of Bengal to read the works of the Bengali poet as originally written. India itself is a land of many languages and outside Bengal Indian readers have to read the English translations of the poet. I remember several years before Rabindranath received the Nobel prize Gopal Krishna Gokhale, politician and mathematician, learned the Bengali language for the express purpose of reading Rabindranath's poems in the original Bengali. Gokhale read out to me a few

poems on one occasion, apologising for his inability to reproduce the Bengali accent and enunciation, and then asked me to read the same poems in the manner of a Bengali. However wide-flung his fame, Rabindranath's permanent place is in the literature of his own language. As a Bengali free from a few delusions, I recognise that Bengali literature does not rank as one of the great literatures of the world, though it is full of promise and has already produced a few writers of undoubted genius. Periods of literary activity have alternated with long spells of stagnation. There have been a very few critics of outstanding ability but critical acumen has not been systematically and conscientiously cultivated. The little criticism that is to be found is either shallow, or mordant, which passes for smartness, or indiscriminating and fulsome adulation. When Rabindranath was a young boy criticism by comparison was rampant in Bengal, and every writer of any note was compared to some English writer. Early Bengali literature was neglected. The Vaishnava poems of the era of Chaitanya, the cradle and crown of the lyrical poetry of Bengal, were consigned to the oblivion of cheap and obscure printing presses. The boy Rabindranath turned to this literature with the unerring instinct of nascent genius. As a boy-poet he wrote a number of charming poems in imitation of the language of Vidyapati, a Maithil poet by birth and the language of his verse, but also a Bengali poet by adoption and extensive imitation during the period Bengali poetry was influenced by the personality of Chaitanya. As the pinions of his genius grew stronger the poet soared higher and ranged wider. The supreme art of simplicity was his to begin with, and he rapidly acquired considerable depth of thought and a rare strength and delicacy of touch. There was very little variety in rhythm, metre and measure in Bengali poetry, though the great poet Michael Madhusudan Dutt had introduced blank verse and a few simple new metres. Rabindranath dazzled his readers by his creative faculty of introducing new metres and measures. Tripping verses nimble-footed :— Terpsichore, slow, dreamy measures caught in the land of the lotus-eaters, long-swinging, stately lines of regal grace, stirring lay of knightly deeds and martyr-heroes, lofty chants from ancient Aryan and Buddhist legendary lore, holy hymns rising like incense from the shrine of the soul, all

were his and his muse answered every compelling call. His language is of classical purity and dignity, and of striking originality. Critics everywhere have been struck by his wealth of simile and metaphor, the subtlety of perception and suggestion, the realisation of the beautiful. His devotional songs and poems are among the finest in the whole range of literature. They are a noble and melodious expression of a living faith beautiful in its strength and sublime in its appeal. His lyrical poems are of steadily progressive strength and variety, and the careful student can detect the successive stages of development, the growing maturity of thought and expression, the increasing power over language and rhyme, and the splendid outburst of music in several of his later poems. Without attempting anything like an exhaustive criticism or appreciation of the poet I may quote a single poem displaying some of the qualities which have placed Rabindranath in the front rank of lyric poets. This poem was composed when the poet was about thirty-four years of age, in the full plenitude of his powers and the assured strength of his genius. The theme is *Urbasi* :—

উর্বশী

নহ নাতা, নহ কন্যা, নহ বধূ, হৃদয়ি রূপসি,
হে নন্দনবাসিনী উর্বশী।
গোষ্ঠে যবে নক্ষা নামে আশ বেছে স্বর্গাকল টানি,
তুমি কোনো গৃহপ্রান্তে নাহি ছালা নক্ষাতীপবানি ;
বিবাহ ভঞ্চিত পদে, কস্ত্রক্ষে নর নেত্রপাতে
শ্রিতহাস্তে নাহি চল সলঙ্ঘিত বাসর নক্ষাতে
শুধু অধিকারে।
উদার উদয় সন অনবগুণিতা
তুমি অহুতিয়া।

বৃহৎ পুণ্ডন আপনাতে আপনি বিকশি
কবে তুমি ফুলিলে উর্বশী।
আগ্নি বনপ্রান্তে উঠেছিলে মস্থিত নাগরে,
ভানবতে ব্রূপাণ্ড, বিনয়িত লয়ে বান করে ;
ভয়মিত নহানিহ্ন মহাপ্রাণ ভূতেশ্বর নত
পড়েছিল গমপ্রান্তে, উচ্ছলিত বর্ণা লক্ষ শত
করি অবনত।
হৃদয় নরকান্তি হলে বলিতা,
তুমি অশ্রুদিতা।

কোনোকালে ছিল না কি মুহুরিতা বালিকা বালী
হে অবনতদেবী উর্বশী।
আঁখির পাখারতলে তার করে বসিয়া একেলা
নাড়িত মুহুরিত লয়ে করেছিলে শৈশবের বেশী,

নগিনীগদীপুষ্ককে সমুদ্রের কল্লোলনদীতে
অকলঙ্ক হাতমুখে প্রবাল পালকে ঘুমাইতে
কায় অঙ্গটিতে ?
যখন জাগিলে বিখে, যৌবনে গঠিত
পূর্ণ প্রসুতিত।

যুগ যুগান্তর হতে তুমি শুধু বিশ্বের প্রেমদী
হে অপূর্ণশোভনা উৎকর্ষি !
মুনিগণ ধ্যান ভাঙি দেয় গদে তপস্তার ফল,
তোমারি কটাক্ষাতে জিভুবন যৌবনচঞ্চল,
তোমার নদীর গর্ভে শব্দ বাণু বহে চারিভিত্তে,
নখমুখ ভ্রমরন মুক্ত কবি ফিরে লুক চিত্তে,
উদ্ভাস সসীতে।
নুপুর গুল্লরি বাও আকুল-অঞ্চল।
বিহ্বল-চঞ্চল।

স্বরনভাতলে যবে নৃত্য কর পুনকে উন্নতি,
হে বিলোল-হিমোল উৎকর্ষি !
ছন্দে ছন্দে নাচি উঠে মিল্লমাঝে তরঙ্গের দল,
শত-শীর্ষে শিরিষা কাঁপি উঠে ধরার অকল,
তব গুনহার হতে নভস্তলে বসি পড়ে তারা,
অকল্যাণ পুরুষের বক্ষোনায়ে চিত্ত আয়নার;
নাচে রক্তধারা।

নিগম্যে মেখলা তব টুটে আচলিতে
অগ্নি অনন্তবৃত্তে !

বর্ণে উন্নতানে নৃত্যনতী তুমি হে উৎকর্ষি
হে ভুবনমোহিনী উৎকর্ষি !
রুগতের অক্ষরে খোত তব তরুর তনিনা,
ত্রিলোকের হরিরক্তে আঁকা তব চরণ-পোষিনা,
মুক্তবর্ণে বিদগ্ধনে, বিকশিত বিশ্ব-বাসনার
অরবিন্দ নারবানে গাণপ্য বেধে তোমার
অতি লঘুভার।
অবিন বানদবর্ণে অনন্তরত্নি
হে স্বপ্নদ্বিনি।

ওই স্তন বিশে বিশে তোনা লাগি কাঁবিছে কলসী—
হে নিষ্ঠুরা বরিষা উৎকর্ষি !
আদিম পুণ্ডরিক এ রুগত বিরিয়ে কি আর,—
অস্তম অকুল হতে দিককেশে উঠিব আবার ?
এখন নে তুমি বসি বেধে বিবে এখন প্রভাতে
বাগিচা লাতে।
বকসাস মহাবিশ্ব অপূর্ণ সসীতে
সবে তরঙ্গিত।

বিরিয়ে না বিরিয়ে না—অন্ত কোষে কোষবশি,
অশ্রুতবাসিনী উৎকর্ষি !
তাই অগ্নি স্বপ্নে বসন্তের আল-উৎকর্ষি
কায় চিরবিরহের দীর্ঘদিন নিশে বহে আসে,
মুনিবিশিষ্টে বসে ললিত পুত্রপুত্র হাদি।

দূরমুখি কোথা হতে বাঁধা ব্যাকুল-কবী বাঁধি,
স্বপ্নে অশ্রুতবাসিনী।
তবু আশা ভ্রমে থাকে প্রাণের কলনে
অগ্নি অকলনে।

Of this poem, which scintillates and
glitters like the Kohinoor in the poet's
Golconda of flawless jewels of the finest
water, I have essayed a translation, with very
indifferent success:—

Nor mother, nor maid, nor bride art thou,
O beauteous Urvasi, dweller in the garden of
the gods !
When Eve comes down on the mead drawing
the golden end of her garment round
her weary shape,
Thou dost not light the evening lamp in a
corner of any home ;
With the faltering feet of doubt, trembling
bosom and downcast eyelids,
Smiling and coy, thou dost not pass to the
bridal bed

In the still midnight.
Unveiled as the rise of the dawn
Unembarrassed art thou !

Like a flower without a stem blooming in
itself
When didst thou blossom, Urvasi ?
Out of the churned sea thou didst rise in the
primal spring-morn
With the chalice of ambrosia in thine right
hand, the poison cup in thy left ;
Like a serpent charm-stilled the mighty
ocean wave-tost
Sank at thy feet bending its million heavy
hoods

In obeisance,
White as the Kunda flower, in beauty undraped,
the lord of the gods bowing before thee,
Fair art thou !

Wert thou never a budding maiden tender
in years,

O Urvasi, of youth eterne ?
In the dark vault under the sea, sitting lone
in whose abode
Didst thou play with rubies and pearls the
games of childhood ;
In a chamber lit with jewelled lamps, to the
cradle-song of the sea,
With pure smiling face, on a couch of coral, in
whose arms

Didst thou sleep ?
Instant on thy awakening in the universe thou
wert fashioned with youth
Full flowered !

From aeons and ages past thou art but the
beloved of the Universe,
O Urvasi of grace beyond compare !
Saints break their meditation to lay the merit
of their communion at thy feet,
Struck by the shaft of thy glance the three
worlds stir with youth,

Borne is thy intoxicating fragrance by the
 blind wind all ways,
 Like a bee drunk with honey the poet
 enraptured roams tempted of spirit
 With impassioned song.
 Thou passest with the tinkle of thy anklet,
 fluttering the end of thy garment,
 Swift as the lightning !

When thou dancest in the assembled hall of
 the gods, exuberant with joy,
 O swaying, billowy Urvasi,
 To measured music dance the lined waves

of the sea,
 Shivering to the ears of corn trembles the
 apron of the earth :
 From the chainlet on thy breast bursts the
 star that falls on the floor of the sky !
 Suddenly in the breast of man the mind loses
 itself,

The stream of blood dances in his veins.
 On the distant horizon of a sudden snaps
 thy girdle,

O thou without restraint !

On heaven's mountain crest of sunrise thou
 art Aurora embodied,
 O Urvasi, the charmer of the world !

The slenderness of thy form is washed with
 the tears of the world,
 Painted is the pink of thy feet with the
 heart-blood of the three worlds,

O thou with thy hair unbound, ungarmented !
 on the open lotus-flower

Of the world's desire thou hast poised thy-
 lotus feet

Ever so light !
 In the whole heaven of the mind endless
 is thy delight,

O companion of dreams !

Hark ! all around earth and heaven are
 crying for thee,

O cruel, heedless Urvasi !
 Will the pristine and ancient of cycles come
 back to the earth,

From the fathomless, shoreless sea, wet-
 tressed, wilt thou rise again ?

First will that form appear in that first morn,
 All thy limbs will weep hurt by the eyes
 of the universe,

Dripping the water from thy loveliness.
 On a sudden the great ocean will heave and roll
 To a song unsung before.

Never again, never again ! That moon of
 glory has set,

On the mount of the sunset dwells Urvasi.
 So on the earth today in the burst of joy
 of the spring

Whose long-drawn sigh of parting eternal
 comes mingled with the notes of mirth ?
 On the night of the full-moon when all
 around is full laughter

Whence come the tunes distraught of the
 lute of distant memory ?
 The tears flow in flood.

Still hope keeps awake in the weeping of the
 heart,

O thou boundless one !

The metre of this poem is original, the language is full of artistic grace and the instinct of the true poet is to be repeatedly found in the choice of the words. Words like *কম্প* (*Kampra*, trembling), *উষনী* (*Ushasi*, dawn), *তনু* (*Tanima*, slenderness), and *শোণিত* (*Sonima*, redness), delightfully musical, are rarely met with in Bengali poetry. In one line occurs the word *করন্দাসী* (*Krandasi*, heaven and earth). How many Bengali readers of the poet know the meaning of this word or have troubled themselves to trace its origin ? It cannot be found in any Bengali dictionary or even an average Sanscrit dictionary. It is an archaic Sanscrit word and occurs in three places in the *Rig-Veda*, in the second, sixth and tenth *mandalas*. The meaning of the word is two contending armies shouting defiance, but in the commentary of Sayanacharya it is noted that it also means heaven and earth. It is in this sense that the word has been used by the poet in this poem. This will give an idea of the wide and accurate scholarship of the poet and his artistic selection of appropriate words.

Urvasi is an epithet of the dawn personified as an *apsara*, a heavenly nymph, the principal danseuse in Indra's heaven. The Aryan, Greek, Roman and Islamic conceptions of paradise are a perpetuation of the lower forms of the pleasures of life on earth. The paradise of the North American Indian is the happy hunting ground, for he cannot think of a heaven without the pleasures of the chase. Incidents relating to Urvasi are frequently mentioned in ancient Sanscrit books. Among the objects and beings that rose from the sea when it was churned by the gods and the demons with the mount Mandar for a churning rod and the great serpent Vasuki for a churning rope Urvasi was one. This splendid allegory crystallises some dim and remote tradition about some stupendous convulsion of nature, may be an unparalleled seismic disturbance, a mighty volcanic eruption, the emergence of a vast tract of land from the sea or the submergence of some forgotten continent like Atlantis. In Greek mythology, which is largely a reflex of Aryan mythology, Aphrodite, named Venus in Roman mythology, rose from the sea-foam in which she was born. The Sanscrit legend explains how the sea was

churned into foam by a Titanic process. Aphrodite unlike Urvasi does not represent the dawn, but the Greek word for daybreak, *eos*, is etymologically very similar to the Sanscrit word for dawn, *usha*.

In all the ancient accounts relating to Urvasi there is nothing that appeals to the finer feelings. There is the fascination, irresistible to saint and sinner alike, of an unearthly and fadeless beauty. In the tenth *mandala* of the Rig Veda there is a dialogue between Pururava and Urvasi. The story is told in fuller detail in the Satapatha Brahmana, the Bhagavata and is mentioned in several other books. In the Mahabharata the second Pandava, Arjuna, who rejected Urvasi's advances, was cursed by her. For a short spell she was the wife of King Pururava and in dramatising this incident in Vikramorvasi the poet Kalidasa represents her as a loving and attractive woman. But the modern poet has restored Urvasi to the spirit world and interpreted her with an inspiration so sympathetic and elevating as to reveal her in a new light. As one reads and understands this poem, he realises the sublimation of Urvasi from the low level of sense to the height of supersense. She no longer appears merely as the radiant but heartless ravisher of hearts, a much-magnified, if elusive, type of the scarlet woman. Any conception of the eternal feminine, whether in the flesh or in the spirit, is incomplete without the three stages of maidenhood, wifehood and motherhood, and this is the first note sounded by the poet while apostrophising Urvasi. Fronting the universe, unshrinking in the freshness and glory of the first dawn of creation, Urvasi stands in the splendour of her beauty with the glint of the young sunlight on her loveliness.

And this image recalls the legend of her first manifestation, for there is no word about her birth anywhere though the parentage of the gods can be easily traced in the elaborate theogony of Sanscrit sacred literature, with its imposing setting. Behold the gods and their opponents with their muscles showing like corded steel, heaving and straining and pulling at either end of the straightened but writhing coils of the mightiest of serpents, trampling the golden strand under their giant feet, the massive bulk of mount Mandar whirling each way by turn with the broad, speckled bands of the length of the serpent Ananta enfolding its girth, the cosmic ocean lashed and

racked and churned into hissing, hydra-headed foam ! And behind this travail and turmoil is the background of the calm and smiling rose-flush of the dawn ! On this scene of mingled strife and peace appears Urvasi, parting the waters and the foam, her hair dripping and clinging to the rounded curves and the slender lines of her peerless form, the vision of her beauty striking the godly and ungodly beholders dumb with amazement !

For centuries poets and dramatists and other writers accepted this conception of Urvasi without question. There was no suggestion of any flaw in the myth, or anything lacking in the imagination that invested the nymph with perennial youth. But the latest of the great poets of India has noted the gap in the life-story of Urvasi. We see her suddenly revealed to the astonished eyes of the universe in the maturity of her lissome grace, the immortal gift of her beauty and her fatal fascination, but nothing is known of the innocence of her early youth, of her playfulness as a child or the arms that rocked her to sleep in a gilded chamber in some submarine palace. And hence the wondering question of the poet concerning the missing infancy of Urvasi. The original legend is undoubtedly a daring figment revelling in the creation of full-grown beauty, skipping the stages between childhood and maturity. In Judaic tradition and the Book of Genesis the first man and woman were never infants. But the loss to the being or the spirit so created is immeasurable. What beauty of person or consciousness of strength can compensate for the void inseparable from the absence of the lights and shadows of the vista of memory, recollections of the past to fill moments of idleness or preoccupation ?

This is the emphasis on the word 'only' (सुधू) when the poet says Urvasi has been for ages the beloved of the whole universe. Her appeal is the disturbing influence of beauty alone without the lighter shades of the memory of an innocent childhood. It is the puissance of sheer beauty shattering the concentrated contemplation of the saint and filling all the worlds with the ache of youth and maddening the fancy of the poet. But she, the creator of all this commotion, the dancer with the jingling anklets making music to her footfall, flits as she will, gay, heartwhole, fanc-free. It is when she dances before the assembled gods on the

sapphire floor of the ball-room in Indra's palace with all the abandon and witchery of her art that the poet lifts the veil from the mystery of her identity and reveals her as the spirit of beauty behind the phenomena of nature. The rhythmic waves of the sea keep measure to her dancing feet, the tremors of the agitated earth are communicated to the heads of corn, the heart of man is strangely and inexplicably disturbed. The falling meteor is a jewel burst from the chain round Urvasi's neck in the mad whirl of her dance, the lambent lightning with its wavy lines is the broken strand of the lustrous girdle round her waist. Urvasi is the expression of all the buoyant, spontaneous joyance of Nature!

Still further behind is the Vedic myth, though even there the identity of Urvasi with the Morning Dawn and the Evening Twilight is very faint and the allegory is more or less lost in the proper name. In hailing her as the embodiment of dawn in heaven the poet greets her on the threshold of early tradition and yet finds in her the fulfilment of the later and wilder myths cleansed from the grosser accretions of later times. The morning dew in which the dawn is bathed represents the tears of the world while the tinge of rose with which the delicate feet of Urvasi is painted by the rays of the morning sun is the heart-blood of all the worlds. As the lotus which remains closed at night opens its heart to the first touch of the sun, so the longing and the desire of the universe opens out as a lotus flower on which the dainty sun-kissed feet of Urvasi may rest. The image of beauty that haunts the dreams of the world is the all-pervading loveliness of Urvasi.

Will the revolving cycles bring back the ancient and pristine era when Urvasi rose from the sea which hailed her with a new song of welcome? Will a wondering world again witness what the gods saw? Will the wailing cry of heaven and earth reach

Urvasi and turn her tripping feet back to the scene of her first triumphs? Vain, alas is the weeping and yearning for the lost Urvasi! How can the beauty and the glory of the first dawn of creation ever return? Is it not recorded in the Rig Veda* that Urvasi told Pururava, "I have gone from thee like the first of Mornings....I, like the wind, am difficult to capture"? Urvasi is not the nymph of the daily recurrent dawn. She came from the waters flashing brilliant as the falling lightning, bringing delicious presents for Pururava†. Gone is she with the glory of the first of Mornings, leaving behind her the memory of a vanished beauty such as has never again been seen on earth or in heaven, and her parting sigh comes floating in the festive season of springtide as an undernote of melancholy!

And so we see Urvasi again, ancient as the Vedas in recorded language and far more ancient in mythic tradition, uplifted and purified, stepping forth as she did when she rent the veil of uncreated, brooding gloom and looked out on the universe in the soft dawnlight, wondering and wondered at, passing fair, winning unsought the adoration of immortals and mortals. The fame of the poet, to whose genius we owe this new presentation of the world-old Urvasi, has been broadcast round the world by the wireless of human appreciation conveyed in many tongues, and if we claim him as our own it is with the knowledge that he belongs also to the world and his is the one form of wealth which grows with the giving. To the many exotic foibles that we have brought from the West, let us not add the pride of possession indifferently distributed between a transient empire, a race-horse and a casual poet. Let ours be the better portion of sharing the glad gratefulness of giving, adding to the joy and light of the world.

* Rig Veda, X, 95.

-† Ibid.

SPRING THAT IN MY COURTYARD

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Spring that in my courtyard used to make
Such riot once, and buzzing laughter lift.
With leaped drift—
Pomegranate-flowers,
Lilies, and rain of pales—showers;
Spring's first new wings stirred the weeds awake,
And the old trees, verdant all the day.

Seeks me out to-day with soundless feet.
Where I sit alone. Her steadfast gaze
Goes out to where the fields and heavens meet
Beside my silent cottage, silently
She looks and sees the greenness swoon and die
Into the azure haze.
From *Anthology of Modern Indian Poetry*:
Edited by Gwendoline Goehrin.

WAR ON OPIUM

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE

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OPIUM has been outlawed by the United States Congress ; but it is smuggled into the country in large quantities. America, it is generally conceded, is one of the greatest consumers of opium and its derivatives. America has, therefore, a vital interest in the suppression of the nefarious opium traffic.

There is, of course, no possibility of knowing the actual number of narcotic addicts. This is due to the fact that the use of opium in America is a secret, and not a public vice. The victims doubtless number by thousands, and tens of thousands. The United States Department of Justice announced early this year that at the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1926, more prisoners were sentenced for violation of the National Anti-Narcotic Law than for the violation of the National Prohibition Law.

OPIUM VICTIMS

The prevalence of addiction to narcotic drugs is causing the greatest apprehensions to American medical, educational and religious bodies. The platforms of all political parties, patriotic and civic associations are pledged to wipe out the opium curse.

All addicts do not come from the underworld. They go there, but ninety percent of them start among the so-called best people. It has been demonstrated by extended investigations of the United States Treasury Department and by records of Public Health Offices that the evil has its largest proportionate number of victims not among the irresponsible elements of society, but that all classes are open to its stealthy advances. The Treasury Report of a few years ago revealed the portentous fact that the largest proportionate number of victims are found among "housewives, laborers, doctors, nurses, pharmacists." The Chief of the Board of Health of San Francisco also reported that the "great majority of the victims are found among the upper strata of society, including doctors, lawyers, states-

men, businessmen, intelligent and able mechanics, only a small percentage being of the criminal type." The evil is therefore striking the country in its muscle as well as in its brain.

The bureaucrats in India say, even in this year of enlightenment 1927, that opium is a harmless "stimulant". It is highly improbable. In fact, it is plainly not so. Americans, backed by the whole scientific opinion of the genuinely civilized medical men of the world, make merry of the Indian bureaucratic opinion. It is the veriest commonplace of scientific knowledge that opium is a deadly poison. The point is that if any of the bureaucratic gentry were to come here from India and advance his fool theory about the occult virtues of opium, he would be promptly arrested. Worse, he is likely to be shut up in jail as a prehensile moron or a dangerous loony.

Americans recognize that the habit of addiction quickly develops a perilous disease which can be subdued only by adequate medical care. The problems of addiction are of utmost seriousness to the nation. Physicians are urged to fight them with the same heroic spirit which they have shown in attacking yellow fever, and other devastating plagues.

NARCOTIC EDUCATION WEEK

Realizing the awfulness of narcotic indulgence, America observed the last week of February as Anti-Narcotic Education Week. Such an Education Week offered an invaluable opportunity for diffusion of information. Schools, churches, clubs and civic societies appealed to all agencies for co-operation and to direct activities of observance.

Governors of many States issued official proclamations designating the week of February 20 to 27 as Anti-Narcotic Education Week. The Governor of the State of Arizona, in issuing the proclamation, sought to arouse not only the public opinion in this country, but throughout the world

for overthrowing the opium menace. "I further call upon the press," declared the Arizona Governor, "the clergy, educators and all persons in positions of influence to utter to youth and all others their solemn warning against even the least possible beginnings of these insidious poisons and to register their appeal to public opinion of all nations to the end that all may recognize their responsibility and unite in efforts against this enemy of mankind."

The voice of the people may not be the voice of God, but public opinion is undoubtedly the mightiest power under heaven. As an example of what the aroused public opinion will do, Americans point to the fact that only a few months ago the British Government in India announced officially that exportation of opium from India was going to be cut down progressively. Time will come when the public opinion will be so stirred even in India that it will stop the mouths of all those who have been stoutly but falsely asseverating that the Indian people have no objection to the opium traffic. That is bound to happen on some not distant to-morrow. Now watch!

The Anti-narcotic fight of the Education Week was not confined merely to a few gubernatorial pronouncements. With the zeal of a moral crusade, the campaign was carried from one end of the country to the other. Mayors of towns and cities issued proclamations, appointed local committees, and organised public meetings which adopted resolutions expressive of abhorrence of the evil. The press spoke forth the loudest possible warning to all who are subject to the temptation. It called on such nations as still share in the opium traffic to reject henceforth its blood money. Churches arranged for narcotic pulpit discussions at meetings before and during the Education Week. Movies put on trailers, short pictorials, and educational titles at all performances. Radio stations, too, did their bit in this campaign. They broadcast brief discussions daily during the Narcotic Education Week.

TEACHERS AND PUPILS

Greatest possible attention was focussed upon schools, where young people were put wise to the dangers of the narcotics. Educational organizations of all sorts adopted plans for instruction of youth and for co-operation in anti-narcotic meetings.

Many years ago von Humboldt said: "Whatever you wish to introduce into a nation you must first introduce into its schools." Acting apparently on this axiom, American schools give regular lessons on the evils of strong drink and narcotic plague. Almost all States require instruction in schools in the perils of opium. The Board of Education of Delaware has recently made special announcement, calling upon "Boards of Education, school directors, school superintendents, principals, and teachers to exercise unusual vigilance in shielding school children, and to see that suitable instruction and information is available to enable each child to safeguard himself against a habit unspeakably terrible." The members of the Brooklyn Board of Education likewise have lately felt called upon to inform the public of the ceaseless vigilance which they find themselves under the necessity of exercising.

School teachers are constantly on guard, and never fail to warn their pupils of the deadly effects of the opium drugs. Here is the substance of a talk which a teacher gave to the school assembly:

"Try Everything Once? Not on Your Life. It is a fool stunt. If you know anyone who talks that way tell him that if he MUST try anything once, don't begin on narcotics, not even once. Try something easy. Try playing with cobras and rattlesnakes. May be they won't bite. Try a stiff dose of rat poison. May be the doctor will get to you in time, run his pump down your throat and pump you out. But if you once get narcotics into your system no pump ever made can pump them out. You are hooked, you have swallowed the bait, hook, and sinker."

HOW IT ALL STARTED

Some fifty years ago an American missionary wrote home from India that opium, in forty years, would circle the globe. The prophecy has been fulfilled with deadly accuracy. How did it all begin? The evil practically started in 1776, when a profitable financial budget had to be arranged for the old East India Trading Company. It was proposed to raise the poppy in India, make opium, and sell it to China.

Warren Hastings of the unhappy memory, who suggested the scheme, wrote to England that this new alluring drug was so pernicious that it should be carefully kept away from the English people, and should be used for purposes of Chinese commerce only. China decreed death to any Chinese implicated in the traffic. Means were found, however, to

get the drug in. It spread with such rapidity that it menaced the very life of the nation.

The Chinese government in its efforts to purge the country of the opium curse decided upon a heroic measure. In 1839 the Chinese seized 1,440 tons of the British drug in the harbor of Canton, which they destroyed as contraband and piratical. Then followed the two Opium Wars. By 1856 the Chinese opposition to opium trade was finally broken down. China was compelled to sign a treaty legalizing opium importation. A great flood of opium poured in. Moreover, the Chinese, to save money, began extensive cultivation of the poppy and the making of opium. Gradually the whole nation went opium-drunk and yielded to its seduction.

Then came the awakening. In 1906 the Chinese began a campaign for the suppression of opium in their country. They destroyed the poppy on about two million acres of land, and closed up 500,000 opium dens. It was a period of great national house cleaning. For a time China was opium-free.

"The same greed of the white man," writes an American, "which in the beginning forced opium upon the Chinese, next forced upon them morphine and heroin, ten times worse than opium." Under the disorganized condition prevailing in China since its Revolution (1911), the growing of the poppy has been renewed. The magnificent fight of a few years ago has all but gone for nothing. The battle, it seems, has to be fought all over again.

India and China are today the principal poppy growers of the world. The poppy must go. Opium is an international menace. No nation—so Americans argue—is safe as long as there is the backwash of Indian and Chinese narcotics to flood the world.

During the late European War, India, it was said, helped to put down the "Hun" and save civilization. Why aren't the Indian people now permitted to save their country and the world from the demon poppy, an enemy hundred times more insidious than the Hunnish Hun?

THE SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS AND UNIVERSITIES OF THE UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

By AN INDIAN STUDENT

A Professor of the Russian University spoke on the 7th of October, 1926, at the institution of the "Friends of the New Russia" in Berlin on the methods of educational science of Soviet Russia. Several representatives of the German Government, as well as a large number of people interested in pedagogy, were present. The chief characteristic of the meeting was that the importance of Russo-German Co-operation in the cultural sphere seemed to be gradually realised also in such circles. Albert Petrovitch Pinkewitsch, the Rector of the Second University of Moscow, spoke calmly and definitely. He put forward his principal arguments. But the store of his vast knowledge was indeed disclosed when questions, put to him during the discussion, were rightly answered. He gave no rosy interpretation of the situation of his country, but dwelt in an informing manner on its poverty, which still prevented them from paying teachers as much as one could wish, from building-up as many schools as one might heartily desire and from opening up to an ever-increasing number of children

as well as adults the cultural achievements of the pedagogic methods of the Soviet Union.

Albert Pinkewitsch is staying at present in Germany and wants to make an educational tour throughout the country. He had already been in Vienna, where as a member of the Russian delegation of teachers, he took part in the session of the Teachers' International of Paris. He will go also to Weimar, in order to take part in the Pedagogic Congress, which will meet there soon. At present he is working in the University of Berlin. So it is also possible for him now to acquaint himself with all the pedagogic institutions and the new pedagogic literature of Western Europe, with which he wishes to deal in a book he intends publishing shortly. "A History of Pedagogics" in the light of the Marxian visualisation of society is the work on which he is working now. Prof. Pinkewitsch spoke as follows:—

To thoroughly initiated scientific circles it is now, quite clear, that scientific life in Russia, far from showing any sign of deca-

dence, gives evidence on the other hand of an all-round revival. The Soviet Government, as it is recently announced, has sent a hundred young students with a scholarship of a thousand Roubles each per year to make an educational tour in foreign countries.

In the campaign of lies in the bourgeoisie press the charge is unceasingly made that the Soviet State behaves as an enemy of science. I have been asked by educated people, why we murder and tyrannise over the Professors in our country. One can only laugh at such remarks. I shall perhaps surprise you all if I now assert, that 99 p. c. of the Professors who were employed before the war, still keep their posts today, teach unhampered and are fully satisfied with their present conditions.

There are altogether 71 Universities, besides which there are special schools, the so-called "technica", which number 524. These schools are of a Russian type, which stand between the high and the middle school. The above 71 institutions for higher education are divided as follows:

14 Universities (of which 7 are new), 17 technical high schools, (five are new), 5 medical colleges (2 are new), 19 agricultural high schools, (10 new), 10 pedagogical institutions (during the Tsarist regime there was only one). Two special schools of economics (one new) and 4 academies, which may be classified as follows:

Industrial and technical faculties 21, agricultural 25, medical 17, social economics 14, pedagogical 18, artistic 4. In these 71 institutions there are in all 110,414 students. The percentage of students as drawn from the different social strata, is as follows:

24.6 p. c. workers and children of workers.
26.2 p. c. peasants and children of peasants.
36.0 p. c. employees and children of employees.
10.7 p. c. intellectuals and children of intellectuals.
2.5 p. c. others.

Among the scientific research workers, there are 2646 professors, 58 p. c. of whom are communists.

As regard sex, 66.8 p. c. are men students, and 33.2 p. c. women students. Of the teaching staff 84.6 p. c. are men and 15.4 p. c. women teachers.

The method of teaching is such that the students themselves work out the material which is to be taught, through their own activities, and are never occupied with thoughts quite foreign to their minds.

In the various administrative and advisory committees of these institutions, the students are represented on an equal footing with the professors. The students who come from the factories, after having terminated their period of apprenticeship there, in order to seek admission into the above-mentioned institution, make progress with more difficulty in abstract sciences, but produce much more than their colleagues in natural and social sciences. If their general knowledge is found to be insufficient, then their duration of work in the factories is prolonged. Since 1926 on, one is admitted without previous examination.

There are two types of research institutes, those that are connected with the University and the independent ones.

To the Union of Research Institutes for the Social Sciences belong 10 institutions (for history, philosophy, literature, psychology, soviet laws, economics, etc.). To the Union of the Research-Institutes for the Natural Sciences belong 12 Institutes (botany, zoology, geography, mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, etc.).

The most distinguished and the best organised scientific institution is the Academy of Sciences, which incorporates 30 Research Institutes. The Academy organises all scientific expeditions, and investigates all special problems.

Regarding the material condition of the professors, false information has been spread. The average salary amounts, indeed only to 200 Roubles per month, but in reality they earn much more, from the various Commissions to which they belong and receive payments also from the publishers and scientific journals, amounting sometimes to as much as 1000 Roubles per month.

If one bears in mind, moreover, that the State is always building up the program of furthering the cause of science, and considers the present condition as only a transition period, one gets a view of the development which is taking place and which the "Educated West" cannot even dream of.

BERLIN, Oct. 28, 1926.

CEYLON'S POLITICAL EMANCIPATION I

By St. NIHAL SINGH

I

INDIA is unhappy at the callous manner in which the men at Britain's helm turn a deaf ear to her clamour for the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into constitutional reforms. Ceylon, on the other hand, has just been promised such an investigation ; but refuses to go wild with enthusiasm over that announcement.

Happiness, apparently, is not meant to be the portion of the semi-free, even if India and Ceylon may be considered to have attained to that rank !

Unquestionably there is a strong and almost universal disposition among the Ceylonese publicists to view the constitutional enquiry announced by His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G. C. M. G., G. B. E., the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony, with undisguised suspicion and even alarm. The fear is entertained that the inquiry, instead of ensuring the "next step in the direction of political emancipation and advancement," as he put it, it might bring about curtailment of such powers as the people, through their representatives in the Legislative Council, already possess and exercise.

As matters now stand, the "unofficial members" have, in a sense to be explained later, "power of the purse," and even the Governor cannot over-ride their will without employing procedure that would render him unpopular and expose him to the charge of ruling the Island without the consent of the "permanent population," as the phrase goes in Ceylon. The officials, not excluding His Excellency the Governor himself, have referred to that particular provision of the Constitution in a manner that has made people talk. The alacrity with which the Colonial Office, at Sir Hugh Clifford's suggestion, has announced its intention of taking early steps to set up the constitutional enquiry, which was due in 1929, has, in consequence roused misgivings.

II

The Hon'ble Mr. Edward W. Perera, President of the Ceylon National Congress and one of the most active and spirited Members of the Ceylon Legislative Council, lost no time in warning his people, to be on their guard. He told a press reporter that he viewed the appointment of a Special Constitutional Commission "with a certain degree of suspicion" because "Special Commissions tend to register certain preconceived Government opinions." Evidently he does not believe that the British officials in the Island are tired of exercising their monopoly of power over the Administration, and are anxious to relieve themselves of the burden by transferring it to the sons of the soil.

Even so conservative a leader as the Hon'ble Sir James Peiris, who, as Vice-President of the Legislative Council, presides over its deliberations, from which the Governor---the ex-officio President---studiously-absents himself, deemed it necessary to qualify his approval of the projected enquiry. "The proposal is a good one," he declared to an interviewer, "if the Commission is properly constituted."

The organs of public opinion in Ceylon, with the exception of the single newspaper under British control, are no less suspicious. The *Ceylon Daily News*, conducted under the guidance of Mr. D. R. Wijewardene, a wealthy Singhalese of proved ability and character who has already done much to quicken public life in the Island, for instance, refused to "grow altogether enthusiastic over the Governor's announcement" for reasons similar to those stated by the President of the Ceylon National Congress.

Mr. Francis de Zoysa, President of the Congress during last year, publicly admitted that he shared "in a certain measure the misgivings" to which that newspaper had given expression. His admission is of peculiar importance since it was in the nature of a revised opinion. Speaking a day

earlier, following the reception of the news, he had not only pronounced himself as being "certainly in favour of the proposal," but had gone to the length of deploring the fact that the impending departure of Sir Hugh Clifford from Ceylon to assume the Governorship of Malaya would make it impossible for him "to assist the Commission in its enquiries on the lines His Excellency apparently had in his mind." It is to be presumed that the "lines" along which Sir Hugh may wish to see the constitution amended may not, after all, suit the ex-President of the Ceylon National Congress.

III

If the Governor of Ceylon expected that his announcement of an enquiry which was to pave the way for "the next step in the direction of political emancipation and advancement" of Ceylon would rouse enthusiasm in the Ceylonese breast and bring him gratitude, he must, indeed, be disappointed by the manifestation of "misgiving" and "suspicion" from the leaders of the community. Having spent in the Orient all but twenty-five of his sixty-one years, "in the study of the people domiciled (born?) in the tropics" and probably feeling that he knows them even better than they know themselves, it is to be doubted that he anticipated any reception other than the one his announcement evoked.

The Ceylonese publicists are by no means perverse by nature. Their refusal to take Sir Hugh Clifford's proposal at Sir Hugh's own valuation, that is to say, as a step in the direction of Ceylon's political "emancipation", cannot, therefore, be explained away on any such basis.

IV

The announcement, to begin with, was made in an atmosphere which, through no one's designing, took away from it something of its gravity. Members of the Legislative Council had met, on the evening of Saturday April 9th, in a private dining room of the Grand Oriental Hotel in Colombo—at which I am at present staying—to give a farewell dinner to a Ceylon Civil Servant who after many years' exile in the Island where there is no income-tax was returning to Britain—his Homeland where the Government insists

upon taking away nearly one-quarter of a citizen's income from whatever source. Sir Hugh Clifford came to the function with a statement that might conceivably alter the direction of Ceylon's progress. To his dismay he found that not a single member of my craft, generally maligned but welcome when the mighty desire the momentous words that fall from their lips to be broadcasted to the masses, was present.

The reporters being indispensable to His Excellency on this occasion, a mad hunt for them began. It being Saturday night, newspaper offices were empty or nearly empty. The men who serve as care-takers of some of the buildings in which Colombo papers are edited were in sole possession at the time and had taken the telephone receivers from the hooks so as to save themselves the trouble of answering calls. So getting hold of press-men was by no means the simple proposition it generally is.

While the mad hunt for at least one reporter thus went on, the Governor and other slightly less distinguished personages in that private dining room of the Grand Oriental Hotel in Colombo tried to kill time by every imaginable device. The formality of dining was protracted as long as it could be. Then some one with a talent for elocution ---or perhaps only the nerve to attempt it---got up and amused the company by speaking a "piece." Others followed with recitations and songs. Not a single reporter having turned up even then, charades or impromptu impersonation of fantastic characters were started. As one of the local newspapers gravely put it, even His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony unbent to the point of reciting Rudyard Kipling's "Vineyard".

With all that time killing, the assembly still being without a journalist of any sort or condition, the speeches began. An Hon'ble legislator who, I believe, was largely responsible for getting up the function, undertook to do the best he could with his shorthand.

Finally, however, the Fates smiled. A member of the reporting staff of the *Ceylon Daily News*, routed out of his happy home and well-earned week-end rest, appeared on the scene, and took down His Excellency's speech. I doubt if any other member of his craft was ever made more welcome in or perhaps even out of the Island. An attempt was made to persuade him to share the fruits

of his toil with the absentee Newspaper-men but he refused to give up his "scoop".

And the other papers had to "lift" the speech from the *Daily News* and make clumsy efforts to hide that fact.

I reproduce His Excellency's announcement, in view of its importance :

"I am authorised by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State to announce that he has under consideration certain representations made to him by me relative to the revision of the Constitution. Mr. Secretary Amery desires me to say that he is fully aware of the assiduity, devotion to duty and public spirit manifested by the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council in the conduct of public affairs. He points out, however, that proposals for revising the Constitution will require careful examination and consideration, in the course of which opportunity should be afforded to all shades of opinion to receive a full and impartial hearing. He accordingly proposes to advise His Majesty to appoint a small Special Commission composed of four members, at least two of whom will be persons of Parliamentary experience in Great Britain to come out to Ceylon, toward the end of the current year, to enquire into and to advise upon the matter in detail."

Some two months before Sir Hugh Clifford rose at that dinner to make his announcement, "Wayfarer" stated in the *Ceylon Daily News* :

"It is very much on the cards that the Secretary of State will be invited to appoint a Commission from England for examining the various questions connected with this reform. We know what these dummy Commissions are. They can always be depended upon to go beyond their terms of reference and make recommendations based on ex-parte statements. What could be more easy for such a Commission than to report that the responsibilities and privileges of the Executive Council cannot be increased without a corresponding curtailment of the powers of the Legislative Council?"

A few days later the Hon'ble Mr. E.W. Perera asked Sir Hugh's Government if the Government had "in contemplation a scheme of Reform of the Constitution curtailing, modifying, or altering the power of financial control possessed by the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council."

The representative of that Government in the Legislative Council stated in reply : "The answer is in the negative. The Government has at present no scheme of Reform under its consideration."

The speech that Sir Hugh Clifford made at the dinner did not quite square with that answer. The announcement that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had authorised him to make did not owe its initiative to Down-

ing Street. It came, it is admitted, as the result of a despatch which Sir Hugh's Government had sent up to London on November 30th, 1926. To say, some two months later, that the Government had "no scheme of reform under its consideration," was little short of equivocation. Knowing something about newspaper-making, as I do, I have little doubt that the "Wayfarer" had managed somehow to learn that that despatch had been sent. What if the rest of his surmise was correct and the projected enquiry has for its motive the abridgement of the legislature's existing powers. That is the fear that patriotic Ceylonese entertain.

VI

If the maker of that announcement had been known to be an apostle of Government of the people, by the people, and for the people and the sworn enemy of administration by high officials preponderatingly alien in blood and culture and owing not the least responsibility to any indigenous individual or authority, his eagerness might well have brought him the gratitude of the Ceylonese. He, on the contrary, knew little at first-hand of parliamentary institutions, his life having been cast in the mould of personal, or, at any rate, bureaucratic rule. As he told the Members of the Ceylon Legislature assembled at that fateful gathering, he had left his own country at the age of seventeen, and since then had spent "an aggregate of ninety months in England." (Did he mean Britain or even Europe—or only England ?) He had "been in the House of Commons more than a dozen times in the last forty years." His whole life "from the age of seventeen to the age of sixty-one" with the aforementioned ninety months in England (?) excepted, had, in fact, been spent in the tropics—either in the Asiatic or the African Colonies, Dependencies, and possessions of Britain.

Some twenty years ago he, as plain Mr. Clifford, served for a time as the Colonial Secretary in Ceylon. The "Unofficial Members" were not then in the majority in the Legislative Council, nor did they have "power of the purse." He spoke in the Legislative Council, as then constituted, and acted in a manner that roused much antagonism in the Island.

About three years ago, when the Colonial Office then presided over by Mr. J. H.

Thomas, probably the most conservative among British Labour leaders, announced Sir Hugh's appointment as Governor of the Colony, there was, therefore, consternation among the politically-conscious Ceylonese. Fearing that he may attempt to scuttle the Constitution introduced during his absence, they openly talked of moving His Majesty's Government to cancel that appointment.

Advancing years had, however, changed the Pro-Consul's methods, if not his mentality. After coming to Ceylon on November 30, 1925, he refrained from taking any overt action that might give umbrage to the people and confirm them in their suspicions. He even went about talking in a good-humoured way to the effect that he was no more than a "cipher" in the Government of the Island and apparently he was quite contented to be one. He even went to the length of chiding the newspaper writers who refused to take his banter seriously.

At this very dinner Sir Hugh told the Members of the Legislative Council that the people in the Island, "following the traditions of a hundred years," came to him and asked him for "this, that and th other," and he invariably had to tell them that it was "not possible for" him "to give them any promise, because the power to implement such promises had now been taken away from 'him' and transferred to the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council."

So often has His Excellency alluded to that fact that there are Ceylonese who genuinely feel that he is going away from Britain's "premier Colony" with his term of office only half completed, to Malaya, where he will receive no greater salary, and which is regarded as inferior in status, only because in Malaya he will have no Legislative Council with an unofficial majority to fetter his initiative, highly developed, as it is, through long exercise of personal rule in the tropics. The editorial writer of the *Daily News* returns his joke with the quip that "the representative of the King (in Ceylon) who can do no wrong, cannot now, according to the Governor, even do right."

Personally I do not believe in this "cipher" business. To my mind there are reasons other than the Governor's inability to do anything in Ceylon under the present Constitution of Sir Hugh Clifford's love for Malaya, which have led to his transfer from Colombo to Singapore. These matters, how-

ever, fall outside the scope of this article, and may one day be separately discussed.

VII

Even if the retiring Governor of Ceylon were a parliamentarian by temperament and training, and if his talk about being the shadow of the legislature did not sound as if he were hankering for the return of the good old days when even a senior British administrator in the Island was the master of all he surveyed, the very subject matter of the speech in which he sandwiched the announcement of the Constitutional Commission was sufficient to rouse suspicion and misgiving in the politically-minded Ceylonese. The burden of his statement was that the Unofficial Members possessed the "power of the purse" while they lacked the responsibility for executive administration.

"I do not think," said Sir Hugh,

That the present arrangement is a sound one. It places the power in the hands of the Unofficial Members while it places the duty of carrying on the administration of the Government on the shoulders of the Executive Government. It leaves the Unofficial Members at complete liberty to paralyse the Executive at any moment by declining to vote supply. It leaves the Governor, who has not attended any debate and has not, therefore, been in any close touch with the feelings of the House or through it with the feelings of the country, to declare that such and such a thing is a matter of paramount importance and force it through the Council in spite of the majority votes of the Unofficials."

The Governor then proceeded, in a bantering style, to show how Sir James Peiris, the Vice-President of the Council, had ousted him, the President, out of the Chair. He declared,

"I think I should be more than human, and I claim to be the most human of any human being present in this room tonight—were I not to feel a certain resentment against Sir James Peiris—and my sentiments resemble closely those of the young hedge sparrow when it regards the recently hatched out cuckoo which gradually levels it over the edge of their common nest and takes sole possession of what after all, from the beginning of things, would seem to belong to the hedge sparrow."

He had no complaint to make against Sir James, he said. That gentleman had, on every occasion since his arrival in the island, treated him with "the utmost kindness and condescension." He had never assumed the position of superiority which he naturally

held, and had no doubt behaved with the utmost courtesy and paid the utmost deference to His Majesty's representative in Ceylon. "But nevertheless," said Sir Hugh :

"he not I as Governor, to-day presides over the meetings of the Legislative Council, and if I have regarded Sir James Peiris in some measure as the 'cuckoo in the nest' I do not think any of you can find therein very serious grounds for reproach."

Sir Hugh then, in the same jesting manner, addressed himself to his "rather strange friend," Mr. E. W. Perera, who, it seems, had some time earlier stated that the hospitality dispensed at "Queen's House"—as the Government House in Colombo is called—was "playing the mischief with" the "political principles" of the "representatives of the people." The "poisonous meals given at" that place, he had declared, according to the Governor, were "steadily undermining" their "loyalty" to "their constituents." Sir Hugh declared that personally he did not believe that Mr. Perera or anybody else in the Island entertained "any sort of belief in statements of that description, and for the convenience of his "successor" he suggested that "it would be advisable to drop the repetition of phrases of that sort which really mean nothing and only dishonour those who give them currency."

Strong words these, even though said in fun !

These and other passages that could be culled from the version of the speech, revised and approved by the Governor himself, do not inspire the belief that he is anxious to see the people's representatives not only confirmed in their power of the purse, but also being given the responsibility for executive administration. If that be his wish, he certainly has never said a word in favour of it, either while in the Island or before coming to it. In the absence of any such expression, his complaints about being powerless, even though uttered in a semi-jocose style, put in juxtaposition with his life-experience, could not but rouse the suspicion that the steps which he has recommended for the "political emancipation" of Ceylon might actually lead to the abridgement of some of the powers that the people now enjoy.

VIII

Whatever be Sir Hugh's own predilections and preconceptions, the coterie of high

officials, exclusively British in blood, which monopolizes executive power in the Island is not credited by the popular leaders with the intention to let that power pass out of their hands. Mr. Francis de Zoysa, ex-President of the Ceylon National Congress, for one, has no illusions on that subject. The people could not "forget the existence amongst" them "of powerful reactionary forces," he declared in an interview.

"Those whose vested interests and privileged positions are threatened by the advance of democracy will make strenuous efforts to get back to the 'glorious past'. Officialdom, seeing its power and prestige waning, will fight every inch of ground to regain them or at least to retain as much of them as is now left, and selfish pseudo-patriots may be found willing to sell the country for some slight personal or family gain or glory."

The fear that the patriotic Ceylonese entertain is that the selfish element in the "permanent population" may make common cause with the reactionaries among the officials and thereby bring about retrogression. As the editorial writer of the *Ceylon Daily News* puts it :

"There is some reason for apprehension. To one of Sir Hugh Clifford's experience it will be no news to be told that every change in the Constitution is the long-looked for opportunity of the disgruntled patriot. Every variety of these buckle on their armour and emerge from the backwoods to strike a blow for self and their self-centred prejudices. Performances of this kind have been enacted in the past and there would be no reason to suppose that they would be any more successful in the future but for one new circumstance, to which a good deal of importance has been given by no less an authority than Sir Hugh Clifford himself. His Excellency is never tired of affirming that under the present Constitution the Governor is a cipher. Those who cannot contain their jealousy at the thought that the Council now enjoys the powers which individual Civil Servants once wielded have tried to make capital of the Governor's confession of impotence. Among a certain class of Civil Servants and a certain class of politicians there is a tendency to make common cause. These will undoubtedly try to employ the Commission to further their aims. They may endeavour to convince the Commission that although Mr. Amery is 'aware of the assiduity, devotion to duty and public spirit of the Legislative Council,' yet in the interests of good Government the powers of the Council ought to be curtailed and the constitution of the Council ought to be modified. If the Royal Commission attempts to do anything of the kind it will commit the most colossal blunder."

IX

I have watched the working of the Constitution in Ceylon far too long to be misled

by the minatory talk of the officials that they have no power—that the real power rests with the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council. True, the officials, even when re-inforced by the “unofficial” British planters and merchants and the Burghers (Ceylonese of Dutch descent), are in a permanent minority. True, also, numerically the officials are still worse off in the Finance Committee in which financial power is supposed to reside. Do these provisions of the Constitution, however, make the “unofficials” all-powerful and reduce the officials to mere automata? No one who knows the situation can answer that question in the affirmative.

The unofficial members, in the first place, are riven by differences of race, religion and interest, and, therefore, it is difficult for them to make common cause with one another in matters of public policy. Some of them, at least, are unable to resist the temptations of one sort or another that the officials can throw in their way.

There was only lately an incident which showed that a single official was able to twist the entire Legislative Council around his little finger and get it to rescind a decision on an important matter involving considerable expenditure out of public funds. Sir Hugh Clifford, indeed, patted the “unofficials” on the back for behaving like “good boys” on that occasion.

It must, moreover, be remembered that not only does the Governor possess power to over-ride the wishes of the Legislative Council, but the power of initiating money-bills also lies entirely and exclusively with his Government. The “Unofficials” may modify the executive application for funds—may even reject it: but they cannot, of their own motion, initiate any money bill.

Two results inevitably follow from this system:

First, not only does the people's sense of initiative remain undeveloped, but taxation follows queer—and unjust—lines. Income Tax—the incidence of which would fall upon officials enjoying high salaries and merchants engaged in import and export trade (many of them British by blood and birth)—is not levied, while customs duties, which notoriously press hard upon the poor, constitute a principal source of revenue.

Second, so frightened are the “Unofficials” that the Governor may use his over-riding power that they order their legislative life

on the maxim that “discretion is the better part of valour.”

Not a single official occupying any key position in the executive administration being a son of the soil, the translation of policies approved by the legislature lies exclusively in non-Ceylonese hands. Even the Ceylonese who are members of the Executive Council are in it without being of it, they not holding any portfolio.

While the contention that the officials are powerless is far from tenable, nevertheless the Legislative Council, if it happens to be composed of earnest-minded men determined to serve the public cause come what may, despite all temptations from within and from without, can, under even the existing Constitution, be a power in the land. If the present system of election on a territorial basis is kept intact, and the representative character of the council is improved by the widening of the franchise and the removal of certain restrictions as to the qualification of candidates; if the financial powers of the Council are confirmed and the power of initiating money bills given to it by making the officials an integral part of the Councils and responsible to it in name as also in fact; there is no doubt that the “political emancipation” of Ceylon that Sir Hugh Clifford professes to have at heart can easily be brought about.

X

The Ceylonese publicists suspect, however, that that objective is not the one which the officials in Ceylon are striving to attain. They are sure that the officials have ulterior motives, though they are not quite certain as to what method or methods the bureaucracy will employ to “register” its “preconceived... opinions.”

The newspapers owned and edited by the Singhalese interpreted the Governor's announcement to mean that a Royal Commission would be set up to carry out the enquiry. The *Times of Ceylon*—the only daily paper under British management, however, takes a different view. “The fact that His Majesty will appoint a Commission” it says, “has led the whole of the Ceylon Press, with the exception of ourselves, and most of the Ceylonese political leaders, to a belief that a Royal Commission is to be appointed. It had been careful ‘to state that it is a Special Commission which will inquire into

the Ceylon Constitution—and this is a very different thing to a Royal Commission," An enquiry at Queen's (Government) House confirmed the opinion "that it is not a Royal Commission which is being appointed, but a Special Commission. "It was further pointed out to the *Times*, presumably at Queen's House, "that the proceedings of a Royal Commission are open to the public, that is, to the press, while a Special Commission may hold their sittings *in camera*—which is an important distinction."

A Special Commission will, therefore, in the opinion of this leader-writer, be more suitable than a Royal Commission. He believes that the temptation to make impassioned speeches, were the sittings to be public, would "be too much for the Ceylon political leaders." If, however, proceedings were to be held *in camera* "the evidence is likely to be of a much more valuable type, embodying the real views of the witnesses, who will not be deterred from giving candid expression to their views by the fact that publication in the Press will lead to recriminations and ill-feeling."

XI

The leader-writer of *Ceylon Daily News* spiritedly assails this position. He produces an extract from "The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom" by Lord Courtney of Penwith to support the view that a "Special Commission" can only be a Royal Commission. He vents his rage especially against the suggestion made for an enquiry *in camera*. "To squirt poison gas

from the safe seclusion of a secret session may appeal to intriguers and wire-pullers," he says, "but to no man of honesty and decency." He warns the Government "that the surest way of rousing ill-feelings is by encouraging the hush (hush) policy of hypocrites and humbugs."

This controversy shows that there are among the educated Ceylonese some individuals who pin their faith to a Royal Commission. Mr. H.A.P. Sandrasagara, K. C., indeed publicly stated a few days ago that he desired a Royal Commission because it would help "us to see ourselves in the proper light in relation to the next extension of reforms which we may be disposed to claim." In his view a local commission was likely to suffer from "grave disadvantages and people expressing their views may be disposed to temporize and modify such views, out of false deference to the views ostensibly held by members of the local Commission." A Royal Commission, on the other hand, "may be trusted to judge correctly and arrive at correct conclusions."

The truth is that the eyes of the majority of the Ceylonese publicists are turned towards Britain—not towards themselves—that as yet the dawn of nationalism has barely touched the horizon of Ceylon's political firmament. There is, at any rate, no sign of a spirit of give-and-take or of sacrificing personal or sectional advantages for the sake of the nation. In this event, if the legislature comes out of the projected enquiry with its powers not only undamaged but even materially enhanced, there should indeed be cause for universal rejoicing in the Island.

A. E., POET AND SEER

By G. RAMACHANDRAN

Santiniketan

"A. E. is the pen name, or rather the occult symbol, indicating the immortal spirit who in this life as George Russel, a native of an ill-favoured manufacturing town in Ulster, edits the organ of agricultural co-operation in Ireland, paints pictures of the worlds, visible and invisible, and distils into immortal lyrics the Wisdom and Beauty of the Infinite."

A. E. is essentially a lonely figure; lonely alike in the poignant purity of his spiritual vision and in the exquisitely crystallised perfection of his verse. The spiritual depth of his vision is in part the legacy of Celtic character. The genius of his

race, which through centuries of sunshine and shower could renew itself over and over again at the perennial fount of its own idealism, tended often towards the deeper and more vital values of life. This idealism is also perhaps the most fascinating element in the Celtic character. In the "Emerald Isle" this idealism became a thirst for poetic imagination and expression.

An eminent Irish critic has written :

"For many centuries the ancient civilisation of Ireland was permeated with the spirit of poetry. Her kings were crowned by poets. Her laws were made and recorded by poets. Her tribal and royal histories were recorded and celebrated by poets. One of the qualities for membership in the National Army a thousand years ago was a knowledge of the 'Twelve great books of poetry'. An elaborate system of apprenticeship was evolved and long before rhyme had found its place in European poetry, the Irish poets had worked out about two hundred verse forms, some of great complexity."

For the crystallised perfection of his verse we turn to the personality of the poet himself, the light of which illumines all his poetry. And then we discover that more than any other poet, except perhaps Rabindranath, A. E. is a poet of *Sadhana*. A poet too has his *Sadhana*, his realisation. Only on the wings of *Sadhana* can a poet soar into the higher realms of poesy where utterance becomes divine in its revelation of supreme beauty. This is why A. E. is a seer as well as a poet. But unlike in Rabindranath, in whom the seer and the poet are in perfect harmony, in A. E. the voice of the seer becomes more insistent. Hence alone does A. E. lack "large and muscular qualities". His poems thus become but definite expressions of his spiritual moods. They resemble, as the critic has pointed out, the aphorisms of Patanjali. To quote the critic again :

"His poetry stands like a small frosted white window of little panes like Japanese shoji through which the white light of the spirit percolates sweetly. The outer things of A. E.'s poetry are reduced to a minimum, but the reduction in expression has a complementary increase in significance."

Rabindranath's poetry possesses all the wealth of colour, design and movement. He does not miss even the least in creation, while keeping his gaze on the summits. Rabindranath's poetry is like the vast panorama of the sky itself. In it lights and shadows play hide and seek ; streams of colours rise and fade and we can listen to the thunder pealing forth from the piled-up clouds of life, while not missing the tenderest

and sweetest notes that rise from the depths of pity, sympathy, reverence and love. It is a baffling variety,—a variety the like of which is in life alone. But the poetry of A. E. is different. It resembles the rays of a bright pure star at which we look with half-shut eyes. His poems are like the rays that shoot out of molten things.

"Its edges foamed with amethyst and rose,
Withers once more the old blue flower of day :
There where the other like a diamond glows
Its petals fade away."

A shadowy tumult stirs the dusky air ;
Sparkle the delicate dew, the distant snows ;
The great deep thrills, for through it everywhere
The breath of Beauty blows.

I saw how all the trembling ages past,
Moulded to her by deep and deeper breath,
Neated to the hour when Beauty breathes
her last.
And knows herself in death."

The 'Great Breath' he calls this poem. It is a typical poem where we see the poet and the seer mingling their touch of flame. It was sunset time. Day became a 'blue flower' whose petals were fading away in foams of amethyst and rose. The very conception of day as a 'blue flower' reveals an imagination which, while it is essentially poetic, is on the borderland of spiritual symbolism. The quality of crystalised perfection is present too.

"Sparkled the delicate dew—the distant snows—the great deep thrills—". Almost every line here is like a star ray. There is as exquisite disregard of literary sequence, every word or line having the quality of a flash, but there is the subdued sequence of the spirit which links up in a unified garland all the bright 'sparkles'. There is just a touch of colour here and there, but not the least extravagance. The spirit is finding utterance, and utterance so pure, clear and direct that there is the fear of an unconscious indifference to the form, but the spirit is beautiful ; it has been waked by the touch of the beauty of the 'blue flower' of day whose petals were fading away, in the enchanting riot of amethyst and rose. So naturally and inevitably the form is traced in flame and beauty. But the vision is so intense that sometimes there is the fear that A. E. might only see and not sing. We know that intense vision often finds expression in

utter silence. But A. E.'s ecstatic emotional imagination, "drunk with a beauty our eyes could never see," alone saves him from being all seer and no poet.

Of all English poets, A. E. is the least sensual. Whether it be in his communion with Nature or life, he swiftly passes beyond the plane of the senses and eagerly loses himself in the depths of pure spiritual beauty. Thus he brings up only the gems of his own precious experience, of his *Sadhana*. Even to the beloved of his heart he sings :

"I did not dream it half so sweet
To feel thy gentle hand,
As in a dream thy soul to greet :"

and

"Let me.....know thy diviner counterpart
Before I kneel to thee."
"So in thy motions all expressed
Thy angel I may view ;
I shall not on thy beauty rest,
But beauty's self in you."

The spirit thus wings above the flesh and yet never ignores it or despises it. In the last lines the spiritual attitude reveals itself vividly. The beloved is thus precious, since she is a part of the Eternal Beauty and to A. E. 'Beauty' is the everlasting light that lures all life through the gates of birth and death and whose pathways throng 'with suns and stars and myriad races'. Beauty thus becomes for A. E. the creative moving energy behind all life; Beauty becomes enthroned in heaven.

There is another poem which reveals vividly the spirit of the poet :

I needed love no words could say ;
She drew me softly nigh her chair,
My head upon her knees to lay,
With cool hands that caressed my hair.

She sat with hands as if to bless,
And looked with grave ethereal eyes ;
Ensouled by ancient Quietness,
A gentle priestess of the Wise.

To A. E. the touch of love was 'cool', not warm or burning; cool, because to him love is spiritual fulfilment, not sensual craving. "With hands as if to bless", with "grave ethereal eyes" and "Ensouled by ancient Quietness," the beloved becomes "A gentle priestess of the wise."

The noblest of all A. E.'s poems is the one entitled 'Love'. It reveals the poet's direct attitude towards life.

Ere I lose myself in the vastness and drowse
Myself with the peace.
While I gaze on the light and the beauty
Afar from the dim homes of men,
May I still feel the heart-pang and pity,
Love-ties that I would not release ;
May the voices of sorrow appealing call me
back to their succour again".

What a noble and sublime plea is this !
The poet gazes in rapture at the face of Beauty. But more insistent than the need to lose himself in the vastness and drowse himself with the peace is the yearning for all the heart-pangs, love-ties and sorrows of life.

"I would go as the dove from the ark sent
forth with wishes and prayers
To return with the paradise blossoms that
bloom in the Eden of light:
When the deep star-chant of the Seraphs I
hear in the mystical airs,
May I capture one tone of their joy for the
sad ones discrowned in the night."

He would go to the Eden of light where the 'paradise blossoms' are in bloom, only to gather them all in the lap of his passionate sympathy for the 'sad ones discrowned in the night'. He gazes at the stars and sees joy flowing from star to star and his soul bursts forth in the poignant cry "may I capture one tone of their joy for the sad ones discrowned in the night." Nowhere perhaps in the whole range of English poetry could be found such exquisite intensity of noble feeling as in the last few lines of the poem :—

"Not alone, not alone would I go to my rest
in the heart of the love:
Where I tranced in the innermost beauty, the
flame of its tenderest breath,
I would still hear the cry of the fallen
recalling me back from above,
To go down to the side of the people who
weep in the shadow of death."

The burden of one of Rabindranath's finest songs is "Give me the strength never to disown the poor." The Mahabharata tells the story how Yudhishtira would not enter heaven unless the dog, his sole surviving companion, was allowed to go in with him. Salvation, whatever that might mean, has no value for A. E. the poet or Yudhishtira as long as the rest of mankind is in misery.

A. E. has not written much. All his poems could be collected together in a little more than three hundred pages. But if quality is a test of greatness, irrespective of quantity, then A. E.'s place is among the very greatest of poets. Seldom has such

purity of spiritual vision and perfection of expression flowed so sweetly together as in the rich streams of his poetry. Most of his little poems are luminous with the touch of immortality. One of the finest of these is the 'Refuge'.

"Twilight, a timid fawn, went glimmering by,
And night, the dark blue hunter, followed fast,
Ceaseless pursuit and flight were in the sky,
But the long chase had ceased for us at last.
We watched together while the driven fawn
Hid in the golden tuckers of the day,
We, from whose hearts pursuit and flight were
Knew on the hunter's breast her refuge lay."^{gone.}

In the years to come it is very probable that A. E. will find a more and more abiding place in the mind of India. There is in A. E.'s poetry some quality, some enchanting fragrance, which is akin to the spirit of

India's own striving. A. E. has known something of India too. He has poems for Sree Krishna and even on 'OM'. In some respects A. E. stands nearer to Rabindranath than any other English poet. Both are great dreamers. One dreams of an India recognising its vital kinship with the larger life of humanity. The other sings;—

"We are less children of this clime
Than of some nation yet unborn
Or empire in the womb of time.
We hold the Ireland in the heart
More than the land our eyes have seen,
And love the goal for which we start
More than the tale of what has been."

and

"We would no Irish sign efface,
But yet our lips would gladlier hail
The first-born of the Coming Race
Than the last splendour of the Gael."

THE INNER LIFE OF SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR

By D. G. VAIDYA

IF we were to ponder over the secret of the reverence that saints, sages, self-less patriots and noble-minded philanthropists inspire in our hearts, we should find it in the fact that they are ever wide-awake and are certainly far more so than the ordinary run of human beings. It is by introspection that man approaches perfection. On the other hand, if he keeps constantly on the blemishes of other people he slides down to ruin and spiritual suicide.

That man is really great who by constant self-criticism discovers his drawbacks and makes an unflinching effort to overcome them. One such noble brother was the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who departed from this world on the 11th of May last four years ago and a few facts of whose inner life we could weave together in the lines that follow.

At first point that struck any one who had the pleasure of Sir Narayan's intimate acquaintance was that he was not only a man of a remarkably tall and noble, but also of a meditative turn of mind. A

tative turn of mind. These two qualities do not always go together, nor are they found invariably in the same man. A brooding, meditative and introspective turn of mind is, indeed, a great asset of a character that would perfect itself. A man thinks while he writes. That is not to say that he will ponder over whatever he observes or learn a rich lesson or garner up wisdom and virtue from the varied experiences of life. What distinguished Sir Narayan from many an educated man of his day and class was his gift of meditation. Wherever he was and whatever he saw or heard or read would always start and awaken that mood. His long and lonely walks were to him a constant inspiration and elevation. In them he often brooded over the experiences and happenings of the day, on what he had seen, and read and felt, on the conversation he had with other men, and on the lessons for his own guidance that the varied experiences suggested. Sir Narayan was not a man without any flaws. His own writings will discover many to those who are inclined to note them. What was remarkable about him was that he lived in

was very keenly alive to them and incessantly endeavoured to rid himself of them. It is this trait of his nature that the writer would unfold in what follows.

There are many men among us who have inordinate fondness for books. Many know how to summarise what they read and to make long excerpts in their note-books from what they have read for future reference and guidance. But it is given only to a few to brood over anything that is striking or new in the books they read, much less to work out its application to their personal lives and needs. Of these rare few who knew how to use books Sir Narayan was one among the educated men of his times. Once while happening to read Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, the following sentence struck him as remarkable.

"The more I give, the more I have,
it is infinite."

And he began thinking on it and expressed himself in his journal as follows:—

"Shakespeare has said this of love between human beings. Man's love for a woman, and woman's love for a man suggested this remark to him. But if this love is to be called infinite, what can we say of God's love for man? Is it not really even more so than that between two human beings? And if man were to love God as he loves a human being, infinitely, how much will that love grow and what peace and joy and blessedness will it not bring to his heart? And does not life's fulfilment consist in the possession of such love culminating in such blessedness? What else can reconcile man to life?"

Sir Narayan does not stop here in his meditation. His heart further swells into a prayer to God as follows:—

"Oh God, oh my Father, teach me how to love Thee and to love those who are Thy children. May Thy love reveal to me the goodness in others and may it be given to me through that love to know Thine worth. May it ever keep me in the path of goodness. Bless Thou all, for Thy love is infinite."

Sir Narayan did not stop here. The following day his meditative mood is further awakened by the following lines from Shakespeare that occur in the same drama. The lines are "They are beggars that count their worth", and Sir Narayan starts into the following meditation upon them:—

"Rising from my bed the first wish for the day's work was to be good and to do good. No aspiration can be nobler, no wish higher, and holier. 'To be good.' How can I be good unless I know what goodness is? God is good—how silently and steadily He works; how kind and loving. (Oh my soul) Bring to your work the spirit of love—deal generously and charitably with

your fellows. Be pure in thought and deed and let not the day pass without doing some act of kindness to some suffering soul. And whatever you do, do it in a spirit of humble-mindedness. Be not conceited. Remember you have faults. You are weak."

It is easy to give counsel to another. But what is written above is in a vein of self-expostulation. And it was written not to be seen by the world but only for his own eyes. And this self-expostulation concludes with a prayer thus:

"Oh God, teach me to be good and to do good. If I ever think of counting my worth, I am a learner unfit for Thy love. Oh Lord, there is no worth in me. Let me ever fully realise this. Oh Thou, teach it to me. What worth is there in me? What of merit? Good deeds done in perfect humility—these alone constitute a man's worth. Give it to me to know this."

This prayer shows the child-like faith and humility and the spiritual awakening of the man whose loss we mourn. How few are there among us who carry on such self-examination from day to day in order that they may grow into the knowledge of spiritual truth and wisdom? Are we not rather prone to hide our faults even from our own selves?

Sir Narayan was a man belonging to that rare class among the sons of India who believe fervently in the efficacy of prayer to give man strength and wisdom, to know his own defects and to cure them. Once while he was studying Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* he came across the following words of Brutus wherein Brutus says: "Into what dangers would you lead me, Cassius, that you would have me seek into myself for that which is not in me?" On this Sir Narayan writes in his diary as under:—

"Brutus was an honest man intent upon doing his own duty. Cassius was full of hatred, cunning and jealousy. Brutus sees through Cassius when the latter heaps praises upon him and attributes to him qualities that he does not possess. There is many a Cassius in the world, but many more in our own selves—in our own passions. We must guard against them. Man falls prey to the external flattery because he is prepared for it by the flattery of his own passions. Lord, teach me to be strong in my own self—a proof against all internal and external flattery."

Never did Sir Narayan let go a single occasion to speak to his own soul in the manner indicated above. Reading the following psalm in the Old Testament, *vi*, "Who can discover his errors? Cleanse thou me from secret faults;" he addresses himself thus:—

"This was the prayer of the psalmist : how much more should it be of those who are apt to forget God and be caught by the snares of the world rather than led by the will of Him who made us ? Parameshwar, teach me to discern my secret faults and correct them."

Sir Narayan was not one of those who use their knowledge only for display. He learnt from books the wisdom that helps in the conduct of life, a wisdom which, as has been so well put, books teach not themselves.

It was not from books alone that he garnered up the wisdom of life, the strength for righteous living. Conversation with friends, incidents in public and private life, experiences of every kind were utilised by him for this supreme end, *viz.*, to purify and perfect himself. One incident of this kind is well worth mentioning here. Sir Narayan was at Khandala with a friend of his, Mr. Shivramant Wagle. As was usual with him, in one of his long walks with that friend he met a beggar whom he wanted to give something. He opened his purse to give him a two-anna piece. But the purse contained only a pice. While giving the pice to the beggar Sir Narayan said to him that he was so sorry that he had only that much to give him. To which the beggar answered that he need not be sorry for it, as it was not in his luck to get more. The kind words, added the beggar, were more to him than the two-anna piece which he would have got. Referring to this incident Sir Narayan significantly remarks, "That is a pure soul. *A lesson for me.*" It was not enough for him to listen to the words of the beggar. He drew from them a lesson for himself in contentment, purity of heart and meekness of spirit, a lesson which he regarded as indeed a very precious return for the alms he had intended to give.

Sir Narayan was very particular about his health. Sometimes he carried his fastidiousness too far. He was far from being a man of robust constitution. His was a delicate constitution without any chronic ailment or disease. But the slightest change in it would upset him. Sir Narayan knew this defect in his temperament and always tried to control it. One morning he woke up and found himself ill at ease. He became extremely nervous about his health, and to overcome his nervousness he prayed and wrote : "How shall I overcome this habit of mine ? Am I not entirely in God's hands ? Why need I fear then ?" Heartened by this self-admonition he got up, had his bath and

said his prayers. That restored him completely. Then he went out for a walk up the hill with his gardener's son. The scenery of the place, the singing of birds, the beauty of the rising sun had their desired effect upon his mind. The gloom and despair were no more. And he became full of joy and gladness. He describes the experience thus :

"Listened to the notes of a bird singing from a tree on a raised ground. It brought calm to the mind. Life a song. The trees and plants were standing still—there was the chirping of birds all around. The sun trying to peer through the clouds. Wild flowers here and there. Oh Nature ! Thy beauty is soothing. Came home refreshed."

It was a habit with him to recover the poise of the mind and the soul by such contact with Nature. He sought such opportunities when he could be alone in the midst of the beauty of Nature and refresh his spirit. *Of this quest he writes :*

"Sought for the music of birds. Why is that music less than it used to be fifteen years ago ? They say : because birds are killed. What inhumanity ! God's singers, how they soften man's heart by their sweet chants !"

As was usual with him during the summer vacations, one year he had gone to stay at Khandala and had invited a few friends to stay with him by turns. Mr. Shinde of the Depressed Classes Mission Society was with him at that time. Once they went out together for an early morning walk. It was Sir Narayan's habit during such walks to make his companions share with him the charm, beauty, delight and exhilaration of the surrounding scene by drawing largely upon his well-stored mind, for apt quotations from his favourite English poets who had described similar scenes. It did not matter to him at such a time whether his companion was an elderly person like Mr. Shinde or his little grandson Madhukar ! The day on which Mr. Shinde went out for a morning stroll with Sir Narayan at Khandala has been remembered to this day by the former. The sky was overcast with clouds, the hills around were lit up with the beautiful rays of the morning sun. The breeze was blowing gently and sweet. The grassy ground over which the two pedestrians were walking was covered with flowers here and there. On the whole the scene was full of poetic inspiration. Sir Narayan began to recite passages from his favourite poet Wordsworth. He felt it too cruel for him to trample the grass with its tufts of flowers underneath his feet. They moved aside,

they dared not hurt these tender little beautiful shoots and flowers. Mr. Shinde was struck with wonder and delight by the effect the scene had made upon Sir Narayan's mind and the outburst of song to which it led from Sir Narayan who poured out quotation after quotation from his favourite poets that vividly brought out the charm and significance of the whole scene. But what was most remarkable about it was that it was not with him a mere sensuous experience—an appeal to the eye and the ear. It became with him, as ever, a landmark in spiritual perception, a vivid realization of the love and glory of God.

Those who knew Sir Narayan only from the outside could not help being struck with his greatness. His eloquence, his command over the English language, his earnestness and enthusiasm, his large and liberal mode of thought at once attracted attention and captivated the heart. But his character, his religious temperament, his unshaken faith in God, his tender heart and cheerful and loving disposition, his fire and genius became clearer only to those who had the privilege of his close and immediate acquaintance. It was then alone that the man stood completely revealed and one could know fully the secret of his greatness. And that lay in his spirituality, in the growth of the spirit within which he was so assiduous to cultivate and to the unfoldment of which he gave all his time, thought and attention.

When one thinks of the care he bestowed on the cultivation of his heart and mind and on the efflorescence of his soul, one cannot help regarding him as a rare type among the educated men of India. Not a day passed in his life without prayer, meditation and devotion. He rose with the break of dawn and began the day with prayer and the reading of some scripture. When one scans the list of books that he had made out for careful reading and thought at different times one is filled with amazement at the order and method which governed his life's work from day to day and hour to hour. Everything with him was perfectly methodical and regular. Everything was well-planned and the plan of work was carried out to the letter without haste and without waste. A portion of his busy day was regularly spent in the company of children and he regarded the time thus spent

as a great education for himself. But the method according to which he worked from day to day was never allowed to degenerate into the lifeless mechanism of a clock-work. He pursued his work with delight and joy and with a thrill of emotion that made it really exhilarating. Of this he writes:

"I am grateful to God for the *impulse* to work methodically and the resolve to work rather than weary myself in indolence. I feel so peaceful, so happy when I have spent the day in good hard work."

It was not enough for him to have subjected himself to this self-imposed discipline, to have prayed while working and worked while praying. What he did further was to note from day to day whether this work and prayer marked a real growth in his life. Thus he ever asked himself, "Have I been industrious? Have I been true, just and prudent?" His searchlight was always turned inwards. The questioning went on incessantly. Thus, "How have I employed my time?" "How far have I succeeded in my resolution to practise the virtue of patience?" "What good have I done? What notable thing have I observed?"—questions like these are a constant refrain in his private diary. And there are also answers to these questions. Thus he writes, "Went through my daily programme pretty well and faithfully. No time ill-spent."

It is our usual experience in the difficulties of life to grow despondent, gloomy and uncharitable. Rich and poor, ignorant and educated—all are subject to sorrow, bereavement and suffering in this chequered world. Death takes its toll from among those dearly loved by us. It is under trials and tribulations like these that we are really tested and our growth in spirit is properly measured. How he felt and thought on such matters and in the midst of such experiences he has himself put on record as follows.

"We complain that life is travail, that difficulties and disappointments trouble us and make it sometimes unbearable. But life is discipline and to go through it well we must be strong. The strength must come from faith in our mission. Whence can that strength come but from Thee, Oh Lord! Believe, my soul, that thou art not of this earth but there is the Divine in thee; cling to it; make it shine inwards and outwards; make that your inspiration and aspire with its help. The mountain-tops of life may be misty, but stand there, climb there and stand like the jocund day. God Almighty help me to go through with *manliness*, too high for envy and too great for haste."

This passage furnishes the key to the

calmness of spirit with which he bore all things in life, whether they brought him joy or sorrow, pleasure or pain.

There is another trait of his character that ought not to go unmentioned while we are meditating on the lessons of his inner life. No one knew his drawbacks better than himself. We have heard many waxing eloquent over the foibles of his nature. But so much trouble need not have been taken on the subject. For no one has unfolded them better than he. Let us give an instance or two on the point. One morning while absorbed in reading a book on religious reform, a thought struck him and he puts down the method of reform thus:

"To win men by the winsome beauty of truth is necessary for me *whose great short-coming is want of gentleness.*"

Another instance occurs in connection with a meditation on a hymn from Tukaram. What he wrote after that meditation is deeply instructive. Writes he:

"That is what I should strive for—not to be vexed or angry where I see another in fault but try to restore him in meekness. It is one of my besetting sins—I lose my temper when I see another wrong or fancy I see. I forget I do wrong too and why should I not bear with others' infirmities? I resolve once more to be earnest and mild; to counsel without haughtiness and reprove without scorn. Win others by love. That is the only way to live and work and be acceptable to God."

Does not this passage and admonition reveal a wrestling soul striving to set himself right with man and God? Does it not show how keenly alive it was to its own defects and how earnestly he prayed and worked to improve himself?

Sir Narayan knew the importance and secret power of prayer. He strove to live, move and have his being in God in all the pursuits of his life, private and public. His life was ennobled and beautified by the spirit of prayer and godliness that pervaded it. He believed in prayer and openly avowed his faith. In his daily duties prayer gave him strength and resolution and kept him firm in the path that he had chalked out for his guidance. Once while he was a Judge his mind had become confused by hearing the pros and cons of the case on either side. When he returned home he

thought deeply on the matter but could come to no definite decision. In this unsettled mood he prayed to God for light and retired for sleep. He woke up with dawn, prayed and started writing the judgment. The whole case became clear to him and the confusion and doubt were no more. Referring to this experience he notes in his diary:

"Always pray, especially in doubt and difficulty, and God will help you, provided the prayer is earnest and the mind is pure."

Whenever any one boastfully said that he had no faith in prayer and that loyal work was all that really mattered, Sir Narayan would answer him:

"Work alone without the consciousness and the inspiration that it is God's narrows us; it is apt to degenerate into mere routine; and difficulties and disappointments, temptations mar it. But pray to God and accustom yourself to the idea that you are doing God's work and the prayerful habit becomes an inspiration, making even drudgery divine."

The facts that have been brought together above from the diaries and personal observation of the life of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar make one thing clear to us. And that is that his was a soul that aspired heavenwards, that he valued becoming and being higher more than any other outward good of life. And his life, therefore, deserves to be remembered as that of one among the very few among the educated sons of India who have striven nobly and ceaselessly to give the life of the spirit the first place in all their doings, be they private or public, individual or national. Unless we give religion—that is purity of thought, word and deed and nobility and honesty—the first place in all our activities and so work as to give God, that is Truth, Righteousness and Love, the pre-eminence over everything else, our efforts are foredoomed to failure. That was the deepest conviction of Sir Narayan's soul. And that is nowhere better embodied than in the following prayer of his:

"My God and Father, Thou art Truth. Thou art love. Teach me to live truth, to abide in Thee; teach me to repose in Thee in a spirit of calm resolution. Teach me to hate none; teach me to seek good in everything and every one; teach me to do my duty regularly and faithfully and to trust Thee."

THE CHINESE WOMAN TO-DAY

An interview with Mrs. Sun Yat Sen of China

“OUR grandmothers were 500 years behind the women of America, but our daughters will be fifty years ahead of them”, declared Mrs. Sun Yat Sen, the widow of the famous Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Kuo-Min-Tang (the National Peoples' Party of China) and thereby of the revolutionary movement in progress in China to-day. Mrs. Sun Yat Sen spoke these words while giving a recent interview about the woman's movement in China in general, and especially about the Political School for Women which she has founded in Hankau, and in which women are being trained for leadership in the woman's movement. A small group of about one hundred young women have been carefully selected and are being intensively trained in this school in the problems of China, the revolution, and the role the Chinese woman must play in the social and political rejuvenation of the Chinese people. In her interview, Mrs. Sun Yat Sen continued :

“These leaders of the woman's movement whom we are training today have as their ideal a free Chinese womanhood who shall be a living part of the struggle for freedom. This was also the ideal of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who continuously repeated in his writings that not only men of our nation, but also women, must be free. He was not only a political, but also a social revolutionary, and particularly in so far as women were concerned. Wherever he went and worked, he fought for the freedom of all classes and of both sexes. Women always sat at the same conference tables with him and his co-workers and women continue to sit at the conference tables today where the fate of China is being decided. In revolutionary ranks today, in the ranks of the Kuo-Min-Tang, women have, without demanding them, been given the same rights as men.”

Mrs. Sun Yat Sen also spoke about the great changes in China during the past twenty years. “Considered historically,” she said, “it is but an hour ago that China recognized her slavery and decided to free herself. But in this one hour great changes have taken place. China is absolute-

ly illiterate, the men as well as the women. The mothers of China today find their daughters strange, and the grandmothers look upon them as if they were creatures from another world. But we younger women feel that perhaps in the hearts of the older women there exists a faint envy and a timid approval of our life today.”



The Late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder and leader of the Kuo-Min-Tang

Mrs. Sun Yat Sen does not speak of her country-women without broad experience. She also knows foreign women's movements intimately, for she travelled extensively with Dr. Sun Yat Sen when he visited foreign countries to organize his countrymen for

the revolution. She knows America especially well, for she studied four years there in the State University of Macon, Georgia. She admires the responsibility, the seriousness and courage of the American woman.

"But I doubt," she said, "if the American woman can conceive of the dimensions of the woman's movement in China today. During the four years that I studied in

Chinese women would have to pass through before we gained the same measure of freedom that the American woman already had. At such moments I was very sad. The complete freedom of American women, in any case, is near at hand, but for the Chinese woman this freedom then appeared to be so far, far away, that it seemed a dream of Utopia.

"But I was wrong. Strong as the chains have been on our women, they are today being broken, and with gigantic blows of the revolution. Our grandmothers were five centuries behind the American women, but our daughters will be half a century in advance of them. The mighty activities of the Kuo-Min-Tang are wiping our centuries of subjection of Chinese women, and we are being spared generations and generations of useless and bitter suffering. As I said, this work of freedom is the work of the Kuo-Min-Tang. The mighty, all-inclusive foundations of freedom being laid by Chinese nationalism are tearing all social evils and all enslavement out by the roots. Everyone finds himself in the midst of this great stream—the highest and the lowest, men and women, the intellectuals and the working class. Old and young, under the leadership of the Kuo-Min-Tang, we are day by day abolishing the merciless and barbarous methods and conditions of feudalism. We once thought our goal lay in the great distance, but we know that today in the twentieth century, it is not necessary to go slowly at a snail's pace. Much pain and suffering will be spared us because of this. The national Constitution drawn up by the Kuo-Min-Tang insures women the same rights as men. Under new China we women do not have to fight for the franchise, the right of guardianship and education of our own children, nor for equal and just marriage laws. Marriage and divorce are the same for men as for women in new China. Equal citizenship, the franchise, the same property and social rights for men and women is the fundamental basis of our revolutionary programme just as much as the absolute sovereignty of China in relationship with other powers of the world is a fundamental part of our programme. Our revolution is not merely political, but is instead also social—which means in its broadest sense, ethical."

Mrs Sun Yat Sen then discussed her plans for the new political School for Women in Hankau. At first, she says, the school has been started on a small scale. Only one hundred young women can be accommodated



Madame Sun Yat Sen, Widow of the Famous Dr. Sun Yat Sen, member of the Executive Committee of the Kuo-Min-Tang, and leader of the Chinese Woman's Movement

America, I came into intimate contact with many women and came to know their political and social activities. I saw their desperate struggle for the franchise and their continuous agitation for equality before the law. Their determination and seriousness made a tremendous impression upon me, but I recognized that the chains that they were trying to free themselves from were not half as strong as the chains the Chinese woman suffered from. I watched their struggle and then gazed into the many, many decades which I thought we

at first, but soon there will be opportunities for one hundred more, and later still for another hundred and so on. In this way, and with the help of the new laws that have sprung from the national movement, "we will help win freedom in all walks of life for Chinese women. In China we will not have any need to struggle against worn-out, old, traditional laws made by men for the

special privileges of men. The Kuo-Min-Tang's laws and decrees recognize no difference between the sexes. The task of the woman of new China is to go to her sisters and to open their eyes to a new and beautiful world."

(The Chinese Information Bureau, Berlin)

FROM THE GERMAN BY AGNES SMEDLEY

THE CRISIS IN SOUTH RHODESIA

By C. F. ANDREWS

WHILE the struggle has been going on from year to year in South Africa, with varying success, which has at last issued in a settlement, giving us breathing space down in South Africa itself, in Southern Rhodesia, on the other hand, things seem to have gone suddenly all against us and a great set-back has occurred. Indians to-day are absolutely excluded from a country, which bears the name of Cecil Rhodes—the same Rhodes who invented the phrase, "Equal rights for every civilised man south of the Zambesi."

When I visited Rhodesia for the first time in the year 1921, the contrast with Kenya and other parts of Africa, as far as Indians were concerned,—was so great, that I wrote in strongly appreciative terms about it. The 'English' Education test, which admitted Indians into the country, was a very fair one. There was no cheating or juggling about it. Indians told me that they had no trouble at the frontier. There was also a distinct air of friendliness within the borders of Rhodesia, and every educated Indian had the franchise according to Cecil Rhodes's own formula of civilisation, which I have quoted above.

Sir Drummond Chaplin was then the administrator, and he was a real friend of the Indians. He liked them, and they liked him. It was an unusual experience to me to pass from one town in Rhodesia to another, and to find that there were no grievances of any kind, but only words of praise for the administration. This gave the lie at once to those who had told me, that it was

impossible to satisfy the Indians, because they delighted to grumble on all occasions and would never be contented.

Again in 1924, when Mrs. Sarojini Naidu visited the country, the story that she brought away with her, when she related her experience, exactly tallied with my own. She was, if anything, even more enthusiastic than I was in her appreciation; and she told the whole of India about the admirable treatment that Indians received under the chartered Government of Southern Rhodesia, and how different it all was from Kenya and Tanganyika.

Nevertheless, three short years have wrought havoc already with Indian rights in Southern Rhodesia; and from all the accounts, which I have received, matters are rapidly going from bad to worse. Unless something is done equally rapidly to prevent this, our rights will all be taken from us before we know where we are.

The first occasion when this change in the situation came home to me was on the day that I landed on Beria, in early October, 1926.

Four men, who had been residents in Southern Rhodesia for many years, were waiting for me as I got down from the steamer. They had been all turned back from the frontiers, although they carried Rhodesian certificates. The ground for this refusal to allow them to enter was stated to be, that an Ordinance had been passed, restricting entrance of Indians; and that as they had been absent from the country for more than three years, their certificates had been cancelled.

These four men were simple people, small shopkeepers. Their shops were in Rhodesia. They had at first not heard, while in India, of the passing of any Ordinance restricting entrance. Then, in 1926, a rumour reached them. This made them hurry back to their business. They came as quietly as possible. They landed by the steamer just before the one on which I travelled out, and had been up to the frontiers at Umtali. But they had been turned back. They had sent in their papers and certificates, and were awaiting a verdict from Bulawayo. At the moment, I did all that was possible, writing letters for them and stating their case. It was my definite hope, that they would easily be admitted. But, on the contrary, they have sent me many letters since, which have followed me all about the South African Union, telling me their troubles. The letters are written in the quaintest English; but they are all the more expressive on that account. The last letter was received by me only a few hours ago. Indeed, it is this very letter, that has been the cause of my wishing specially to write this article; for the condition of these outcasts is piteous, and it is very hard to feel oneself able to do nothing as yet to help them. It has only been possible to promise them, that I will take up their cause when I get to Rhodesia at last.

Meanwhile, a series of letters reached me from Bulawayo itself, where the Secretary of the Indian Association is stationed. At first, it was impossible to reply to them with any assurance, because it was as clear as possible that South Africa was the storm-centre, and a final defeat in South Africa would mean a defeat up and down the whole coast of East Africa also, and far into the interior. But since the Round Table Agreement has been signed, the relief, that has partly followed, has made it possible to promise that on my return journey I will stay for some time among them and go very thoroughly into their whole situation and consider with them how it can be improved.

Two things have happened since Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's visit, in 1924, which have altered the Indian position. The former is the grant of Responsible Government to the white population of Southern Rhodesia. It is now a Dominion, which has not yet reached its full status; but at the same time it can exercise, in certain

very important directions, independent powers.

The second thing is the very large influx of settlers from South Africa, and especially from Natal, where for generations past the Indians have been despised. These new South African settlers have brought in their worst prejudices against the Indians, and the whole tone of the country has become more illiberal than in Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's time. Everything points to this in the actions that have been taken; but I do not wish to write too positively about it, until I have seen things with my own eyes and formed an opinion from personal experience.

The two actions, which stand out most clearly at present and form the basis of my own tentative judgment, are these.

(i) The immediate restriction of Indian immigration, which has followed the grant of Responsible Government.

(ii) The half-expressed Government intention to segregate the small number of Indians remaining in the country.

The former of these two decisions, I had already cabled to India. Also I had written articles which have appeared in the Indian papers. But the second has come to me with startling surprise; and as it is not already finally established by the Administration, I have still some hope that it may not be proceeded with, if only representation can be made in due time and with due effect. The meetings of the Legislative Council take place in May and June. Unfortunately, I am still compelled to stay on in Capetown, in order to watch the passage of the new legislation on the Indian Question through the House of Assembly, which is to implement the Agreement. Though these Bills, as they are published, appear to be exactly in accord with the Agreement, nevertheless it is of the utmost importance to be on the spot, in case some doubtful amendment should be proposed and it were necessary immediately to oppose it as a breach of the Agreement.

Before this article appears in print, I shall hope to visit Rhodesia, and see things on the spot. If it is still possible to prevent the segregation policy from being carried out, every effort must be made at once to accomplish such a desirable end. It will not be now so difficult to effect this as it was before,—such is my genuine hope—because, by the abandonment of the Asiatic Bill, the

South African Union Government have themselves given up the segregation policy in South Africa. Since it has been generally acknowledged, that other provinces in Africa will take the lead from South Africa, I am not without expectation, that the Rhodesian Government may be induced to give way on this vital point in a similar manner. But the 'Bulawayo Chronicle,' which belongs to a Syndicate by no means hostile to Indian interests, has already adopted a bullying attitude in its editorial; and it may be more difficult to prevent hasty action in a young country, that has just felt the intoxication of power, than at this distance one is able to imagine.

It may be asked,—and I have often asked it myself, in moments of depression,—what, after all, is the practical use of this perpetual striving? Will not things inevitably take their downward course? Will

not Might still continue to triumph over Right?

In calm moments of insight, it is not possible to believe this. History certainly does not teach it. Faith has now a firm foundation of past experience to build on, though it must remain faith still—'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.'

No, it is only by the assurance, that every little inch gained means greater progress ahead, that our faith is sustained; it is only thus we are enabled to take at one time with fortitude the blow which drives us back, and at another time to seize without over-elation the opening which enables us to go forward,—

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

CHINA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

BY TARAKNATH DAS, A.M., PH. D.

I.

A State may lose its sovereign rights, after a defeat in war, or by limitations imposed by a treaty: but a people, a nation, never loses its inalienable right to be free, even after centuries of subjection. The history of the emancipation of Spain from the Moors, of the Balkan States and Greece from Turkey, of the freedom of Poland, Finland and Hungary and of the freedom of Ireland after seven hundred years' struggle against British domination and the growing unrest in Egypt, India and the Philippines for national independence demonstrates the fact that a living nation will repeatedly struggle against foreign domination, until it recovers its sovereign rights. Although the doctrine of self-determination has been much heralded since the World War, it is certainly as old as the Declaration of American Independence. It is needless to say that the effort of the Chinese people to be free and completely independent from foreign domination is their birthright.

II.

The present revolutionary phase of Chinese Nationalism is but a vivid manifestation of

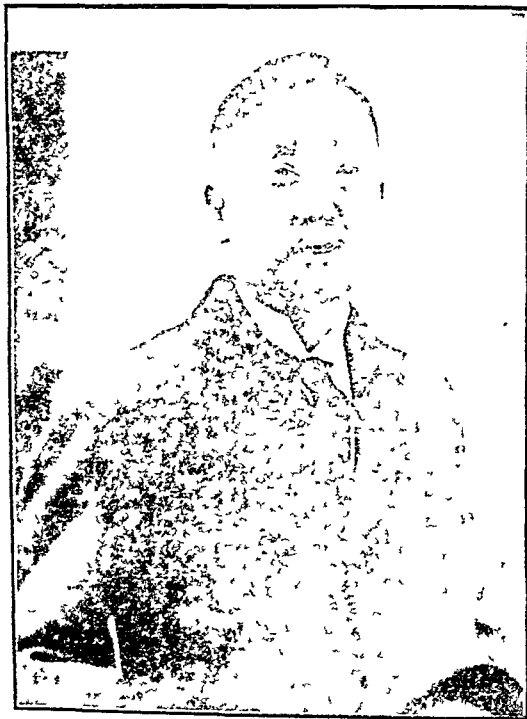
an angle of a happening of tremendous consequence.... *The Ultimate Emancipation of the Orient From Western Domination*.... which began about a century ago and is now fairly on the road to success.

Indignant and horrified at the consequences of the "Opium Trade" carried on by the East India Company, China tried to free herself from the Western commercial domination. This led to the First Opium War of 1839-1842. In this war the British were victorious and imposed the Treaty of Nanking.

None should forget that the Chinese laws at that time demanded abolition of the Opium Trade. China's defeat in the Opium War resulted in the introduction of extra-territoriality, restriction of tariff autonomy and Great Britain's annexation of Hongkong and extraction of a large indemnity of twenty-one million dollars. By the famous Treaty of Nanking China agreed to open up five Chinese treaty ports—Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai...to foreign powers; and various trade privileges, including "favoured nation treatment", was accorded to Great Britain. It may be well said that it was the beginning of the era of concert of Western Powers (so-

called Treaty Powers) to keep China under economic, judicial and political subjection.

The Arrow War of 1856 followed the First Opium War. In 1860 the combined forces of France and England laid siege to Peking. By the Treaty of Tientsin, concluded in 1860, France and Britain extracted large



His Excellency Hon. Sao-Ke A. Sze, the Chinese Minister to the United States of America

indemnities and Britain annexed Kowloon. In 1860, Russia by clever diplomacy of persuasion and threat, succeeded in annexing China's maritime province, east of the Ussuri. Foreign Powers at this time firmly secured extra-territorial jurisdiction and established foreign concessions in the so-called treaty ports. The Manchu rulers submitted to the inevitable. But the Chinese people felt indignant at the national humiliation and started the patriotic movement of overthrowing the incompetent Manchu Government, which had failed to protect China from foreign aggression. The patriotic movement spread from South China to the north and took the form of the so-called Taiping Rebellion. It lasted for two decades and was suppressed in 1864-65, through foreign co-operation. It may be

noted that while China was going through the Taiping Rebellion, Turkey was struggling against Russian encroachment, and India had her so-called Sepoy Rebellion of 1856-1857. Thus ended the second attempt of the Chinese people to free themselves from western aggression and their own corrupt and weak Government.

After the failure of the Taiping Rebellion, the Manchus tried their best to strengthen their position, by bringing about certain reforms; but as the government was thoroughly corrupt and incompetent, these pious wishes were never transformed into effective reforms. In the meantime foreign encroachments upon Chinese Sovereignty, began from all sides, with greater vigor. China lost her suzerainty over Burma, during the period of 1862-1886, over Indo-China during the period of 1862 to 1885, and various nations began to stake out portions of Chinese territory. After the Chino-Japanese War (1894-1895) China lost her suzerainty over Korea; and the weakness of the celestial empire became so evident that the important Treaty-Powers, particularly Great Britain, France, Russia and Germany, following the policy of "break-up of China", through mutual agreement, established special spheres of influence in the Chinese Empire. This resulted in the fact that over 85 p. c. of the territory of the Chinese Empire was staked out as "special preserves" of various powers. The Chinese patriots in utter desperation again organized a nationwide movement to get rid of the "Foreign Devils" from China and to oust the Manchu rulers. This patriotic movement, on the part of the Chinese, to regain Chinese sovereignty by ousting the foreign intruders, has been grossly misinterpreted as the so-called anti-foreign Boxer Uprising of 1900, as if it had no other motive than massacring the Christian foreigners. The efforts of the Manchu rulers and concerted military action on the part of the great Powers against the uprising of the Chinese people crushed the Boxer Rebellion. The western Powers found it convenient to acquire further financial control over China by taking over control of the maritime custom revenue as the guarantee for the enormous Boxer indemnity imposed upon the Chinese people; and military control over China was planned by increasing foreign soldiers in Peking and various treaty ports. Thus the third attempt for the liberation of China failed at the beginning of the twentieth century.

After the suppression of the Boxer uprising, the Western Powers, interested in controlling China, could not agree in their respective plans of dividing the booty. The



The Infant Hercules

Anglo-Americans wanted to have equal opportunity for commerce, for themselves as well as others in China, even in various spheres of influence; while the Russians, supported by the French (France was a party to the Dual Alliance of Europe) and even encouraged by Germany, wanted to annex sections of Manchuria and Mongolia. This conflicting interest among the Western Powers engaged in exploiting China, gave rise to the so-called Open Door Policy of the Anglo-Americans which was warmly supported by Japan. The rivalry between the Anglo-Americans on the one hand and the Slavs on the other, gave rise to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was fully supported by the American government and public. Japan's victory over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War, in which more than a hundred thousand Japanese gave their lives and a billion dollars was spent by Japan, safeguarded for the time being Chinese independence from further Russian aggression; but at the same

time it made it easy for Great Britain to encroach upon Chinese sovereignty in Tibet and various parts of the southern provinces of China. However, it may be well said that, in a way the victory of Japan over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War, was a victory of the cause of the Chinese patriots who genuinely sympathised with Japan and wanted to see a check upon western aggression in China and other parts of Asia. Indeed this Japanese victory was a significant political as well as spiritual victory for all Asia, which was groaning under the yoke of western imperialism.

The Chinese patriots, after the Russo-Japanese War, felt more than ever before that, to save China from further aggression, it was imperative that China should be freed from her own corrupt and incompetent rulers. They felt that China, like Japan, should modernise herself.

Political secret societies of the Chinese patriots, organised all over the world, under the leadership of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, began to work for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the establishment of the Chinese Republic. The life of Dr. Sun Yat Sen and his activities for the cause of Chinese Nationalism and Revolution are an epic. He and his followers brought about a revolution in the ideas of the Chinese people and Chinese soldiers; so with very little



Chinese Students parading with an inscribed banner, through the streets of the Chinese City, at Shanghai, after the Cantonese had gained Control : Types of Nationalist "Intellectuals"

blood-shed they accomplished their end, when in 1911 the Manchu Emperor was forced to abdicate and China became a Republic. This was the beginning of the triumphant march of Chinese Nationalism.

It may be mentioned that the Chinese residing outside of China aided Dr Sun financially and Dr. Sun received considerable help of every kind from the far-sighted Japanese advocates of Asian Independence through Chino-Japanese-Indian friendship.

Dr Sun Yat Sen, to avoid a conflict among the Chinese, resigned the position of the First President of the Chinese Republic, in favour of General Yuan Shi Kai, who promised to uphold the cause of the Chinese Republic. This really led to a serious counter-revolution, because

Yuan Shi Kai, within a short time, abrogated the Parliament and assumed the position of a Dictator, supported by his military subordinates. Later on when Yuan attempted to establish himself as the Chinese Emperor, he was heartily supported by the British Government in his adventure. However, the Chinese patriots, under the leadership of Dr Sun, rose against Yuan, to save the cause of Chinese Revolution. In 1917 when the Chinese Government persecuted by the Entente Powers and America, entered the World War against Germany, Dr. Sun and his adherents opposed it vigorously. Chinese patriots felt that China had nothing to gain by fighting Germany and thus strengthening the British power; on the contrary, China should spend all her energies for her own regeneration. For this policy of Dr. Sun, he was hated by the British Government.

For a time it seemed that the cause of the Chinese Revolution was lost, as milita-



Feng Yu-hsiang

rism and the opportunism of the Chinese War Lords took the place of popular government in China. Fortunately for China, good came out of the evil of the World War. Japan, by her might and foresight, eliminated Germany from China and presented the Twenty-one Demands to China. The rise of Japanese preponderance in Chinese affairs alarmed the Anglo-Americans; and they carried on anti-Japanese propaganda to rouse the Chinese against Japan. This aided the Chinese nationalist cause with international support. Furthermore, to induce China to enter the World War against Germany, the Entente group of Powers agreed to the non-payment of the Boxer Indemnity for a certain period. China was allowed to terminate all German rights in concessions and extra-territorial jurisdiction in China. The World War made it evident, as it was during the Russo-Japanese War, that there was lack of solidarity among the Western Powers, in their policy in China.

When the World War ended and all the German rights in Shantung were transferred to Japan, due to secret treaties signed between Japan on one side, and Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia on the other, the Chinese nation felt that they were betrayed by the statesmen of the Entente Powers and President Wilson of the United States. This stirred the Chinese people to great indignation and aided the cause of Chinese nationalism. It was the nationalist agitation that forced the Chinese statesmen to assert diplomatic independence by defying the Powers and refusing to sign the Versailles Treaty. This defiance of China is the beginning of her self-assertion in international politics for the sole purpose of regaining her sovereign rights. At the Versailles Peace Conference, the Chinese nationalists successfully served notice to the Powers that Chinese rights could not be bartered away by other nations, through secret agreements. While the Chinese nationalists carried on their activities to rouse the nation to the nationalist cause, through the Student Movement and National Boycott against Japan, the actual victory was achieved through the success in international diplomacy carried on by Chinese statesmen—all young men trained in western lands in western methods. Through American statesmen and journalists, the Chinese carried on agitation on the question of Shantung. The Shantung Question became a very important factor in American opposition to the approval of the

Versailles Treaty by the United States Senate. American idealists as well as Imperialists espoused China's cause and demanded that Japan must not be allowed to retain Shantung and thus become so rich in raw materials and dominant in the Pacific. Chinese nationalists worked persistently to regain Shantung, through international action and enlisted American and British support against Japan in the Washington Conference and in the end succeeded.

About this time Chinese nationalists formulated a course of treating with foreign nations—China must treat individually and independently and on equal terms with foreign Powers. China concluded a separate treaty with Germany as well as Austria by which she freed herself from unequal treaties. After the Washington Conference and the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan felt that there was an unwritten Anglo-American agreement against her. To avoid the possibility of complete isolation in world politics, Japan was forced to cultivate friendship with China and Russia. Soviet Russia, actuated by the policy of freeing herself from isolation in world politics and to secure support of various Asian states gave up her special privileges in China, Persia and Afghanistan. To cement a friendly understanding, the Soviet Government gave up Russian concessions, unequal treaties and extra-territorial jurisdiction in China.

From this it is evident that, although China was torn with Civil wars among her War Lords, Chinese nationalists were winning great victories in international politics.

By 1925, when the Chinese nationalists, under the leadership of Dr Sun, made the influence and power of the Kuo-min-tang party felt in Southern China and the Yangtse region, the Treaty Powers were already divided into various groups and there was no possibility of united action amongst them to keep China under subjection. Among the European Powers, Austria and Germany had given up the unequal treaties, as the result of the World War; Russia gave up the unequal treaties to secure Chinese recognition and friendship. Japan was willing to support China in her efforts to end the unequal treaties, with the hope of securing Sino-Japanese co-operation in the Far East, for her own security and to promote the cause of Asian Independence. America could not advocate a policy which would seem to be less generous towards Chinese

aspirations than those advocated by Japan. France, seeing her international situation delicate and complex in Europe, particularly in the Mediterranean regions, chose the path of moderation and conciliation towards China and co-operation with Japan. Of all the



General Chiang Kai-shek

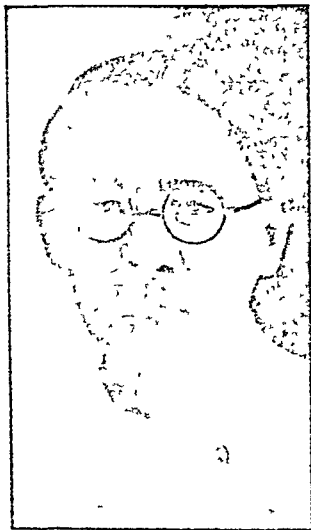
Russia gave enthusiastic support to the anti-British programme of the Chinese nationalists. One hundred and fifty years ago, the then existing Anglo-French rivalry and the international situation in Europe aided the cause of American Independence; and today Anglo-Russian hostility, Anglo-American distrust of Japan and the general condition of world politics is an asset to the cause

so called Treaty Powers, Britain alone took a definite and determined stand against the cause of the Chinese nationalists. The Chinese nationalists, with great vigor, pursued the policy of agitation against Great Britain, as they did a few years ago against Japan. The British authorities tried to overawe the Chinese nationalists by massacres, and perpetrated several massacres of the type of the Amritsar massacre—the massacres at Shanghai, Shamen, and Wanshien. This roused the Chinese nation to a man and crystalized the anti-British sentiment in China for all the wrongs done since the days of the Opium War to the present time. It is natural that

of Chinese freedom. Furthermore, the spirit of Chinese nationalism is not a shallow one, it has been ripened by the struggle of the last century, for at least eighty years. It is needless to say that inspite of all obstacles Chinese nationalism is marching triumphantly to victory.

III

The Chinese Revolution is not merely political, on the contrary, like all great revolutions, it embraces the whole life of the Chinese people. There is the literary revolution going on in China, so that the Chinese masses may be quickly educated. There is the social revolution for the emancipation of the women of China and for inculcating new ideals of society. The Student Movement and Labor Movement are manifestations of new China's militant spirit. There is the Religious Revolution, which in some places has taken the turn of anti-Christian agitation. Many Chinese nationalists are placing new interpretations on the teachings of Confucius which attach great importance to civic righteousness. Among the young nationalists, worshipping the spirit of Sun Yat Sen is taking the place of ancestor worship. Mr. S Yui, Assistant Professor of Political Science in Tsing Hua University, Peking, has stated the present situation in China in an admirable way :—



Foreign Minister Eugen Chen

"The period in China today is a period of fighting for emancipation. The Chinese revolution, which began in 1911, is a fight for emancipation from despotic rule. This fight will continue till the Republic is firmly established.

"The Chinese renaissance movement which began in 1917 is a fight for emancipation from illiteracy and for freedom of thought. This fight will continue till illiteracy vanishes.

"But the most important fight today is the fight for emancipation from the 'unequal treaties,' which have bound China hand and foot for over

eighty years. And this fight will continue till the Powers realize the gross international injustice they have done to China, and give China her legitimate place in the family of nations.

"What China aspires after today is not any concession from any foreign Powers, but merely restoration of her lost independence—no more than that, and no less than that."

The spirit of political revolution in China has been well expressed by the 'Christian General' Feng, who placarded the barracks of his soldiers with the slogan, "*The People Subjected To Foreign Imperialism Are No Better Than Homeless Dogs.*" The Chinese people do not any longer submit to the condition of being "homeless dogs"; and the spirit of revolution has so deepened that even a rickshawman in the street cannot be ill-treated by a foreigner with impunity, as used to be the case before.

China wants to be free and independent; and the Chinese demands from the Treaty Powers are very lucidly set forth by an American student of oriental politics in the following way :

"Stripped of non-essential claims, put forward for bargaining purposes so deeply rooted in all international diplomacy, China lays claim to just three reformatoms in the policy of the powers on her soil. These three demands are (1) rectification of the situation in Shanghai (2) tariff autonomy : (3) abolition of foreign extra-territorial privileges so far as they interfere with the fundamental principle of public law, recognized by all modern civilized States, that every sovereign body has the exclusive right to exercise political jurisdiction within its own territories."*

It is apparent that these demands are stoutly opposed by the British Foreign Office as well as the State Department of the United States of America, which are staunch supporters of the Treaty of Lausanne, by which Turkey has made the ideals of her National Pact effective by the complete abolition of capitulations. The following passage of the Turkish National Pact expresses the demand of the Chinese people; and it may be regarded as the demand of the peoples of Asia, struggling for their emancipation :—

"It is a fundamental condition of our life and continued existence that we, like every country should enjoy complete independence and liberty in the matter of assuring the means of our development, in order that our national and economic development should be rendered possible and that it should be possible to conduct affairs in the form of a more up-to-date regular administration. For this reason we are

* *Our Far Eastern Assignment* by Felix Morley New York (1926) Doubleday, Page and Co.

opposed to restrictions inimical to our development in political, judicial, financial and other matters."

After the Chinese nationalist forces had captured Shanghai, General Chiang Kai Shek was interviewed by the representatives of American newspapers. On that occasion this Chinese patriot declared :—

"Government of all parts of China by the Chinese is my creed. The present revolution will not end until extra-territorial rights and concessions and unequal treaties have all been abolished... Our attitude toward America is friendly, but we consider America an imperialist, because she has not given the Philippines freedom. The Powers which are willing to abrogate all former treaties and return their concessions and offer recognition to China on the basis of equal treaties will show a friendly spirit and be recognized by China. The new Government will not interfere in the activities of missionaries in China... We have no quarrel with Christianity."

It is the fashion among certain people to class the Chinese nationalists as "Reds", who are inspired by the Russian Bolsheviks, and

whose creed is communism or abolition of private property. It is well to remember that in 1911, when Dr. Sun and his followers succeeded in overthrowing the Manchu dynasty and established the Chinese republic, there was no Russian Communistic Government. The majority of the Chinese nationalists, who are following the teachings of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, are not communists ; on the contrary, they are nationalistic.

"The English translation of 'Kuo-min-tang' goes a long way towards explaining the spirit of the Chinese nationalist movement. In Chinese 'kuo' means country, 'min' people, and 'tang or tong' association. 'Kuo-min-tang' means 'association to bring the country into the hands of her people.' It has three basic principles. 1. People's Nationalism... The freeing of China from foreigners who have tied up the country by treaties dictated at the cannon-point. 2. People's Sovereignty---Development of education and political---democracy. 3. People's Livelihood... Better opportunities for Chinese businessmen ; better conditions for Chinese labor."

(To be concluded)

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

PLANT AUTOGRAPHS AND THEIR REVELATIONS: By Sir J. C. Bose, F. R. S. Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. London. 7s. 6d. net.

This book is a popular and connected summary of the researches in the physiology of plants which the author has pursued for a quarter of a century, written for the general reader, with as few technicalities as the subject admits. The line of research adopted was the application to plants of the methods which had been successfully employed in the investigation of muscle and nerve in the animal. The point of the title is that the data on which the author bases his conclusions are the results of experiments in which, by means of highly sensitive automatically recording apparatus devised by himself, the course of its normal activities and its response to change of conditions or to stimulation were inscribed by the plant on sheets of paper or glass plates without the observer's intervention.

When pursuing investigations on the border region of physics and physiology, the author tells us in the preface, he was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and points of contact emerging between the realms of the Living and the Non-living. He found metals responding to stimuli ; they are subject to fatigue, stimulated by certain drugs and 'killed' by poisons."

"Between inorganic matter at one extreme and animal life at the other, there is spread out the vast expanse of the silent life of plants. The difficulty that thwarts the investigator at every step arises from the fact that the interplay of life action is taking place within the dark profundities of the tree, which our eyes cannot penetrate. In order to reveal the intricate mechanism of its life, it is necessary to gain access to the smallest unit of life, the 'life-atom', and record its throbbing pulsation. When microscopic vision fails, we have still to explore the realm of the invisible."

This the author has been able to do by means of highly sensitive automatically recording apparatus invented by himself. In the book under notice

he has taken his readers with him step by step as the wonders of plant life became gradually revealed to him through artificial organs of great sensitiveness by which alone the realm of the invisible could be explored. The barriers which seemed to separate kindred phenomena are found to have vanished, "the plant and the animal appearing as a multiform unity in a single ocean of being." "In this vision of truth," says the author, "the final mystery of things will by no means be lessened, but greatly deepened. It is not less of a miracle that man, circumscribed on all sides by the imperfections of his senses, should yet build himself a raft of thought to make daring adventures in uncharted seas. And in his voyage of discovery he catches an occasional glimpse of the ineffable wonder that had been hidden from his view. That vision crushes out of him all self-sufficiency, all that kept him unconscious of the great pulse that beats through the universe."

This volume is the outcome of the author's wish to share with his readers the joy that fills his life. Even those who do not know much of science will be able to understand it and be the author's partner in joy. But it is not merely joy that the reader will derive from its perusal. He will also feel inspired in reading the following concluding paragraphs of the book :

"From the plant to the animal, then, we follow the long stairway of the ascent of Life. In the high spiritual triumph of the martyr, the ecstasy of the saint, we see the higher and higher expression of that evolutionary process by which Life rises above and beyond all the circumstances of the environment, and fortifies itself to control them."

"The thrill in matter, the throb of life, the pulse of growth, the impulse coursing through the nerve and the resulting sensations, how diverse are these and yet so unified ! How strange it is that the tremor of excitation in nervous matter should not merely be transmitted but transmuted and reflected, like an image on a mirror, into a different plane of life in sensation and in affection, in thought and in emotion. Of these, which is the more real, the material body or the image which is independent of it ? Which of these is undecaying, and which beyond the reach of death ?

"Many a nation has risen in the past and won the empire of the world. A few buried fragments are all that remain as memorials of the great dynasties that wielded the temporal power. There is, however, another element which finds its incarnation in matter, yet transcends its transmutation and apparent destruction : that is the burning flame born of thought which has been handed down through fleeting generations."

"Not in matter, but in thought, not in possessions nor even in attainments, but in ideals, is to be found the seed of immortality." R. C.

THE PROBLEM OF COMBATING TUBERCULOSIS IN INDIA : By A. C. Ullil, M.B.

This is a reprint of an informative article which originally appeared in the Calcutta Medical Review for November and December, 1926. The author has discussed the subject from the following points of view :—

- (a) The incidence of the disease in India.
- (b) Its clinical types.
- (c) The mechanism of infection in man.

(d) Influence of diet and socio-economic factors on the incidence of the disease.

(e) Its prevention and control.

The pamphlet contains much useful matter regarding the various aspects of the disease which will be read with interest and profit, both by medical men and the lay public. The chapter on the prevention and control of the disease contains many valuable and practical suggestions, the adoption of which would not only contribute to the amelioration of the condition of those who are already victims of the disease but would effectually check its further spread. In the opinion of the learned author, a great deal could be done by (1) raising the general vitality and standard of living and (2) by preventing the "open" bacillised people to come in contact with healthy or susceptible persons. We endorse the views of the author in this matter and we join with him in his earnest appeal to "research scholars, the medical profession, the public, the State, the employers and the employed" for a combined effort to organise necessary measures for combating the disease.

HAND-BOOK OF GYNÆCOLOGY : By S. K. Gupta, M.B.

The author has tried to condense, within the small limit of 114 pages, practically the whole subject of Gynæcology, general and operative, dealing with female diseases, constitutional and local, their ætiology, diagnosis, pathology, prognosis and treatment, as also the methods of examination of the patient and the preparation for surgical operations. The book is intended for use by students of medical schools. Unfortunately, it is too over-crowded, and this has greatly impaired its usefulness. We regret we cannot encourage the use of such books by students, as they fail to give any intelligent understanding of the subject-matter, but serve only as *cram books* for passing examinations.

THE INDIAN MATERIA MEDICA : By K. M. Nadkarni. Published in Bombay 1927.

The author has taken great care and pain in placing before the medical profession a vast collection of ancient and modern knowledge and experiences of the medicinal use of Indian indigenous drugs belonging to the vegetable, mineral and animal kingdoms. Nearly thirty-six years ago, Dymock, Warden and Hooper published their classical book entitled the "Pharmacographia Indica" in three volumes in which very detailed information in respect of the medicinal plants of India was given, and this work has rightly been considered as the standard book on the subject. It is time that a revised edition of this valuable book (Publishers—Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co.) should be brought out. The author has freely consulted this book in compiling his Indian Materia Medica, and following the foot-steps of the great pioneer-workers in the field of indigenous drugs, has furnished a detailed account of 1053 medicinal plants in their various aspects. ["Indian Medicinal Plants" by Major B. D. Basu and Lieut.-Col. Kirtikar should be mentioned in this connection. *Ed., M. R.*] He has also dealt in his book with the chemical composition and medicinal properties of 54 mineral drugs and of 51 substances belonging to the animal kingdom, used in the indigenous Systems of Medicine. A number of specific medi-

cinal preparations of the *Ayurvedic* and *Unani* systems of medicine has been described in the book and the method of their preparation in detail has also been given.

Some of the appendices given at the end of the book, such as those on "Indian substitutes for foreign drugs," "percentage composition of and calories in food," "vitamines in food," "natural orders," etc. will be found useful. The appendix on the "percentage composition of foods" could have been improved by introducing separate figures for "fats" and "carbohydrates" in the table. The drugs have been treated in the book alphabetically and this will prove very convenient for ready reference. The book ends with an exhaustive index arranged alphabetically.

One of the objects of the author in publishing this useful volume of Indian *Materia Medica* is to encourage the use of indigenous medicines among medical practitioners trained in the traditions and methods of the Western System of Medicine. There is no doubt that this important subject has hitherto been very much neglected by Indian medical practitioners. Whatever progress has been made in this direction is mainly due to the action of the Government and the interest taken in and the work done by a few enthusiasts belonging to the Imperial and Provincial Medical Services. The signs of the time seem to be more promising. Pharmacological experiments on Indian drugs are now being carried on in well-equipped laboratories, both by Indians and by Europeans, on scientific lines under State patronage and helped by private benefactions as well, and some of the medical graduates of the different Universities of India are showing an increased leaning towards the study of the ancient Hindu System of Medicine. The State and the Legislature are taking some interest in the matter, and medical schools and hospitals are being started in the principal towns of India for the study of *Ayurveda* on scientific basis.

There is an economic aspect of the question which the author has not lost sight of. The substitution of many imported foreign drugs by indigenous medicines of equal potency would contribute to a large saving of public money. It would further enable the poor people of India to get medical relief at a much smaller cost. The author is one of the many who believe, rightly or wrongly, that drugs grown locally act more potently on the children of the soil than those imported from other countries.

There is one matter which requires comment. In a book of this kind published in 1927, one would have expected to find record of results of up-to-date experiments in respect of some of the more important indigenous drugs, such as *Boerhavia diffusa*, *Terminalia Arjuna*, *Holarrhena Antidysenterica*, *Cephandra Indica*, *Silajatu*, *Nerium Odorum*, *Cerbera Thebeticum*, &c. &c., but we regret to say that we miss them in the book.

We have no hesitation to say that the book will prove to be a useful companion to practitioners of Medicine.

C. L. BOSE.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA: By Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., Retd. Published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1927, Price Rs. 1-8.

With the Sepoy Mutiny, a new chapter opens in Indian history. It saw the abolition of the

rule of the old East India Company in India and the assumption of the sovereign power of India by the Queen Victoria. A large number of problems presented themselves before the Queen and her advisers for immediate solution. One of the most pressing problems was: whether the old policy of annexation of Lord Dalhousie would be followed or not. Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retd.) in his new brochure, *The Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*, discusses this and other post-mutiny problems affecting India in a new light. He tries to analyse the motives which influenced the British authorities to give up the policy of annexing the Native States governed by "heathen" princes." He quotes liberally from the British authors, whose authority is beyond any shade of doubt, and shows the real motive in giving up the favourite policy of Lord Dalhousie, which was largely responsible for the out-break of the Sepoy revolt. It was due to Mr. John Sullivan and Mr. John Dickinson, Jr. of the India Reform Society that the mischievous nature of the policy of annexation was exposed in England. Their writings and speeches, from which Major Basu makes ample quotations, showed that "the policy was neither ethically just, nor politically expedient, nor financially sound." As to the effect of the annexation policy, Mr. John Sullivan wrote: "The little court disappears, trade languishes, the capital decays, the people are impoverished, the Englishman flourishes and acts like a sponge drawing up riches from the banks of the Ganges and squeezing them down upon the banks of the Thames." But the expenses which this policy entailed were more than the addition to the revenue of the Company. It was stated "that whilst we have not trebled our revenues, we have increased our debt more than sixfold and we are at this moment adding to that debt in order to make good deficiencies of income." Thus, Major Basu shows conclusively that it was not from any motive of philanthropy, altruism or justice that the policy of the annexation of the Native States was given up, and the Doctrine of Lapse was knocked on the head.

After the Sepoy Mutiny, the cry of the Christianisation of India was raised by many zealous Christians in India. They began to maintain that the Christian power in India would not be consolidated and the occurrence of mutinies in future would not be prevented unless and until India was converted to their faith. One Mr. William Edwardes openly declared: "Our best safeguard is in the evangelization of the country."

Another zealous Christian, Sir Herbert Edwardes of the Multan campaign fame, carried on an agitation for "the elimination of all un-Christian principles from the Government of British India." According to him, one of the un-Christian elements in the Government of India, was, the exclusion of the Bible and Christian teaching from the Government schools and colleges. Sir Herbert Edwardes proposed that the Bible should be taught in the Government schools in India. This view was shared at that time by almost all the high Christian officers in the Punjab, including Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab (who afterwards became Lord Lawrence, Viceroy of India).

Another problem of the Indian Government was the development of the resources of India. To

our rulers it meant nothing less than "affording all possible encouragement to the employment of British capital, skill and enterprise in the development of the material resources of India." This is what Major Basu calls the exploitation of India by England, which helped greatly to consolidate her power in India. Major Basu shows how this exploitation of India by England is carried out by (a) the Construction of Railways, (b) Cultivation of cotton, (c) Concessions to British capitalists to float companies in India to work her resources, (d) Larger employment of Englishmen in India, and (e) Denying self-government to India.

The Indian army was another problem with our rulers. After the Indian Mutiny, the Christian rulers of India were not in a mood to keep the Artillery in the hands of the Sepoys. Therefore, a Royal Commission was appointed, which resulted in greater degradation and humiliation of the Sepoys. Thus post-mutiny reconstruction "deprived Indians of the right of serving in the Artillery." Major Basu observes: "The re-organisation of the Indian Army not only increased the amount of the tribute of India to England, but it emasculated the people, made Indian Sepoys inefficient and unfit for leadership."

In the chapter entitled "Overawing and striking terror into the Punjabis," Major Basu describes "the cold-blooded judicial murders by such highly-professing Christians as Sir John Lawrence and Sir Robert Montgomery." We also read of Mr. Frederick Cooper, "who in the face of God and man, dare to boast of the butchery, or death by suffocation, of nearly 500 of their fellow-creatures."

In this new book, *The Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*, Major B. D. Basu continues the story which he began in his monumental work, *The Rise of the Christian Power in India*. It is a well-written and thought-provoking sequel to the latter book. He shows how the first five royal Viceroy, namely, Canning, Elgin, Lawrence, Mayo and Northbrook tried to consolidate the Christian Power in India. Those who have read his *Rise of the Christian Power in India* should not also miss this interesting volume on *The Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*. Major Basu has already acquired a reputation as a great scholar and historian. He is one of the few Indian scholars, who are devoting their time and energy to the study of the history and problems of modern India. We congratulate Major Basu on the success of his new treatise.

PHANINDRANATH BOSE

THE RELIGION OF ZARATHUSHTRA: By Prof. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, Ph. D.

We have before us an able and praiseworthy attempt to present the outlines of the Zoroastrian system to those seeking information about that faith. Within the limits set by the author to himself as regards space it was necessary for him to confine himself to the vital doctrines of the faith, but the task has been very satisfactorily performed owing to the skill with which the plan of the book has been laid out. On a larger scale similar work was done by Dr. Hang in his "Essays on the Parsis" and by Dr. Dhalla in his Zoroastrian Theology more recently. But the writing of such introductory works is indeed, a

periodical necessity with the growth of linguistic study and historical criticism. It need hardly be said that Dr. Taraporewalla is fully equipped for a guide to the Zoroastrian system, being at once a competent scholar of Avesta and Sanskrit.

Indeed, one of the chief merits of the book arises, in our opinion, from the author's ability to look at his subject from the angle of Sanskrit as well as that of Avesta studies. Thus the first chapter of the book is one of the best, since it gives a synoptic vision of the old Aryan home, using Indian as well as Iranian sources of information. There we have quite a calendar of gods and heroes of hoary antiquity whom the ancestors both of Persians and of Indians adored alike. Thus Ahura was worshipped in old India in the forms of Asura and Varuna; while the deity of sacred fire was in Persia Nairyosangha and in India Narashamsa. At a marriage ceremony in the Vedic days the god Airyaman was invoked and the same divinity is still invoked by the Parsis on the same occasion. We would recommend to the author the further prosecution of this "Synoptic" work.

We might draw the attention of the reader to the very good chapter on "Good and Evil." Here the various phases and aspects of Dualism are dealt with, and of course such a solution of the problem of evil will always have great attractions for a considerable proportion of readers. The subject is made interesting by Dr. Taraporewalla who has thrown light on it from Hindu philosophy. The two spirits of the Gathas have been compared by him to the two-fold powers (Spirit and Matter) as postulated by the Yoga Philosophy of India. Such comparisons, limited in scope admittedly though very useful in clearing ideas, are far more useful and illuminating than that wholesale introduction of foreign doctrines into the Zoroastrian system which has been the practice of some otherwise competent Parsi scholars with a great zeal for Theosophy. Here we must praise the procedure adopted by our author, which is scientific in nature and moderate in spirit. Our duty as scholars is to produce an exposition of the system of the Prophet of Persia and not to make wholesale additions to it after the eclectic fashion. In a sense, of course, all religions deliver the same message, but that is only in the very long run and only after abstraction has been made of numerous peculiarities of doctrine which are very interesting in themselves from the point of view of the history of dogma and of human thought.

The chapter on "the path of Asha righteousness" is an interesting account of the growth of spiritual ideals and their development in old Persia. Since the deep and fundamental importance of this conception of "Asha" colours the whole teaching of the Zoroastrian system our author has done well in making a special study of the path of "Asha." He also illustrates the topic by comparing the eternal law of Asha with that of "Rita" in the Vedas. "In both the branches of the Aryan peoples we find the Asha-Rita aspect of God brought into prominence even in the earliest hymns. Both Ahura and Asura-Varuna embody the highest ideal of truth and righteousness. The other beings worshipped were regarded as so many varied aspects of the activities of the godhead."

From this point the author is led on to a study

of the angelology of his system. His classification of the angelic hierarchy has much to recommend it. There are angels who are personified divine attributes; a second group represent the ancient Indo-Iranian deities. To these must be added a third class representing the elements and powers of nature. Indeed, it must be always difficult to keep the latter two classes mutually apart. To convey the true spirit of angelic worship is no easy task, but Dr. Taraporewalla has achieved it successfully. Another particularly well-written chapter is the one devoted to the life and work of Zoroaster himself.

We have no doubt that another edition of this very useful book will be soon required. When that edition comes out we would venture to make some suggestions to the author for improving the book still further. The chapter on Zoroaster should be enlarged and enriched by select quotations to be incorporated from the Gathas. A chapter should also be added on the later development of Zoroastrian doctrine under the Sassanides; for developments of great importance there certainly were as also a great deal of reciprocal influence exerted by Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism which would when duly brought out, make that chapter a most fascinating one. The author is quite competent to deal with the fresh matter thus suggested to be introduced.

But a reviewer should advisedly confine himself to dealing with the edition in hand, in the main; there can be no hesitation in stating that the work of Dr. Taraporewalla is one of the best introductions to the study of the religion of Zoroaster.

J. C. C.

A SCHEME OF MASS EDUCATION: *By A. B. Mande M. A. (Columbia, U S. A.). Pp. 84. Price not known.*

It is Bulletin No. I of Young men's Indian Association Education Committee.

The author has made a special study of the question of mass-literacy in India. In this book he makes some practical suggestions for teaching Reading. "This method is commonly known as the 'sentence method.' Dr. Huey who made a study of the perception span and of the eye movements was the first psychologist to recommend this method. The Phonetic Method, the Word Method, the Look and Say Methods, etc., which have come into vogue in the Western countries are mere adaptations of his recommendation, which are based on the laboratory findings" (p. 47). Instead of following the traditional method of teaching the alphabet first he begins with words which have a 'natural setting' in a sentence. This method is perfectly psychological. But even our trained teachers are afraid of following this method. And the reason is that they have no practical experience in the matter. Mr. Mande tried his method in the Central Jail, Nagpur with wonderful results. If we are to popularise the method, we must convince the people. If we wish to convince the people, the experiment should be tried extensively by competent teachers.

But who will take the initiative and who will take the responsibility? There must be practising schools.

THE DARVISHES OR ORIENTAL SPIRITUALISM: *By John P. Brown. Edited with Introduction and notes*

by H. A. Roser with twenty-three illustrations. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. XXIV + 496. Price 18s.

The object of this volume is to afford information in regard to the Belief and Principles of the Darvishes as well as to describe their various modes of worshipping the creator.

The spiritualism of the Darvishes differs in many respects from Islamism and has its origin in the religious conceptions of India and Greece. So the information that the author has been enabled to collect together will be of much interest to the reader. Much of this is original, and having been extracted from Oriental works and from Turkish, Arabic and Persian Manuscripts, may be relied upon as accurate.

It is a valuable publication and is recommended to our readers. There is no other English book on the subject.

FREEDOM, RELIGION AND REALITY: *Edited by Mr. G. Y. Chitnis and Published by Mr. Y. V. Bhandarkar, Secretary Prarthana Samaj, Bombay. Pp. 192. Price not known.*

It is a commemoration volume published on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the foundation of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj. It contains twelve essays by competent persons. Here is the list—

(i) Worship and Fellowship by J. Estlin Carpenter. (ii) The Position of the Prarthana Samaj in the Religious World by R. G. Bhandarkar. (iii) Modernism in the Church of England by J. S. Bezzant. (iv) Theism of Ramanaya. Some problems by S. Radha Krishnan. (v) The Faith of the Brahma Samaj by G. Y. Chitnis. (vi) The Islamic Revival by Mohamed Ali. (vii) Judaism by Rebecca Reuben. (viii) Bahai Revelation (Bahai Spiritual Assembly, Bombay) (ix) The Ideals of the Prarthana Samaj by Y. V. Bhandarkar (x) Buddhism and Modern Thought by K. A. Padhye (xi) The Philosophy of the Upanishads by the Editor and (xii) Conclusion by V. G. Bhandarkar.

All the essays breathe the spirit of Liberalism and to this book we draw the attention of all who take an interest in Liberal Religious Ideals.

We congratulate the editor on his being able to include in the volume an article on Judaism. A civilization that is directly and indirectly shaping and modifying our ideas is inimical to the interests of Judaism. An oft-read Scripture which contains unjust denunciations of the expounders of that religion and missionary bodies which popularises that Scripture have succeeded in alienating Indian minds from Judaism. This is deplorable. Liberal Judaism is as akin to the Theistic movement of India as any other Theistic Religion and should never be ignored by Indian Theists as they have hitherto done.

They should make a special study of that religion, and Montefiore's *Outlines of Liberal Judaism* (Macmillan) will give an excellent idea of that movement.

MAHESH CHANDRA GHOSH

BENGALI

DARIDRER KRANDAN : By Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee. The Book Co., Ltd Calcutta. Price Re. 1 Sas. Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged.

The first thing that strikes one about this book is its excellent get-up and the expressive cover design which very ably illustrates the title—*The Cry of the Poor*. The book is a pioneer production in Bengali Sociological Literature and is indispensable to the student of the realistic economics of India. A glance at the chapter-heads will give an idea of the wide field it covers : Thus Comparative Economics, Want vs. Luxury, Cottage Industry vs. Factories and Social Service form only a few of the many subjects treated by the author. The work embodies the result of much laborious research-work and original observation on the part of the author and is of the utmost value to politicians, scholars and students alike.

H. S.

KAVYA DEEPALI : Edited by Narendra Deb. Published by Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons. Calcutta. Price Rs 3. as 8. 1927.

Messrs. M. C. Sarkar and Sons, the enterprising firm of publishers, deserve to be congratulated on bringing out this popular and illustrated book of poems. The book, under notice, contains 151 poems from the pen of 73 Bengali poets (dead and living) who, according to the editor, represent the modern age. The book begins with a poem entitled *বঙ্গ* from the pen of Rabindranath "the best poet of the modern age and of all ages" and concludes with a verse under the caption *কবি* by Mrs. Radharani Datta "whose

poetic fame (says the editor) even at this stage is widely acknowledged." We are, however, of opinion that the collection is not fully representative and that much improvement could have been effected. For, we did not expect to miss Dwijendranath Tazore, Bijoychandra Majumdar, Narendra Bhattachariya and other poets from this collection. Some of the illustrations are no doubt excellent, but a good number of them could have been safely omitted. It is also regrettable to find that the book abounds with execrable printing mistakes.

We hope that the publishers will rectify these in the next edition. It is most likely that the book will command wide popularity as a presentation volume because of its excellent get-up.

MANAS-KAMAL : By Narendranath Basu. Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons. Re. 1.

Mr. Basu, late Editor of *Bansari*, needs no introduction at our hands. The book, under notice, contains eleven refreshing stories written in elegant style. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired. We commend this book to the Bengali reading public.

P. C. S.

NEELAKANTI By Mohitlal Majumdar. Calcutta. Prabari Press, 1922. Ph. XIV+131. Rs. 2-8.

It should not be necessary to preface a notice of this volume of poems by saying that Mr. M. L. Majumdar is one of the most important of the younger Bengali poets. His first book, which came out two years ago gave him a fair title to be so regarded. His second, now before us, is another

evidence of the justness of the claim. But eminence among younger Bengali poets comes to very little unless one can assign some sort of importance to the group as a whole, and in this connection it can hardly be disputed that these poets have not had their share of attention and encouragement. They are too much under the shadow of one great name. That they are indebted to Rabindranath is a colourless, almost mischievous commonplace. The rich world conquered by Rabindranath will be the heritage of every poet coming after him, to-morrow or in the distant future. Is there any reason why a writer, with all these gains in language, metre and inspiration before him, should wastefully throw them away even if it were possible for him to do so, and start all afresh? The question which matters is whether he is going to treat Rabindranath as a starting point or as a culmination. There is no denying that a good deal of Bengali poetry of to-day does read like an echo of Rabindranath, varying, if at all, in its degree of faithfulness. But if there are those to whom Poetry is a mere pretty convention for the expression of ænemic vapourings and Rabindranath's mellifluous verse, the prettiest ready-made pattern for them all, there are also others who do not feel in a chorus and write to a prescription, who would not play the sedulous ape in thought or phrase to anyone, who cannot rest satisfied with anything less than a fresh expression of fresh thoughts in words which are in vital relation with the stuff of their imagination. Among these, through whom we might hope, indeed expect, lies the future of Bengali poetry, Mr. Majumdar has assuredly his place.

In his first collection of verse, the peculiar stamp of Mr. Majumdar's poetic individuality was shown in his choice of certain historical themes which were not strictly speaking historical in treatment. The situation, the character, the story is well known—Nurjehan looking back upon the Romance of her life from the vantage point of its tragic close, the last vigil of Nadirshah and his death at the hands of the assassin, these are familiar tales—but they are there not for their own sake, but for the sake of the value which they have as a symbol of the poet's emotional out-look. Under all the reticence and artistic disinterestedness which seems to cover all personal sensibility, behind the objectivity and the chiselled silences of the technique, we can yet guess the unspoken meditation, the hidden cross currents of the poet's moods. In the present book Mr. Majumdar goes a step further and takes us into his confidence. He speaks in his own person and admits us into his intimate world.

Two long pieces however, furnish the link in the transition. One is 'Nurjehan and Jehangir' and the other 'Death and Nachiketas.' Being a poet, Mr. Majumdar has possibly nothing but contempt for the scruples of the specialist, for after dealing with 'Yama and Nachiketas', he does not hesitate to skip Millenia and launch us in the midst of a palace intrigue in the time of the Great Mogul. But he has done the exact thing that will disarm critics. He has succeeded. 'Death and Nachiketas' is a reflective poem dwelling in words of mournful grandeur on the baffling mystery of death, while the other is a fine dramatic piece in which the psychological possibilities of the situation and the characters are quite successfully

exploited. This volume contains only twenty-five poems. But they are enough to furnish additional proof of Mr. Majumdar's versatility. It is enough to cite half a dozen titles—An Epicure of Tonch, To Schopenhauer, Kalapahar the iconoclast, Dead Love, Dusk out of Season, Moaning of Doves—to give an idea of the range of his inspiration.

There are people who would consider versatility hardly a merit. It might mean no more than lack of character. Certainly this reproach cannot be levelled at Mr. Majumdar; for behind the diversity of topic and treatment, we feel the author's possession of a secret store—an *arrière-pensée* as Montaigne would put it—a doctrine and a view of life of which he gives us many glimpses. His world is steeped in a dim crepuscular light.

তোমাদের ওরে রয়েছে নতুন
ধরার অরুণোদয়,
আমি তিমিরের তীর্থ-পথিক
তারকার গাছি ভয়।

He has his yearning for the sun, for clear-cut forms and brilliant colours.

যেরূপ নেহারি আমি রৌদ্রদীপ্ত নীলাবরে
হুকরিব হরনের গান,
সর্বদেহে সকারিবে আদিত্য দাক্ষিণ্যে
বিধাতার প্রায়স নহান্।

But it is no longer possible for him to believe in the actuality of this sunlit world. A dusk out of season has descended upon his vision:

প্রাপ্তয়া সেই গানে লেগেছে হিমেল হাওয়া,
আমি এ দিনান্ত বরষায়—
নেমেছে অকাল সন্ধ্যা, বুধা মূৰ্গানে চাঁদ্রা,
ছল নাই ভাষা না জুয়ার।
আমার প্রাণের কুলে উদিতাহে সন্ধ্যা-ভারা
মধ্যাহ্নের রবি অন্তমান
আলোকবিহীন দিনা হইয়াছে রূপহার্য
ভূমি মণি স্বপন সনান।

Mr. Majumdar's poetry is the flower. I shall not say of evil but of a profound disquiet and disenchantment. Ordinary people will perhaps miss in him beauties of the orthodox and accepted kind—smiling fields of flower and fruit, mild blisses and trials of domesticity and all the little emptinesses of love. Pessimism is a recently learnt emotion and Mr. Majumdar is decidedly more modern than the poet of complacency. As Mr. Hardy once said, "The new vale of Tempe may be a gaunt waste in Shule. Human souls may find themselves in closer and closer harmony with external things wearing a somberness distasteful to our race when it was young. The time seems near, if it has not actually arrived, when the chastened sublimity of a moor, a sea or a mountain will be all of nature that is in keeping with the moods of the more thinking among mankind." Our poetry will also respond to our altered outlook upon life and nature.

নভনীল বেদনার গুচরস্ত হরিত-শ্রাবল।
ধূসর উদাস কভু পৃথিবীর পঙ্কর-পাষণ।
হলে ললে অন্ধরকে আয়রক করে জীবনল
নিয়ত সংগ্রামশীল বাজিতেছে কালের বিধান।

হতে হুট হতে লয়—জীবাতুর মরণপাগল।—

মহত্ব ভূত্বার পরে জীবনের উড়িছে নিশান;
ভূত্বার নানিক শৈল, হৃৎকমর জীবনের নাহি অবনান।

But this disappointing earth, this broken many-hued toy, is for the poet the only thing which counts. The more it deceives him, the more he clings to it.

যে বধ-হরণ তুমি করিবারে চাঁও বধ-হর।
ভারি মারা-দুঃখ আনি, বেহে নোর আকর্ষণ পিগাল।
ভূত্বার নোহন নম্রে জীবনের প্রতিটি প্রহর
জপিছে আমার কাণে সৰ্ব্বদা মিনতির ভাষা।

All this might easily lead to the belief that Mr. Majumdar is a philosopher. We must hasten to emphasise that he is only a poet. He is not going to systematise his sensations into an intellectual understanding of life. He does not "criticise" life. He merely discerns an emotional quality in it.

The distinction of Mr. Majumdar's poetic inspiration is well matched by the distinction of his poetic technique. There is between his inspiration and the form in which he has embodied it an essential unity, that is to say, his forms are all justified by his inspiration. He is not so overwhelmed by his emotions as to lose sight of the technical side of his business. Perhaps, his also is the ideal of Mr. T. S. Eliot's "one is prepared for art when one has ceased to be interested in one's own emotions and experiences except as material." Mr. Majumdar has not reached this exacting and rather inhuman standard of detachment but between his attitude and that of the amateur there is all the difference which exists between a man who regards poetry as a craft and one who regards it as a pose. But in his pre-occupation with technique Mr. Majumdar does not make the mistake so common with certain Bengali poets of to-day that harmoniously combined sounds, producing on our nervous centres a purely sonorous effect is enough to make poetry. Yet he recognises that words with certain associations arranged in patterns can make poetry independently of definite logical concept. I will quote just one example of his symbolism. A dove is moaning in some tree in a listless noon.

ঘুম-ঘুম-ঘুম—

গোড়া-বাড়ীর আড়িনাতে,

শিউলি-ঝরা শরৎ-প্রাতে,

দোনার মলের হুড়া কে দেয়? সেই কথা কি ঘুম বলে?

কুলে-পড়া বারান্নাতে

ভাঙা-ছাতের আলিনাতে

চাঁদের আলোর হাছা হাসি—ঘুম শুধায়—কিসের ছলে?

অগানপথে বাবার বেলায়

বধূর হুঁপায় আলতা বুলায়—

কেমন শুভ-শিঁ দূর দিয়ে সাজায় তারে এ'মোর দলে!

It is an evocation not less beautiful in its way than the picture of Ruth standing in tears amid the alien corn.

Finally it would be ungracious to pass over the contribution of the publisher to our pleasure. Enough has been said to give an idea of the quality of Mr. Majumdar's poetry. It is not less welcome for being given to us in a distinctive

form. So rarely does one come across a Bengali book which will not offend good taste in some way or other that the discreet beauty of this volume will come as a very agreeable surprise to all lovers of the art of the book. The publishers deserve our gratitude for striking a note of revolt against the drabness of commercial book production.

N

HINDI

VIDYAPATI KI PADAVALI. *Compiled by Mr. Ramkriksha Sarma Benipuri. Published by the Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laheria Serai. Pp. XIV+327.*

265 *padas* of Vidyapati are published in this edition with short notes on difficult words. The aim of the compiler seems to be to furnish a handy collection of the best songs of the poet. The introduction deals with the poet and his work in a general way. As regards the pictures, they are disappointingly devoid of any art and one is a mere copy from a European model. The editor has to be thanked for preserving the original dialect of the *padas*.

MATIRAM-GRANTHAVALI : *Edited by Mr. Krishnavihari Misra, B.A., LL.B. Published by the Ganga-Pustakmala Office, Lucknow. Pp. CCLXIII and 244. 1926.*

Matiram Tripathi is a well-known Hindi poet of the *brajabhasha* dialect. He belonged to a family which has given the poets Bhushan and Chintamani. He lived at the court of Bundi during the reign of the son of the celebrated Chhatrasal. Three works of the poet are edited with occasional notes, and they are based on several Mss., and printed copies. The long introduction has dilated on all possible issues in connection with the poet and his poetry. The editor is not blind to the defects of the poet, who, though he excelled in the craft according to the *Rasa-sastras*, lacked in emotion, which is the mainspring of all true poetry. This edition is sure to become a standard work for reference.

MAHAKAVI AKBAR OUR UNKA URDU KAVYA : *By Umrao Singh Karunika, B.A. Published by Jnanprakash Mandir, Machhra, Meerut, 2nd edition. Pp. 177.*

This second edition of the selected poems of the celebrated Urdu poet is a testimony to his popularity. His muse was not confined to the rose-garden of convention, but he breathed a new life into modern Urdu poetry. Thus he created light verses on various topics of modern life, politics not excepted. He touched on various chords, — love, humour, religion, topical events and even Gandhism and non-co-operation. The introduction is useful and shows the poet both as a man and an artist.

RAHIM-KAVITAVALI : *Edited by Mr. Surendranath Tiwari. Published by the Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow. Pp. XLIII+98. 1926.*

Every schoolboy in India knows the name of Abdul Rahim Khan Khan-khana, the great soldier at the court of Akbar. But few of us ever suspect that he was a great poet too. The editor of the present collection was drawn towards the *dohas* of

this soldier-poet even at his school-going age. And the result is this compilation for which we cannot thank him too much. Rahim is nothing if he is not charming and elegant. He poured his heart into his work and he is equally felicitous in his delineation of love and life. We are struck by his catholicity of spirit, because in Hindi and Sanskrit verses he pays homage to several Hindu gods and goddesses. He was also a patron of poetry. His life and works are described in the introduction. There is a reproduction of his portrait.

DEHATI DUNIYA : *By Mr. Shivprajan Sahni. Published by the Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laheria Serai. Pp. 226. 1926.*

Scenes of country-life in Bihar have been most charmingly depicted in this work. The author has been well-advised in using the popular dialect, which has a peculiar flavour and directness and is also refreshing when contrasted with the much-sanskritised modern Hindi prose. As their dialect, no less do the elemental life affairs of the country-folks interest us by their foolishness and knavery as well as their honesty and simplicity. We congratulate the author on his success and hope he will give us more of such bright stories. We like to draw his attention to the necessity of collecting the folk-lore in the very words in which they are delivered.

BIHAR KA SAHITYA—PART I : *Published by the Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laheria Serai, 1926. Pp. 279.*

In this work are collected the presidential addresses of the first five sessions of the Bihar Provincial Hindi Literary Conference, together with those of the Chairmen of the Reception Committees. This is surely a useful publication inasmuch as it focuses our attention on the literary history of Bihar.

RAMES BASU

TELUGU.

MUHAMMAD : *By Puripanda Appalaśoamī. Published by V. V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, Madras. Pp. 44, 1926.*

An interesting and well-written essay on the life of Muhammad. It would have been more useful at the present time if the tenets of the Muslim creed had been lucidly explained and it had been shown how traces of these can be found in Christianity and other religions. The variations of doctrine in the Koran are not referred to. The life of the great prophet is, however, vividly described.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU.

GUJARATI

We beg to acknowledge receipt of a copy of the 11th Annual Report of the *Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya* of Bombay. We do not review Reports.

We have received several copies of SARAL BHAGVAD-GITA from Kanji Kalidas Joshi. They are translations of the 'Sanskrit' text into Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi and illustrated. The renderings

are well done, and they are sure to be very much appreciated by the reading public.

RAMAYANA: By Sastri Chhotatal Chandra-Shankar, printed and published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, Pp. 1424. Second edition. Price Rs. 6-0-0. With 40 colored illustrations (1926).

This is a translation of Tulasidas's Ramayana in Hindi. Looking to its get-up and contents it is marvellously cheap for six rupees. Its introductions are many and comprise a wealth of interesting details on the life of Tulasidas and on various other matters connected with the great epic. Every Gujarati Hindu, and other Gujaratis, too, should read this work.

SARALA GITA GOVIND: By Natwarlal P. Shah, Esq. B.A., Printed at the Anand Bandhu Printing Press, Surat. Cloth bound. Pp. 120. Price Rs. 1-12-0 (1927).

Jayadev's Gita Govind is a literary gem in Sanskrit. It is not possible to translate its beauty into vernaculars which lack the wealth and flexibility of Sanskrit vocabulary. An existing translation by Rao Bahadur Keshablal H. Dhruva into

Gujarati, because of the scholarly attainments of the translator, tries to go as near the original as possible. The present translation has, however, aimed more at easiness of style than at scholarliness, and it may be that those who scorn the trouble involved in perusing a scholarly work may find solace in perusing an easier work, disregarding its other faults and short-comings. The work, however, needs encouragement.

SHASHIKALA AND CHAURPANCHASHIKA: By Nagardas J. Patel. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, (with pictures.) Pp. 100. Price Rs. 2. (1926).

The romantic story of how a teacher fell in love with his pupil, a princess, and was ordered to be executed by her father on discovery of it, and how he was reprieved on singing fifty *slokas* one as he mounted each of the fifty steps leading to the execution platform, reciting his undying love for her, is versified by Kavi Bilhan: it has been translated into English in his inimitable way by Sir Edwin Arnold, and Mr. Patel has attempted re-telling it in Gujarati verse. He has, in doing so, supplied a want.

K. M. J.

CURRENCY AND PRICES IN INDIA*

By PROFESSOR J. C. SINHA, D. Sc.

THE post-war literature on currency is a voluminous one. Even in India many books on the subject have been issued in recent years. Unfortunately, most of them cover the same ground. Questions of currency history and theory which have been authoritatively dealt with, are often introduced merely to increase the bulk of some books. The present volume also is not entirely free from this defect.

The book is divided into three sections. Part I contains a historical survey of Indian currency from 1806 to 1920. This subject has been dealt with by many writers but our authors have described more fully than any other "the gold movement" in India during the third quarter of the last century and how it was "suddenly shelved in 1874."

We find also in this part an interesting account of the Report of the Mansfield Commission. "The reasons which led the authorities to sit tight over this report and take no action," is, according to our authors, "one of the unexplained mysteries of the history of Indian currency" (p. 28). Though no official explanation has been given, the chief obstacle to the acceptance of the Report, appears to have been the almost continuous fall in the value of silver, which began from the year 1867. Incidentally, the authors tell us that this was the first currency commission appointed by the

Government of India. As a matter of fact, however, a currency committee was appointed as early as 1787 by the government of Cornwallis which took oral and written evidence in India, as described in a paper read at the eighth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Lahore in 1925.

Part II of the book is devoted to a study of Indian prices. Here the authors are mainly on new ground. The section opens with a study of index numbers. India Office Memorandum of 1885-87 and subsequent index numbers of Indian prices are briefly examined. But there is an important omission. The authors have not mentioned the recent index numbers, published in the Bombay Labour Gazette and in the Indian Trade Journal, Calcutta. It is true that these relate to prices in Bombay and Calcutta and do not give a very accurate idea of the general price level throughout the country. But it should be remembered that Calcutta index numbers are regularly quoted in the monthly bulletin of the League of Nations for representing price-changes in India.

The study of price-levels is followed by the study of prices of individual commodities like rice, wheat, sugar, tea, cotton, jute, coal and oilseeds. The authors arrive at certain conclusions, which are open to criticism.

"The price-history of sugar," they tell us, "is one of the most illuminating illustrations of what a policy of determined protection can achieve" (p.176). The authors gravely tell us that the difference between the cost of production here

* *Currency and Prices in India* by N. C. Vakil and S. K. Muranjan. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1927, pp. xvi+549. Price Rs. 10).

and that abroad, should be bridged by an adequate protective duty, (this difference amounting, according to them, to the paltry figure of 76% in 1913), although the theory of equalising costs has been discarded even in America, where it was first proclaimed as the true principle of protection. The reason assigned is equally curious,—“the infancy of the industry!”

Nor can one support the authors' contention that the Indian coal industry requires protection, which in their opinion, “deserves to be strengthened a good deal more, if it is to become an active force in stimulating our other industries. When it is remembered that our coal production exceeds our consumption, the case for a prohibitive import duty becomes stronger still” (pp. 239-240.) One fails to see how by a protective import duty on foreign coal, the Indian coal industry can be made “an active force in stimulating our industries.” For, as the Tariff Board has pointed out, “all measures which tend to raise the cost of fuel are prejudicial to industrial development.”

Nor can one accept the authors' view that “the prices of hides, like those of jute, are determined by its (*sic*) monopolistic supplies,” (p. 228). The Fiscal Commission has pointed out the dangers “of such apparently well-entrenched monopolies as jute” and every year the address of the Chairman of the Indian Jute Mills Association contains some remarks about possible competition. The authors are on still more debatable grounds when they speak of hides. The chief market for Indian hides has always been Central Europe, particularly Germany. Apart from competition with foreign hides in those markets, there is now an intense competition with local produce, which has not to bear the cost and risk of deterioration of long voyages, and which can be sold very cheaply with the increased consumption of meat. The rapid rise of motor transport has also reduced the demand for boots and therefore for hides, and thus the competition is all the keener between Indian and foreign hides.

Part II of the book closes with some general remarks about the difficulties of determining a representative price level for India, an account of the variation in prices between 1861 and 1920, and a discussion on the relation between currency and prices.

Here the authors support Gokhale's view that the pre-war gold exchange standard was partly responsible for the rise of Indian prices. “The stability of exchange-rate between 1900-1914” is, in their opinion, no argument “against the alleged inflation of prices,” (p. 328). They draw our attention to certain peculiarities of the Indian price-level. They repeat their previous remarks about India's “exclusive monopolies” which “can bear a large inflation of prices without endangering their production. Besides, there are many important products in India forming a very large percentage of the total internal trade,” prices of which “may rise very high without calling for any adjustment of the exchange rate,” (p. 329).

We are afraid that the distinction between the price-levels in India and in the Western countries has been too absolutely drawn, for, it is difficult to see that India is singular in this respect. With regard to prices in Western countries also, as pointed out in a recent report of the United States Tariff Commission, “Articles having a free inter-

national market, such as silver, copper, wheat, cotton, have about the same gold price the world-over, transportation and taxes aside, no matter whether the quotations are in dollars, francs, pounds or marks. On the other hand, many articles such as aluminum goods, pottery and china-ware or specialized chemicals and metallurgical products, which either do not enter largely into international trade or whose prices are adjusted slowly, show a great divergence of gold prices in the several markets of the world” (*Depreciated Exchange and International Trade*, second edition, p. 20.)

Even in the case of England the same disparity between sheltered and unsheltered prices, is noticeable, as pointed out by Keynes and other monetary theorists.

The authors have missed the obvious point that the assumption of special characteristics of the Indian price-level is not necessary to prove the thesis that relative redundancy of currency for short periods was quite likely under the pre-war system. Even the Hilton-Young Commission has observed, “the automatic working of the exchange standard is thus not adequately provided for in India. Under the Indian system contraction is not and never has been, automatic.” (*Report*, para. 16.)

Part III of the book deals with the three issues raised by the Hilton-Young Commission, *viz.*, the standard, the ratio (the authors put it as the unit) and the Reserve Bank.

With regard to the first question, the authors explain why Indian public opinion has been overwhelmingly in favour of gold standard with a gold currency. The introduction of such a system in India means that “India should negotiate for her gold requirements directly with the United States or through England” (p. 453). “The United States do possess large quantities of free gold: the withdrawal of a part of this gold to India would create no credit difficulty.” But the introduction of gold currency in India would give a heavy blow to the American silver interest and naturally “we are welcome neither as creditors of our own gold from England, nor as borrowers of surplus gold from America.” (p. 454.)

This is the chief obstacle to the adoption of gold currency in India. The expense for introducing gold currency and the reaction of this measure on the world price of gold do not appear to be very serious obstacles. As to the argument of Mr. Kitchin and Prof. Cassel that India's additional demand will increase the “scramble for gold” and bring about a fall of prices, we may quote the opinion of an authority on gold standard like Prof. Lehfeldt that “on the whole, the chief risk of a disturbance that would be embarrassing and detrimental to trade throughout the world appears to be on the side of depreciation, *i.e.* of rise of prices.” (Lehfeldt—*Controlling the Output of Gold*, p. 20.) The future course of the price of gold is so uncertain that it is unsafe to use it as an argument for or against gold currency.

The alternatives that are immediately possible under the existing circumstances are gold standard without gold currency and the gold exchange standard. The second was discredited during the War. The Currency Commission has, therefore, recommended the gold bullion standard, which, in its opinion, gives us all the advantages of gold.

standard and avoids the difficulties of gold currency.

Our authors approve of the Commission's scheme subject to the criticism that the gold reserve should be located exclusively in India,—an opinion, which is held by all Indian publicists. We endorse also the corollary to this proposition that "the Currency Authority shall do its work of buying and selling gold only in India." (P. 472).

We wish however that the authors had suggested closer buying and selling rates for gold. It is difficult to understand why it is necessary to prescribe the selling rate on the basis of $p+2n$, in order to preserve the Bombay bullion market, although the London bullion market is not affected by the very close buying and selling rates fixed by the Bank of England, *viz.*, £3 17s 9d and £3 17s 10½d. per std. oz. (*i. e.*, a difference of only 16 p. c.).

One fails to see how this gold bullion standard may be called a standard at all, when gold will admittedly vary from its par value by as much as 23 per cent. If a yardstick is sometimes equal to 36 inches and sometimes to 368 inches, no scientist would accept it as a standard for measurement. Exactly the same argument applies to monetary standards.

It has been suggested that it is a sop to Bombay which is unhappy over the 18d. rate. It seems that the powerful Exchange Banks, which finance gold imports as well as the wealthy bullion dealers of Western India have been appeased by sacrificing the interest of the country as a whole. At the same time the Reserve Bank's obligation to sell gold in India has been made a mere paper obligation. The Bank will ordinarily be the dearest market for gold in this country. The Commission's claim that its scheme "is an absolute gold standard" "since gold bars are to be given in exchange for notes or silver rupees, not for export only, but for any purpose," (*Report*, para 60) is therefore unfounded. We suggest that our currency authority should buy and sell gold in India at a reasonable difference, say one per cent. Not until this is done, can the new standard be an improvement upon the old one in this respect.

On the ratio question our authors express their opinion in favour of 1s. 4d. rate, mainly on the ground that "the standard unit of value, once fixed, must be regarded as sacred and should not be changed." This is certainly a good principle. But it must be borne in mind that during the currency experiment in 1920, the rate had already been changed to 2s gold and the rupee left its old moorings as early as 1917.

As to the "sanctity" of the 1s. 4d ratio, the following remarks of the *Statist*, which was by no means a blind supporter of the 1s. 6d. rate, may be quoted: "Given the fact that since 1914, the internal purchasing power of each rupee has been reduced by about 35 p. c., the claims of equity as far as outstanding contracts entered into before the war are concerned, would seem to demand a fixation of the rupee at a parity higher than that which obtained before the War." (*The Statist*, Sept 11, 1926).

In this connection our authors strangely observe that "the question of price-adjustment is a mere truism and need not be raised at all" (p. viii). "The position is that the exchange has been determined

by the authorities at 1s. 6d. since October 1924, and that steps have been taken to maintain this rate, by controlling the internal price-level... The fact that these steps have been taken for a fairly long time, for more than two years, *must result in the adjustment of the internal price level with the world price level*" (p. 513) (italics are ours). This admission cuts the ground on which most of the arguments for 1s. 4d. rate are based.

We now pass on to the last question discussed in the book, *viz.*, the problem of the Reserve Bank. The authors support the view of the majority of the Currency Commission that a separate Reserve Bank is desirable for India.

Doubts have been raised that the amount of rediscounting to be done in India being small, the Reserve Bank will not be a paying concern. Such doubts are wholly unfounded. The sole right of note-issue, the free deposit of Government balances and the compulsory deposit from the scheduled banks, will give the Reserve Bank sufficient funds which, even if employed at a very low rate of interest, will bring a handsome profit.

Our authors rightly oppose the special preference to the shareholders of the Imperial Bank in subscribing to the capital of the proposed bank. The Commission recommended that "the Imperial Bank's shareholders should be given the first opportunity of subscribing for the capital stock" of the Reserve Bank. The Bill provides for 30p.c. of the capital to be subscribed by the Imperial Bank as an institution and not by its individual shareholders. This has led the Exchange Banks to ask that another thirty per cent. of the capital should be reserved for the scheduled banks, whose head offices are registered in India or the British Empire. If any such preference is conceded, there seems to be no reason for making any distinction between the British and the Foreign Banks included in the First Schedule of the Bill.

The basis for this preference therefore requires examination. It has been said that the Imperial Bank deserves some consideration as a sort of compensation for its alleged "sacrifice," for, it is going to be deprived of the greater part of the Government balances. We are further told that the Bank has been compelled to open a large number of new branches which do not pay.

But it may be noted that the Imperial Bank is not going to lose the prestige of being the custodian of Government funds. It will act as the sole agent of the Reserve Bank at all places in British India where there is a branch of the Imperial Bank and no branch of the Reserve Bank. The fact that substantial Government balances will still be kept in the Imperial Bank will give it sufficient prestige in the eyes of the public. How valuable this privilege is, may be realised from the fact that some Indian banks were anxious to have Government balances even by depositing adequate amount of Government securities.

During the last war, a Bengali Zamindar of some education, withdrew all his money from the district loan office and deposited it in the local Co-operative Central Bank on the ground that the latter "was a Government institution." If such be the prestige of a co-operative bank, the privilege of having Government balances which the Imperial Bank will still enjoy, must be a valued one.

It may also be said that a considerable part of the Reserve Bank's balances kept in the Imperial

Bank will be free of interest (see the Second Schedule of the Bill). The restrictions on the activities of the Imperial Bank, especially on foreign exchange business, are also going to be removed. These are sufficient compensations for its alleged "sacrifices."

As to the maintenance of unprofitable branches, it is difficult to believe that a considerable number of them is really unremunerative. The chief difficulty of bankers in the mofussil is to get sufficient deposits at a low rate of interest. The Imperial Bank has not to face this difficulty. There is no reason why its branches should remain unremunerative after the first few years of their establishment, unless the administrative charges there are too heavy. We think therefore that the proposed preference to the Imperial Bank in subscribing shares is unjustified. The case for preference to Exchange Banks is weaker still.

The Joint Select Committee of both Houses of the Central Legislature, which recently met in Bombay, apparently solved this question by advocating a state bank without share capital. The arguments advanced in favour of this scheme are, firstly, that the Reserve Bank, as proposed by the Government, will not command public confidence. Secondly, the profits earned by the Bank in dealing with Government moneys should go to the State and not to the shareholders. Lastly, it is problematical whether a capitalist-owned bank would serve the interests of indigenous trade and commerce.

It cannot be denied that the Government management of currency in this country has been on the whole a failure. We doubt whether the control of credit and currency by a State Bank of India would fare better. We fail to see how a directorate independent of Government control can be formed, if the State is to be directly responsible for the institution. It is curious that our politicians who were most vocal against state control of currency, are now the loudest in praising the virtues of a State Bank, involving as it does, state control of currency and credit.

The argument that a state-aided bank will not command as much public confidence as a state-

owned bank is not a strong one. The Indian public has full confidence as to the financial solvency of the Imperial Bank and there is no reason why the Reserve Bank will not command the same confidence. The truth appears to lie the other way about. As Sir Henry Strakosch rightly observes, "History furnishes abundant proof that the control of central banking institutions is more soundly exercised by private citizens than by Governments." (*Economic Journal*, June, 1920).

As to the argument that the profits of the bank dealing with Government moneys should go to the State, it may be said that in the Reserve Bank Bill, provision has been made for a very moderate dividend to the shareholders and the balance is to be paid to the State. As interest will have to be paid on the debentures of the proposed state-owned bank, we doubt whether this latter institution would bring more profit to the Government, especially when it is remembered that the management of a state-owned institution is apt to be extravagant, especially in India.

The question whether a capitalist-owned Bank would serve the interests of indigenous trade depends ultimately on the shareholders. If the majority of them is unsympathetic to Indian interest, indigenous trade may not get adequate facilities. But there is no ground for this assumption. The real reason why the State Bank is advocated is that Indian publicists are afraid that the Bank may be controlled by European capitalists, who, it is apprehended, have no sympathy for Indian trade and industries. It is difficult to suggest any practicable measure to allay this suspicion, except to ask patriotic Indians to invest in the shares of the Reserve Bank, although the yield will be low.

To conclude, the book before us contains a mass of useful information on Indian currency and prices, and its value to the student would be much enhanced by condensation and leaving out of matter not essential to the arguments of the authors.

THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN INDIA

By PROFESSOR GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH,

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I

POLITICAL prophets of the 18th century had become so much disgusted with the workings of autocracy in its various forms and distance had lent so great a charm to the picture of the Athenian democracy of the Periclean Age that they began to regard democracy as the one panacea for all human

ills. And though the actual working of democracy has not fulfilled the high expectations of its early admirers and has even disappointed some of its sincerest friends, it is still regarded by the vast bulk of the people all over the globe as the best form of government.

Democracy is of two kinds, of the direct type and of the representative character. Direct

democracy certainly appears more desirable but it is also more difficult of achievement. In fact, it requires a very high standard of development among the people. The people must possess a high sense of civic responsibility, a sufficient knowledge and understanding of local people and local problems, and a considerable amount of political education if they are to work the institution of direct democracy successfully. And so far all attempts to introduce it in large countries have proved abortive. Direct democracy may be possible in small city states or countries like Switzerland; but it is impracticable in places like America, Russia or India. The Russian experiment is, without a shadow of doubt, a complete failure from this point of view. The attempt to introduce direct democracy* has actually resulted in the introduction of indirect representation and of unresponsive autocracy at the top. This is inevitable in a large country. When the number of citizens exceeds a few thousand, and when the inhabitants are scattered over a large area and cannot all be gathered in a big hall or a square to deliberate and to register their decisions one way or the other, some sort of representation becomes indispensable. It may be mentioned here in parenthesis, that initiative and recall cannot solve the complicated problems of to-day. As pointed out by Professor Laski:—

"For what is, as a rule, urgent in the issues they raise is not the simple desirability of affirmative or negative response, but the much more complex question of the desirability of a particular solution stated in all its complex statutory terms. The difficulty, in fact, which direct government involves is the final difficulty that it is by its nature far too crude an instrument to find room for the nice distinctions inherent in the art of government."

And if a direct and responsible system of representation is not accepted—because that will convert direct democracy into indirect democracy—a series of federations has to be arranged as in Russia or in Miss Follet's scheme, the result of which is the adoption of indirect election—from the local to the city or district group, from the city and district groups to the provincial group, from the provincial groups to the national group, and in some cases from the national groups to the Imperial or international group. The members of the group at the top have really no living connection with the members of the local group at the bottom and thus feel no sense of responsibility to the people at large.

The defects of indirect elections are quite well known in India and may be described in the words of the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. While criticising the system of "doubly indirect" elections in force under the Morley-Minto scheme the authors observe:

"There is absolutely no connection between the supposed primary voter and the man who sits as his representative on the legislative council, and the vote of the supposed primary voter has no effect upon the proceedings of the legislative council. In such circumstances there can be no responsibility upon, and no political education for, the people who nominally exercise the vote".

The system of indirect elections was tried in the United States of America for nearly a century and a quarter and was in the end discarded in 1913, as it proved injurious to the local life of the States. It introduced national issues into local politics and vitiated the whole local atmosphere.

For large countries like India then direct democracy is altogether impracticable, and resort must be had to representative democracy.

II

In representative democracy attempt is made to create an Assembly which is, so to speak, the nation in miniature. As far as possible all sections of the people and especially all political interests and opinions should be represented in proportion to their strength in the country and in particular care should be taken that minorities are not placed absolutely at the mercy of the majority but are allowed an adequate opportunity of influencing the decisions of the Assembly. Several systems have been devised to give proper representation to minorities; but before referring to them, it is necessary to discuss the basis on which representation should proceed. Representation may be on territorial basis, on communal lines, on the group principle or on a mixed basis. One of these has been ruled out by the Western people as inimical to responsible or self-government. On the other hand, representation on communal basis is regarded by a large number in India as "an inevitable, and even unhealthy, stage in the development of a non-political people." The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report demurred strongly to this view. They wrote:—

"But when we consider what* responsible government implies, and how it was developed in

the world, we cannot take this view...In the earlier form which it assumed in Europe it appeared only when the territorial principle had vanquished the tribal principle, and blood and religion had ceased to assert a rival claim with the State to a citizen's allegiance.....We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance; against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself."

The principle of communal representation was carefully discussed and strongly condemned by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in their classic report on Indian Constitutional Reforms; and it would not have been necessary to examine it here to-day if they had been strong enough to act up to their convictions and had followed the dictates of reason and experience. But the fact that the Reforms of 1919, instead of discarding communal representation, greatly extended its application and that one big community in India—the Muslim community—still continues to clamour for it and that it forms a centre of fierce controversy in the country makes a dispassionate consideration of it absolutely essential.

III.

The greatest defect of communal representation, one which is fatal to the growth of Indian nationality and self-governing institutions in the country, is that it makes the people think of their differences and divisions and prevents them from acquiring "the citizen spirit." As pointed out by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and as illustrated by the experience of the past few years and the state of affairs in the country to-day :

"Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur."

These are words well worth pondering over! There were not a few among the leaders of the Indian National Congress in 1916 and therefore still some leading persons amongst us to-day, who hug themselves with the comforting belief that communal representation is a transitory measure in its very nature and that it will shortly give way, in some miraculous fashion, to a national system of representation. Such persons are expecting a crop of mangoes from a field of

thorns, and the words of the joint authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report ought to prove an eye-opener to them. Communal representation is like a deadly poison which once introduced into the system spreads itself over the whole organism and eats away the vitals of the body. Like the snake it has to be killed as soon as it is born; if allowed to survive, it works havoc, as it has already done in almost all parts of the country. It has killed the delicate and young plant of Hindu-Moslem Unity and has created communal tension all over the country. Those persons who were prepared to drink from the same cup are breaking each other's heads and calling each other ugly names. And in a cosmopolitan city like Calcutta we have the spectacle of bloody riots lasting for days at an end and the unholy sight of the burning of temples, mosques and Gurdwaras! Communal representation has strengthened and spread the communal mentality. Communal spirit is rife in the country and everywhere one hears of *Tanzim* and *Tablig*, *Sangathan* and *Mahabir Dals*. National organisations are withering away for lack of interest and support, but communal organisations are multiplying and attracting crowds of supporters. One by one the national leaders are succumbing to the intoxication of the communal vaccine and one does not know where the process will stop if things are allowed to drift for long.

Communal representation is, however, not only injurious to the growth of the citizen spirit and the development of self-governing institutions, it is really harmful to the progress of the community whose interests it seeks to protect. As pointed out by the authors of the report on Indian Constitutional Reforms:—

"A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security; it is under no inducement to educate and qualify itself to make good the ground which it has lost compared with the stronger majority."

Another defect of communal representation is that under it "the give and take which is the essence of political life is lacking. There is no inducement to the one side to forbear, or to the other to exert itself. The communal system stereotypes existing relations". On the other hand, under a system of common electorates there is chance for the development of good-will, toleration towards each other, friendly feel-

ings and relations, regard for each other's wishes, desire to study each other's needs and effort to please each other. There is an opportunity, at any rate, for the growth of the citizen spirit, which, as has been shown above, is so essential for the development of self-government in the country.

However, there is one fundamental point, which is almost always ignored in controversies on the subject, and to which I wish to draw special attention. Communal mentality has got so tremendous a hold over us that we cannot imagine a sphere where there are no divisions on communal lines. Because differences of religion have been made the basis of social and other distinctions we have taken for granted that they must also be made the basis of political representation. If differences of religion matter so much in other spheres they must matter in politics as well! And drugged with this mentality we have never made any serious effort to find out what exactly are our communal differences in politics. My conviction is formed after careful study—that in politics, in things that matter in politics, our differences do not fortunately run on communal lines; and it is only our communal mentality that is playing costly tricks on us, which has created a sort of mirage before our eyes and which makes us see differences where there are really none!

Let us examine the differences among Indians on important political questions, say on the need and kind of self-government, on the need for state help to industry and agriculture, on the maintenance of law and order, on the desirability of the Indianisation of army and other public services, on the questions of tariffs and transport, on educational development in the country, on matters sanitary and a host of other questions that come up for decision before the Legislative Assembly or a provincial Council. I make bold to assert that on none of these opinion is divided in the country on communal lines. And I cite the pages of the proceedings of the Indian Legislative Council and the Assembly in support of my statement. There are, however two, questions which are generally put in a different category :—(i) the question of the distribution of loaves and fishes and (ii) the measures dealing with the peculiar problems of a particular community, like the abolition of *Sati*, the legalising of widow re-marriage,

management of the *Gurdwaras*, etc. Even in regard to these I submit there is really no communal difficulty.

(i) The question of the services—of the distribution of positions and privileges—is no doubt a ticklish one. Self-interest and greed often make persons blind and unreasonable. They care little for self-contradictions provided they gain their narrow selfish ends. Those who regard caste distinctions of the type prevalent in South India monstrous, inhuman and barbaric, for selfish ends of their own, begin to justify the Class Areas Bill in South Africa! Those who wax eloquent at the injustice of excluding capable Indians from higher positions in the country on grounds of race and colour and clamour for giving equal opportunities to men of all races and shades of colour, for selfish purposes of their own begin to advocate the filling of all posts on communal grounds! When it suits their purposes they make efficiency the basis for constituting the services but when it does not satisfy their greed they give a back place to efficiency and put community in its place! Communal greed has really made us so blind and unreasonable that we care very little for such self-contradictions. And we have pushed matters to such ridiculous length that even admissions to schools and colleges are being regulated on communal lines. The zeal displayed by persons like Sir Fazli Hussain in affording educational facilities for their co-religionists is indeed admirable, but the methods used are abominable. If one medical college or one public First Grade College is insufficient for the needs of the province, to make provision for another one is not only right but noble, but to keep out a superior student, simply because he belongs to a particular community, and to make room for an inferior student of another community is, to say the least, unjust. Educational and other opportunities for full development ought to be provided for children and adults of all castes, creeds, communities, colours and races, and positions and privileges distributed on the basis of merit and efficiency. Such is the principle found by experience in the various parts of the world to be most just, reasonable and best suited to the interests of country and humanity. It has only to be applied to the case in point—the services question in India—and the whole difficulty disappears at once.

(ii) The other matter is a less difficult

one. And there is really no controversy on the point. Every one realises that the Assembly will be guided by enlightened opinion of the particular community in matters affecting that community alone. And in purely religious and social matters a composite state cannot afford to take the initiative or to have a positive policy of its own, except that of perfect neutrality, impartiality and toleration.

IV

After reading the defects of communal representation which are so clearly and in such a masterly manner described in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report one is strongly tempted to ask : Was it then to kill the budding spirit of Indian nationality and to give no chance to the development of self-governing institutions in the country that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford recognised the principle of communal representation and made it a part and parcel of their scheme of reforms? And it becomes very difficult for one to answer the question in the negative, especially in view of the following lines written by them by way of anticipation :—

"The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted."

In any case, one cannot help regretting that the authors of the Report and our guardian, the British Parliament, were not strong and wise enough to say no to all representations for the recognition or extension of communal representation. As to the reasons given by the joint authors for their inconsistency, it is not necessary to say much, except that it is a case of adding insult to injury. With what ingenuousness do the joint authors ask :

"How can we say to them (the Muhammadans) that we regard the decision of 1909 as mistaken, that its retention is incompatible with progress towards responsible government, that its reversal will eventually be to their benefit, and for these reasons we have decided to go back on it?"

At any rate, let us hope that the authors of the next report on Indian Constitutional Reforms will have the courage to tell the truth to any community that is still short-sighted enough to ask for special representation for itself and that the results of the actual working of communal representation

since 1920 would have made the people of India wise and strong enough to refuse to have anything to do with any scheme of reforms which is based on the evil system of communal representation.

Since the point has been raised in the present-day controversy on the subject, it may be mentioned in passing that even the authors of the Montford Report did not feel pledged to support the Muslim claim for separate representation in provinces in which the Muhammadans were in a majority. They wrote :—

"But we can see no reason to set up communal representation for Muhammadans in any province where they form the majority of voters."

And to grant them special representation in provinces like Bengal and the Panjab and to ignore the claims of the Hindu Minority therein was not only wrong but very unjust.

Favouritism with one is almost always sure to lead to injustice with others.

V

In the Western World two principles are fighting for ascendancy in connection with representation. The group principle is making strong assaults on the supremacy of territorial representation. In India economic groups are still nebulous and unorganised, though certain religious, social, socio-economic, educational and commercial groups are becoming important and deserve separate representation. But still the territorial interests are overwhelmingly great. Land is still the chief asset of the people. The Indian is still very much of a fixture to the soil and is averse to migration. Under these circumstances representation must be based very largely on the territorial principle. On the other hand the organised group life must be given its due share of representation. And the religious groups, as groups, as organised entities, should be given representation in the same way as a University or a Chamber of Commerce is represented at present. As stated above, the legislative assembly should be the nation in miniature and if religious groups exist in the country they should be given proper representation. I recognise the necessity of representing the religious point of view in the Indian legislatures at the present time—as so-called religion plays a very important part in the life of our people. With the modernisation of India religious groups will cease to be

as important as they are to-day, then their representation can be reduced or even done away with. But as long as they continue to exist as organised entities and play an important part in the life of the nation, they have a right to be represented on the legislatures.

VI

It is thus a combination of territorial and group representation, with the territorial in the ascendance, that seems best suited for India at the present stage of its development and which offers a rational and scientific solution for the communal difficulty which is dominating the situation to-day. There is one other point that needs mention in this connection: it is the division of constituencies into urban and rural as has been done in some provinces in India, as, for instance, in the Punjab. Representation of Agricultural and Industrial interests as such is perfectly legitimate and a provision has already been made for their representation in the above scheme in connection with group representation. But to divide the neighbouring people, and to link together men totally unknown to each other as has been done in creating the urban and rural constituencies in the Punjab is absolutely unjustifiable. In some cases specially, urban representation is reduced to a farce, as for instance, in the case of the urban Sikh constituency. How can one person know the needs of voters situated as far apart as Ambala on one side, Rawalpindi on the other and Lyallpur on the third? And what are the points of contact after all between, say, the voters of Amritsar and those of Lyallpur town? And how troublesome and expensive an election campaign is bound to be in such a case? And who are after all the representatives sent from the rural constituencies? Are not several of them town dwellers, and some of them even members of that much-derided class, the Indian lawyers? And are the money-lending Zamindars greater friends of the rural population than some of their own relations working, may be, temporarily in the neighbouring town? Under such circumstances one cannot wonder that a British publicist accused the Punjab Government of gerrymandering!

In any case, it is earnestly hoped that when the system of representation is revised in the near future, this unnatural and unfortunate distinction between urban and

rural constituencies—in a country, where few towns have any urban life or peculiarly urban interests to protect and where there is little danger of agricultural classes being in a minority—will be removed and each province will be divided into more natural and rational constituencies.

VII

The work of dividing the country into constituencies is a very important, difficult and a delicate one, and one which must be performed with a due sense of responsibility and honesty. Unfortunately, an electoral system admits of manipulation and a government, if selfishly inclined, may arrange the seats in such a way as to place its opponents in an unfavourable position. This process of manipulation is known by the name of "gerrymandering"—an expression which originated in America, where this evil was greatly prevalent at one time. On the other hand, democratic principles require that the electoral system should be such as "to enable the legislative assembly to embody the opinions of the majority and the minority on the great issues of public interest," and to connect the voters in a real and living manner with the government in power.

It is held by several eminent writers on the subject that the electoral areas should be large, each returning not one but several members; so that minorities may receive adequate representation. There are some among them who would make the constituency as large as an Indian province or a small country like England, so that even a small and scattered minority may act together and poll enough votes to return a member. Large, multiple-member constituencies have been gaining popularity in recent times in the West. And in order to make them useful for minority representation various methods like those of limited and communal voting, or the two types of proportional representation—have been devised. The one which is favoured most at present is the system of proportional representation of the single transferable vote type.

Opinion is divided among experts as to the merits of proportional representation. Those who favour it stress the importance of giving representation to minorities and making the assembly a nation in miniature in the true sense of the term. Those who oppose it emphasise the necessity of maintaining the

two-party system intact and the need of preventing the growth of too many groups in the legislature. And for this purpose they favour the division of the country into small constituencies, each returning one member only.

It is not necessary to deal with all the merits and demerits of the system of proportional representation here, because, the system is, in any case, unsuited to Indian conditions of the present day. It is too complex a system to be worked in the present ignorant condition of the country. Even in advanced Western countries it places the voters at the mercy of party organisers and diminishes materially the civic interest of the voters. At any rate, for a considerable time to come, the Indian voter will not be in a position to understand the complicated nature of the system of proportional representation, much less will they be able to use it correctly and independently. On the other hand, the system of small, single-member constituencies is very well-suited to the present conditions of the country. It is simple and easily comprehensible and can even be used by illiterate voters. What I value most in small, single-member constituencies is the opportunity of knowing the candidate for election in a genuine way by the voters and that of knowing the real need and wishes of the voters by the candidate. And there is the further chance of keeping

a close and personal relation between the candidate and the voters after the election. It is only by keeping up the close personal relation that representative government can be made truly democratic. If the large size of the constituency makes the maintenance of such close personal relationship impossible—if the member is neither well-known to nor very familiar with the needs and wishes of the people—the government of the country ceases to be democratic or according to the wishes of the people. But if along with the opportunity of maintaining a close personal relation, the voters are given a restricted right of recall, the danger of the representative going against the wishes of the people or that of the assembly getting out of touch with public opinion can be almost altogether eliminated.

VIII

A scientific study of the problem of political representation in India thus leads to the conclusion that the present system of communal electorates with the invidious and unnecessary distinction of urban and rural constituencies should be discarded and a system of small, single-member, common (non-communal), territorial constituencies, tempered with a certain amount of group representation, including that of the organised religious groups, be adopted in its place.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

The Pedigree of a Javanese Queen

In the Nalanda copper-plate of Devapala (Hiranda Shastri, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-27 and plates; and N. G. Majumdar, *Monographs of the Varendra Research Society* No. 1, pp. 1-31) there occurs the following account (verse 30) concerning the queen of Samaragravira of Java :

राजः सोमकुलान्वया सद्गतः श्रीवर्षे से ती सुता
तस्याभूद्वानसुजोऽयमक्षिषौ तारेव ताराद्वया ।

This I formerly translated as : "The lady named Tara who was like Tara (Goddess) herself, a daughter of the great king Varmasetu of the Soma lineage became the chief Queen of that lord of the earth." But I now propose to substitute in the place of 'the great king Varmasetu of the Soma lineage' the following : 'that great king who was the very dam of the (riverlike) Varman family and belonged to the Soma lineage.' In the compound 'Varma setu' the word 'Varman,' which denotes some family bearing this name is evidently conceived as

a powerful stream for whose restraint or preservation a dam would be a great necessity. The king, for whom this epithet has been employed, is thus represented as the main support of the Varman family to which he belonged.

From the above passage it is clear that (1) the father of queen Tara was a king; (2) that he belonged to a Varman family; and (3) that he was born in a line known as the 'Somakula'. These three points, as also the fact that the Javanese queen lived about the 9th century A.D., which is the approximate date of Devapala, a contemporary of her son Balaputradeva, are probably sufficient to connect her father with the dynasty ruling over Cambodia in this period. For kings of that dynasty bore the surname 'Varman' and most of them traced their pedigree to Kaundinya and Soma or styled themselves as belonging to the 'Somavamsa' (R. C. Majumdar, 'Indian Colonisation in the Far East,' *Proceedings, Madras Oriental Conference*, 1924, p. 343). One of the greatest kings of this dynasty, Jayavarman II, who ascended the throne in 802 A. D. 'hailed from Java (Malay Peninsula)' and was a Buddhist, at least in the beginning of his reign, (Finot, 'Hindu kingdoms in Indo-China,' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1925, pp. 614, 615-16). The passage in question, therefore, very probably refers to the matrimonial relationship existing in the period between the Varmans of Cambodia and the Sailendras of the Malay Peninsula. I am not aware whether this suggestion has been already made by any other scholar. In any case I take this opportunity to publish my views in the hope that those who are better acquainted with Far Eastern Archaeology may be able to throw fresh light on this important passage of the Nalanda copper-plate.

N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

Media of Instruction in the United Provinces

You have done a piece of useful service in drawing attention, in the current number of your journal, to the hardship caused to non-Hindustani Communities in the United Provinces, by the proposal to insist on Hindi or Urdu as the medium of instruction and examinations in the High Schools with effect from the year 1929. There are many institutions affected adversely by this decision and I enclose a copy of a representation I have sent to the Board of High School and Intermediate Education on behalf of the Bengali-Tola High School, Benares City, of which I am President. Nearly 75 p.c. of the pupils of the institution have Bengali as their mother-tongue and in accordance with the new rule, they will be compelled to study and answer examination papers either in Hindi or in Urdu. Owing to the presence of great centres of pilgrimage in the Provinces, like Benares, Prayag, and Ayodhya, a number of non-Hindustani-speaking Hindus have settled here and if they cannot have the privilege of having their own mother-tongues recognised as the media of instruction and examination, they can at least be allowed to continue to use as at present English, which they have to learn in any case. The study of additional languages besides the mother-tongue, English and

sometimes also Sanskrit, is not a very educational proposition.

P. SESHADRI,
President, Bengali-Tola High School, Benares City.

From

Prof. P. Seshadri, M. A.,
President, Committee of Management,
Bengali-Tola High School,
Benares City.

To

The Secretary,
Board of High School and Intermediate
Education, United Provinces, Allahabad.
No. 190

Dated Benares, the 26th April 1926

Sir,

On behalf of the Committee of Management of the Bengali-tola High School, I have the honour to request the Board to exempt this institution from the operation of the rule making Hindi or Urdu the medium of instruction in all recognised Secondary Schools with effect from 1929.

The Bengali-Tola High School was founded so far back as 1854, to meet the educational requirements of the local Indian community. Ever since that time, the school has scrupulously avoided any kind of exclusiveness and has opened its doors to all, irrespective of race and nationality, so that on its rolls boys of all provinces have always found a place. But having regard to the situation and the surroundings of the institution in the City Bengali pupils have always also formed the majority. In fact, at present they constitute 74 p.c. of the total number. The introduction as required by the Regulation of Hindi or Urdu as the medium of instruction in classes IX & X will prove seriously detrimental to the interests of the Bengali pupils and mar the educational progress of the Bengali community here.

Having regard to the special circumstances in which the Bengali-Tola School is placed, I am compelled to request you to allow us to employ English as the medium of instruction in classes IX & X (and also as the medium of examination at the High School Examination. In fact, any other course will render the work of the school impossible.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,
Sd. P. SESHADRI,

President, Bengali-Tola High School,
Benares City.

Marriage Customs of Kadva Kunbis

An article on Kadva Kunbis and their awkward marriage customs has appeared in the January issue of the *Modern Review* of the current year. It contains some misunderstandings or mistakes. The total population of Kadva Kunbis amounts to about 14 lacs. They are found in Gujarat, Kathiawar, Nimad in Mewar, Yevla in Nasik District, Central provinces and Aurangabad. Their Chief occupation is farming but some of them

are tradesmen, artists, industrialists and mill-owners. Up to Samvat 1966 (1910 A.D.) the date for marriages was announced, every ten years, from the temple of Goddess Uma at Unza. But after that year the system is being reformed and day by day the system of one-day-marriages is dying out. In Samvat 1966 one couple was married on a day other than the one declared by the Goddess, with the result that the marriage season lasted for 2 months—Vaishakh and Jaistha, in that year. Three years thence (i.e. in 1913 A.D.) one girl was married in Sardhav, a village in Kalol Taluka of Kadi Prant in Baroda State. R. B. Govindbhai Hathibhai Desai, the then Suba of Kadi Prant (Nayab Divan of Baroda State at present) and the police Superintendent Mr. Rupshankerbhai attended the marriage. After that marriage every year marriages have been taking place in villages as well as in cities. On the last 'Vasant Panchami' two couples of high families of Ahmedabad (who took the leading part in announcing and receiving the date of marriages declared from Unza) were married. In Kathiawar also such marriages have been performed. Thus

marriages are being celebrated on any day of the year. And there seems no possibility that the date for one-day-marriages will be announced from the temple of Goddess Uma in the ensuing years of Samvat 1986 (1930 A. D.).

His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda has appointed a commission to enquire into the 'Child Marriage Prohibition Act' and to readjust it. Many educated members of our community (Kadva Kumbis) and certain institutions, such as Kadva Patidar Hitkarak Mandal, have recommended to the commission to make the Act more strict, to give such defaulters some physical punishment above fine and to sentence the priest and the persons who partake in the marriage. Also they have recommended that the persons who announce the date from Unza should be punished with rigorous imprisonment. From the above facts one can see that the custom of one-day-marriages has been removed and marriages take and will take place as in other Hindu communities on dates suitable to both the parties.

Ahmedabad

HIRALAL VASANTDAS MENTA

GLEANINGS

Why do we Weep ?

Weeping is fundamentally an expression of helplessness, we are told by Cecil E. Reynolds of Loss Angeles, writing in *The Journal of Neurology and Psychopathology* (Chicago). Tears were originally



"NORMALLY, INFANTS YELL"

They "come into the world to weep, and not to laugh at the streaks of sunrise"

a response to fatigue or irritation, impairing one's ability to act : but they are now an elaborate counterfeit developed in the course of ages. He presents this theory in the following terms :

"Weeping is primarily egoistic, whereas laughing is normally social and altruistic. Infants come into the world to weep, or at least with that facial expression, and not to laugh at the streaks of sunrise or flickers of a tallow candle. Also, normally, they yell vociferously. We are not, for the moment, concerned with the yell, but we are deeply interested in the facial expressions which suggest tears. Physiologically, the facial expression is adapted to protecting the eyes against irritation and stimulation as well as against increased tension (according to Darwin), and the tears (if and when they make their appearance) to wash away irritants from within the lids, and to moisten the cornea. Now in the lower animals, such as the dog, excessive lachrymal secretion is indicative of (1) fatigue, especially from prolonged vigilance on behalf of the pack; (2) certain diseased states; (3) foreign matter within the lids. All of these conditions are disabling from the hunter's view-point, and also of temporary duration. Especially is fatigue common to all members of the herd at times, and the presence of lachrymation is probably the first indication to the herd that one of their members is on the verge of exhaustion, and needs relief and forbearance. Now, what holds good for the dog and wolf pack should also hold good for our anthropoid ancestors, who were also gregarious, aggressive hunters, almost certainly carnivorous. It may be remarked, too, that in yawning, even without forcible closure of the eyes, tears may be produced at times—a fact which suggests a central origin for the phenomenon and lends some support to the 'fatigue' theory here outlined.

"Hence it appears that a function of the nervous system, originally intended as a response to physi-

cal disorder, has gradually evolved into an expression of psychological helplessness."

markable intelligence and sympathy; his songs have been rewritten for him by celebrated poets in order that they shall be of literary merit.

Literary Digest

Highest Paid Chinese Actor

In the Chinese theater the play is essentially the thing and nothing is on the stage that does not directly contribute. But decoration becomes an essential owing to the national disposition to symbolism and this is a rather curious fact in a country where the stage has no scenery. Their theater is not imitative and therefore a landscape or an interior is created for an audience by suggestion; by emotion, and it must be confessed of the theater habitue of to-day by drama tradition.



A PROSPECTIVE CELESTIAL VISITOR

Mei Lan-fang, one of the highest paid actors in the world, who is reported intending to visit and play in America

Mei Lan-fang, a Chinese young actor is finding favor with a group of literary men and a discerning theater public in Peking. Altho his celebrity has developed since the fall of the empire nine years ago, the plays in which he appears and the manner of his acting belong to the Imperial Stage tradition. Mei Lan-fang limits himself to about twenty plays and presents each role with re-

"Force" China's Only Way

By force alone can China obtain what is due to her, it is now claimed, and this is said to prove



IT'S A LONG WAY FROM SHANGHAI TO CHINATOWN, NEW YORK

But the Chinese Nationalists in Manhattan and in other sections of this country seem to have the same strong opinions as their fellows in China,

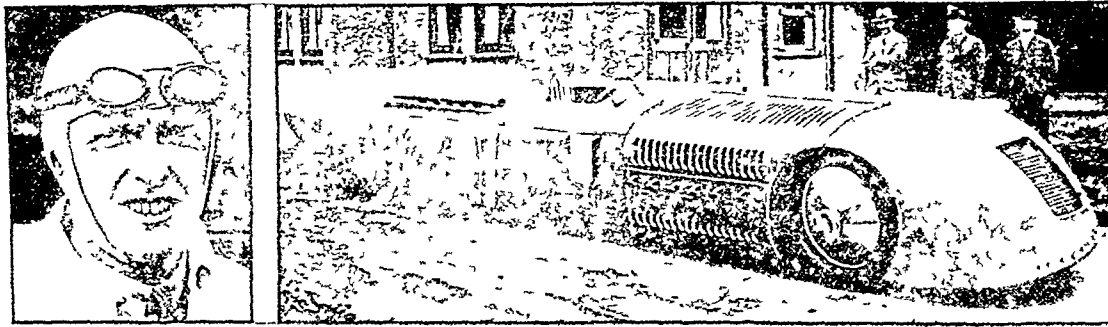
what a failure Western diplomacy has been in China, just as it was previously in Japan. Yet by "force" in China is not necessarily meant military force, we are told, but "force" as exerted through the political and economic boycott and through mob action.

Motoring Two Hundred Miles an Hour

No man ever traveled on the surface of the earth any where near so fast as did Major Segrave on Daytona Beach. His official speed of 203.79 miles an hour beats the previous record by forty-seven miles, and his instruments showed that at times he was going at the rate of 211 miles.

WINNERS OF THE BATTLE OF SPEED (World Records)

Airplane, Bonnett, France	278.48 miles per hour	F ¹
Motor-car, Major Segrave	203.79 " " "	
Railroad, Plant System in Florida	120 " " "	
Motor-boat, Maple Leaf, English	80 " " "	
Destroyer, U. S. S. Cole	43.75 " " "	
Running horse, Roamer, American	1 mile in 1 min. 34 1/2 sec.	
Trotting horse, Peter Manning, American	1 mile in 1 min. 56 3/4 sec.	
Running man, P. Nurmi Finland	1 mile in 4 min. 10.4 sec.	

THE FASTEST DRIVER AND MOTOR-CAR IN THE WORLD—(*Lit Digest*.)

A Pallava Relief: Durga

Goddesses, perhaps with the exception of Usas, the Dawn, play a very unimportant part in Vedic mythology, where we find little more than a naive



Durga-Mahisamardini. Singasari, Java
13th century
Ross Collection

the mythology of mediaeval Hinduism, on the other hand, goddesses are of great importance, even outnumbering the masculine deities. Perhaps this difference is to be associated with the patriarchal character of Aryan, the matriarchal character of Dravidian culture. We do not know very much in detail about the native goddesses at a very early period, except that they included types of beneficent powers of fecundity and prosperity, as well as malevolent demons. In the development of theistic and devotional Hinduism all these feminine powers could be and gradually were, incorporated into a consistent theological scheme as manifestations of one goddess, who is either Herself the Supreme Power (Energy) or the power (energy) inherent in a male deity. As Power, the goddess (Devi) is called Sakti (Energy) her manifold forms Saktis; and from this word is derived the adjective *sakta*, designating the cults of the Great Mother and feminine powers characteristic of Tantrik Hinduism. Thus in her own right the Devi is the Absolute in action, manifestation, and variety; Nature, in all her multiplicity, violence, and charm, dispensing impartially birth and death illusion and enlightenment. In relation to a particular cosmic deity, such as Siva, she is, in a popular sense, his wife and also in specific forms engages in activities on behalf of gods or men; and this relation and these activities form the theme of innumerable Pauranik legends.

No form of the goddess is more devoutly worshipped than she who is known as Durga ("Inaccessible") Camunda, Candika, Candi, Katyayani and as Kālī or Mahakālī, the "Dark one" or "Great Dark One." This Kālī is at the same time the Great Mother, lovingly adored, and a dread power delighting in death and destruction, and even in human sacrifice: as Bhavani in the days of *thug* (thuggee), the patron deity of robbers and murderers.

To Durga is attached one of the best known of Pauranik legends, that of the slaying of the Asura (demon) Mahisa, whence she is known as Mahisura-mardini. As such she is often represented both in sculpture and painting in a fierce many-armed form, engaged in victorious conflict with the demon, whose natural form is that of a buffalo, but who, at the point of death emerges in human form from its severed neck. Of this type the Museum already possesses (Ross Collection) a fine example of late Javanese origin.

In another type she is represented more

tendency to provide each god with a wife: for e. Indra with Indrani. In the popular non-
cults, which provided the greater part of

precisely, though still armed and many armed standing upon the severed head which serves her as a pedestal. It is of this type that the Museum has just acquired, through the generosity of Dr. Denman W. Ross, a magnificent example of seventh century date and South Indian origin.

The sculpture, in the usual dark coarse granulate of the South, is in very high relief; it is weathered in parts as though by sand erosion, and lacks one arm, but it is otherwise well preserved and may well be regarded as the most important example of Indian sculpture in the Museum. The goddess is eight-armed and stands, as already mentioned, on the severed head of the buffalo. The figure is balanced on one hip (French, "hanché") the other leg being bent at the knee and slightly advanced the body "swayed." The lower right (normal) arm originally a separate piece of stone attached by two iron rivets is missing; the hand was originally raised, probably in the *abhaya hasta* pose (of encouragement to the worshipper), possibly in the *tarjani hasta* pose of threatening the enemy. The remaining arms on the right bear the sword (*khadga*), dart or arrow, discus (*cakra*) and trident (*trisula*). The lower left (normal) hand is held gracefully on the hip (*katyavalambita hasta*) the others hold a shield (*chakaka*) conch, (*sankha*), and bow (*dhanus*). Behind each shoulder appears a quiver. The goddess wears a narrow breast band (*sthanottariya*) and a *dhoti*, the latter hardly perceptible; a crown (*karanda mukuta*) elaborate, girdle, and other usual jewelry.

It may seem rather curious that Durga, or Mahakali, should often, as in the present case, be represented as carrying the two distinctive weapons of Vishnu (discus and conch), in addition to those of Siva, of whom the trident is especially characteristic, and with whom she is more closely connected. But this is often explained by the story as related in the *Vamana Purana* where it is stated that when Katyayani came forth to do battle all the great deities lent her their weapons—Siva his trident, Vishnu the discus and conch, Varuna the noose, Agni a dart, Vayu a bow, Surya a quiver and arrows, Kala a sword and shield, and other gods various arms and ornaments. It may also be observed that in the *Devimahatmaya* of the *Markandeya Purana* the Supreme Devi is called Mahalakami, and all the cosmic deities, both male and female, are derived from her. In the *Suprabhedagama* the goddess is called the "dear younger sister of Vishnu." In any case, in the last analysis the relation of Vishnu with Siva becomes very close, and it will not be forgotten that a well-known conception (*Harihara*), often realized in images, unites in one figure the forms of both.

In South Indian structural Saiva temples of various dates the image of Durga standing on the buffalo's head, as described above, usually occupies a niche on the outside of the north wall of the main shrine: an example to be seen at the Pasupati (Siva) Kovil, Tanjore District, of perhaps ninth century date. It is possible, of course, the figures (of which other examples are known) may have accompanied our relief. Other examples of Cola and later date are to be found at Srimushnam and Dharasuram, and on the outer wall of the well-known Subrahmanya temple at Tanjore.

Figures of the same type, but older in date and nearer stylistically to ours than are those above

referred to, are met with at Mamallapuram, thirty miles south of Madras, and popularly known as the Seven Pagodas; one, four-armed, on the outer back wall of the monolithic Draupadi Ratha;



DURGA Height 1 5 m.)

SOUTHERN INDIA, 7th CENTURY

Ross Collection

another, iconographically identical with our example (except that the pose is symmetrical), in the rock-cut Trimurti Mandapam.

The Pallava dynasty, to which these monuments

are due, was one of the most glorious in the history of India and Farther India. Originally vassals of the Andhras in Vengi, the Kistna-Godaveri delta (where the Amaravati stupa was completed at the close of the second century A.D.), they succeeded the former in the third or fourth century. In the sixth century they lost Vengi to the Calukyas, but extended their dominions southward to Tanjore, with a capital at Conjeevaram (Kancipuram). The greatest rulers of the dynasty were Mahendravarman I (A. D. 600-625) and Narasimhavarman I (625-645); the former, one of the greatest figures in Tamil history, appears to have introduced into the South the excavated cave temple style (Dalavanur, Trichinopoly, etc.). To him and to his successor, Narasimhavarman, surnamed Mamalla (whence the name Mamallapuram, "City of Mamalla"), are due the excavated and monolithic temples, and the great rock-cut composition of the Descent of the Ganges (Gangavatarana, formerly known as Arjuna's Penance), on the seashore at the "Seven Pagodas"; the structural temples at Conjeevaram, and the beautiful "Shore Temple" at Mamallapuram, dating from the early part of the following century. The Pallavas, originally Buddhists, had already at the beginning of the seventh century become devoted Saivas, though Buddhism survived in the South well into the Cola period. The Pallavas, too, in succession to the Andhras and Kalingas (Indians are still, in the Malay Archipelago, called Orang Kling, men of Kalinga), were the chief transmitters of Indian institutions, and art to Farther India and Indonesia (Sumatra "the Land of Gold," and Java).

Although representing a fully developed and sophisticated style, these Pallava monuments, equally significant as historical documents and as art, are the oldest extant remains of Dravidian

art; all that preceded them must have been constructed of impermanent materials. It is very easy, indeed, to recognize in the lithic forms the reproductions of the features of a fully evolved art of timber and brick construction, such as Mahendravarman refers to in the old Kancipuram pillar inscription referring to temples of brick, timber, metal, and mortar; and it is noteworthy that Primitive Khmer art, which is very closely related to that of the Andhras, Calukyas and Pallavas, is almost exclusively one of brick construction. Thus neither in construction nor in sculpture have we to do with anything that can be called primitive: the earliest monuments are classic, and establish almost all the main types of Dravidian art as they still survive. From the Pallava period onwards the tendency is towards greater and greater elaboration, and to a less and less reserved phantasy; and because most visitors' experience of Dravidian art is limited to the seventeenth century style of Madura, an impression is current that all Dravidian art is necessarily wild and extravagant. On the contrary, the earlier work, expressing an intense and militant energy, combines with this energy a serenity and tenderness, and attains an epic quality that compares favorably even with the exquisite, abundant, and voluptuous, but in the last analysis less consistent, Northern art of the Gupta period. And these qualities are to be recognized not only in the art preserved in India proper, but in the character of early Farther Indian (Khmer, etc.) art at the time when it is nearest in form to its Indian sources. The Museum is fortunate in possessing a magnificent and typical example of the classic phase of the sculpture of the Dravidian South.

(ANANDA GOOMARASWAMY in *Museum of Fine Arts, Bulletin, Boston*)

OUTLAWING WAR

In our efforts to rid the world of the war-curse, outlawry is the only road that really gets anywhere.

Our everlastingly timorous attempts to accomplish something by inches, by limiting armaments a little, by trying to make war a little more merciful, and the like, is mere futile "pottering," "tinkering," "fiddling," pulling out a few hairs from the tiger's tail or trimming down one or two of his claws. We have got to SHOOT THE TIGER. OUTLAWRY DOES IT. *Nothing else does or can.*

What could we accomplish in trying to prevent murder or arson, if both were legal? In the days of dueling and slavery there was no possibility of stopping those terrible and long-standing evils until they were outlawed. The absolutely necessary first step was to make them crimes. Then they soon disappeared. If we would stop war, we must

make it a CRIME, as we ought to have done long ago. This takes away its legal support, makes any nation engaging in it a felon and arrays all the powerful machinery and influences of law, of law courts, of recognised order and justice and of public opinion, against it. That means death.

Everything else is mere playing with the tiger—trying to tie him with little strings, as if he were a pet-lamb which we must not hurt. He laughs, snaps the strings whenever he pleases, remains exactly the same old insatiate man-eater that he has been for ten thousand years, and is ready at any moment to spring on the nations from behind any petty national quarrel in the world. Let us shoot him, in the only possible way, that of outlawry, before he devours another thirty millions of men, women and children, as in 1914 to 1918.—J. T. SUNDERLAND.

V. KHARE

(1859-1924)

By JADUNATH SARKAR

I

VASUDEV Vaman-Shastri Khare was born on 5th August, 1858, at the village of Guhagar, in the Ratnagiri district of Bombay. He belonged to a family of learned but poor and simple Brahman teachers of Sanskrit of the good old type which is now rapidly becoming extinct. Young Vasudev, however, did not take kindly to the ancestral way of life. Though naturally very intelligent and possessed of a keen memory, he disliked regular work and loved to roam about and play with the truant boys of the village. At this time he lost his father, and the burden of supporting the entire family fell upon the shoulders of his aged grandfather, Mahadev Appa. The young man acquired a good command of his mother-tongue, read Marathi books extensively, and even wrote some poems and dramatic pieces to be staged by the local amateurs on festive occasions.

When reproved by his grandfather, young Vasudev used often to stay away from the house for days together and range the surrounding hilly country or lounge about the adjoining beach watching the waves of the Indian Ocean. A small incident now turned his career most opportunely. While playing naughty pranks at the Shimaga festival, he was caught with other village urchins and a housewife poured a volley of abuse on his revered grandfather for letting him run wild. This set him thinking, and the boy left his village, walked eighty miles over the hills to Kolhapur, and set himself, though penniless, to learn Sanskrit in that ancient capital. A Brahman student is often given free board and lodging by orthodox Hindu families that can afford it, and Khare eked out his living by composing Marathi verses, for which he had a natural genius. After returning home, he was married in 1873.

Goaded by the increased want of his family, the young husband of fourteen, left his village for Satara, where he joined the home-school of the famous scholar Anant Acharya Gajendragadkar and devoted himself to Sanskrit studies, earning his bread by

writing for the local Marathi newspaper, the *Maharashtra Mitra*. In three years he mastered Sanskrit grammar, literature and logic. Next he migrated to Poona in search of work, and was taken into the New English School recently started. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, one of the founders of the school, became his friend for life, and in 1880 secured for Khare the post of Sanskrit teacher in the High School of Miraj.



Vasudev Vaman-Shastri Khare

II

It was at Miraj that Khare's life's work was done. Here he lived till death, serving the school on a monthly salary of Rs. 30, which rose to Rs. 45 after 32 years of service. One of his former pupils thus writes his impressions about him :

"As a teacher, his impressive personality and erudition at once commanded the respect of his students. His manner, though outwardly strict, was characterised by that milk of human kindness which is found typified in the Village School-master of Oliver Goldsmith's poem. The prescribed lesson, in Sanskrit or Marathi, was supplemented and diversified by his witty remarks, choice

quotations and apt illustrations. He explained the famous poets with a natural zest. Very often the students glowed with enthusiasm caught from him or were convulsed with laughter at his comic sallies. Many of his old pupils are now well placed in life and they retain the highest esteem for their beloved *Shastriboz*, as he was lovingly called."

At the Miraj High School he keenly felt how his ignorance of English placed him on a lower footing than the other teachers. Khare at once set himself to the task of learning this foreign tongue with his characteristic vigour and perseverance. Within one year he picked up so much knowledge of it that the Educational Inspector of Dharwar, who had found him entirely innocent of English at his previous annual visit, was surprised to see him using English correctly and freely next year. Khare kept up his English studies and widened his mental outlook by reading a number of works on history and literature in that language.

To the Maratha public he was best known as a poet and dramatist of rare power. He broke away from the conventions of the old school of poets, by choosing new themes, such as the ocean, patriotism, &c., and using blank verse. All his poetical works were popular, especially the *Samudra*, *Yashavant Rao Mahakavya* (epic), *Phutkal Chutke* (stray poems, 1881-1888),—the second of which is now a text-book for the B.A. students of the Bombay University.

Vasudev Vaman Khare's dramas brought him fame and some amount of money. *Gunotkarsha* (1880), which brings the great Shivaji on the stage, passed through five editions in the author's life-time. After 33 years of silence, he resumed this class of composition in 1913 and produced *Taramandal*, *Chitra-vanchana*, *Krishna-Kanchan*, *Shiva-Sambhav* (the birth of Shivaji), and *Ugra-Mangal* (this last not yet published). In several of these pieces, songs set to various tunes enchant the audience. The public patronage of the dramatist enabled the historian to meet in part the heavy cost of his twelve large volumes of historical records, which have not paid their way.

III

Popular as Khare the dramatist and nationalist poet was and still continues to be, his title to the remembrance and gratitude of posterity is his service to Maratha history. When he first went to Poona as a young

school pandit, he was thrown into the company of Sane and Modak and helped them in editing their historical magazine *Kavy-etihas Sangraha* at its start. In 1888 he published a life of Nana Fadnis, in which, however, he could not utilise unpublished records. But at Miraj his attention was drawn to the vast and unimpaired collection of old historical documents in the possession of the nobles of the Patwardhan family who had occupied places of great importance in the Maratha State in the Peshwa period. Of this family 13 members had been slain and 16 wounded in the wars of the Marathas, and many others had distinguished themselves in the civil service as well. The letters they wrote from the scene of their operations or the Poona Court, to their masters or to their relatives, form a priceless treasure of the raw materials of Maratha history.

The Patwardhan family is now divided into many branches, having their fiefs in the South Maratha country,—at Miraj (two houses, senior and junior), Kurundwad, Tasgaon, Jamkhandi. Their geographical position on the road from Mysore (under British occupation after the fall of Tipu Sultan in 1799)—as well as Baji Rao II's foolish hostility to his vassals,—made the Patwardhans court British protection for saving their patrimony. A Patwardhan was in command of the Maratha army that co-operated with the English in the last war with Tipu. (See Moore's *Operations of Little's Detachment* for many interesting details.) The Patwardhans assisted the English in the operations following the treaty of Bassein, as readers of Sir Arthur Wellesley's despatches know. Thus, their homes were saved from war and ravage, and their records have remained intact.

Napoleon I has truly remarked that in war it is not men that count but *the man*. The same truth was now illustrated in the domain of history. Khare's employment at Miraj and settlement in that town was a divine dispensation to all lovers of Maratha history.

Here was the work and here was *the man*.

Khare obtained permission from the Miraj Junior State (and afterwards the Inchalkaranji Chief) to read their papers, and seriously applied himself to the task which was destined to be his life's work. With tireless patience he made his way through these chaotic masses of old papers written in the difficult cursive Modi hand, and picked

out the writings of the makers of Maratha history,—State-papers, despatches, reports, private letters and accounts,—letters from the Peshwas or the Patwardhan officials. Khare selected the really valuable documents, transcribed them in Deva-nagari for the press, chronologically arranged them and wrote historical notes to serve as the connecting tissue and necessary introduction,—and then went to publish them. The prospect was at first hopeless. As his old pupil writes :

"He had so many other obstacles in the way of publishing this material that a man of lesser stuff would have given up the attempt in despair. At that time very few of our people recognised the importance of history, much less that of historical letters. The educated men disdained vernacular publications. The author lived at a place without a Printing Press and remote from the world of letters ; for the sake of his daily bread he had to spend the greater part of the day in drilling dull boys in Sanskrit grammatical forms. Then, there was the official opposition to the publication of these papers. He had none to help and few to sympathise with him. Above all, money was a factor too significant to be ignored."

Still, with the courage and confidence of a religious devotee, he began the publication of these select historical documents in June 1897, in a monthly magazine named *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha* or Collection of Historical Letters (printed Kurundwad.) After the fourth year, issue in monthly parts was discontinued and only complete volumes of 400 to 600 pages each were issued at intervals of one, two and even three years, according to the state of his private income, because the support of the public (and even that of the Patwardhan Chiefs) was extremely slow and meagre. The author had to meet the printer's bill for the preceding volumes from his own pocket before sending a fresh volume to the press !

However, the perseverance of this poor school pandit—whose salary never rose above Rs. 45 a month—triumphed. Before his death in June 1924, he had completed 12 volumes covering 6843 pages. And after his death, his son Yashawant published the 13th volume, bringing the collection up to 7320 pages.

The letters begin in 1739 and become

most copious from 1761, the fatal year of Panipat. It was Khare's desire to carry them on to 1802, when Maratha independence ceased in all but the name. In the twelfth volume, the actual publication of which was preceded by his death by a few months, he had reached November 1800, and his son has brought the records down to June 1802.

Khare's most striking characteristics were his systematic arrangement, judicious spirit or strong common sense, and terseness,—in all of which he presents a pleasing contrast to V. K. Rajwade. His *Lekh Sangraha* will stand as a model for other workers among historical archives and editors of documents. His introductions are most helpful to the reader and admirably concise and free from irrelevant digressions.

He retired from his school in 1913 and lived for eleven years more. But his originally robust constitution was broken by poverty, household worries and overwork. On 11th June 1924, he breathed his last, after two years, suffering from dysentery. The Poona Itihas Mandal had elected him its President for one year, and a building has been erected at Miraj in his memory.

Among his other works are the *Hari-vamsha Bakhar*, *Inchal-karanji Samsthana-ncha Itihas*, *Maloji wa Shahji*, and *Adhikar Yoga*. As a man he was truly adorable. His loving pupil writes :—

"Though for the greater part of his life he was forced to live in poverty, what Fortune denied to him was supplied by his innate contentment and simplicity. A self-respecting man, he would never stoop to abject means to enrich himself. Gifted with high brain power as he was, he never shunned hard work. He preferred silent work to platform speeches. His labours at the history of the past, did not blind him to the present, and he kept himself in touch with current literature and newspapers. He was social in his manners, and never was a man more witty and humorous in private talk." *

JADUNATH SARKAR

* Based on materials supplied by Mr. T. M. Bhat, M.A., of Shahapur (Belgaum) and Vol. XII of the *Lekh Sangraha*.

GREATER INDIA REVISITED

By KALIDAS NAG

EASTWARD HO !

IT was August, 1924. The Eastern Ocean between Saigon (Indo-China) and Singapore, normally trying for tourists, became abnormally exasperating. All the passengers in the small, old-fashioned French mail boat *S S. Donai* were keeping pace as it were with the wild dance of the waves. How every one of us got sick of the sea and dreamed, with a pathetic longing, of Land,—we the children of the soil ! I was trying to get relief by dipping occasionally into the pages of Frederic Mistral, the Peasant Poet, weaving his grand Earth epic.

“Dans le sol, jusqu’au tuf, a creasé ma charrure”.

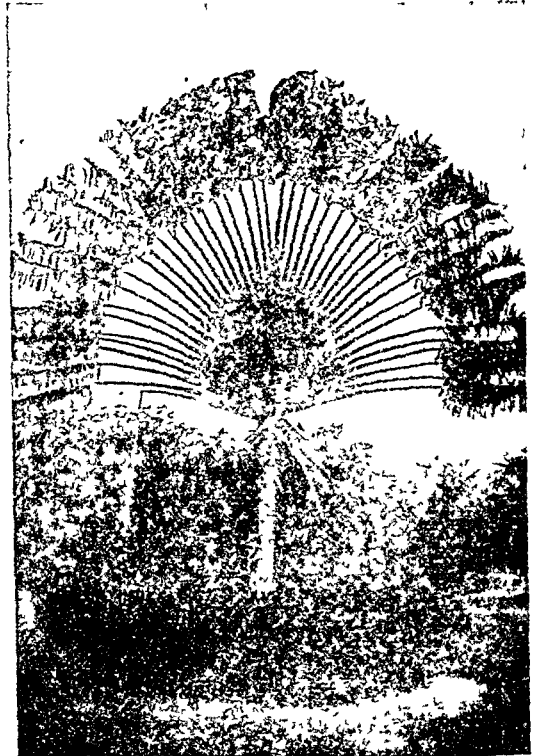
Our ‘earth-hunger’ grew in an inordinate measure. Three days and four nights of continuous voyage brought us finally to the grand harbour of inter-oceanic commerce, Singapore.

Singha-pura, the city of the Lions;—what a magic in the name evoking the memories of millenniums ! How Indian “Sea Wolves” and “Sea Lions” have roared here while passing through this gate to the Eastern ocean and have left permanently to this harbour, the legacy of their names in the native dialects of India. The son of king *Singhabahu*, becomes sick of land ; he leaves India and plunges into the unknown waters. He lands in an island which he conquers and colonises and becomes known as King *Vijaya of Sinhala* (Ceylon). The first Poet of India, the author of the Indian epic *Ramayana*, sings of the curbing of the ocean by Prince Rama and his conquest of Ceylon. Valmiki betrays another preoccupation of the Indians of yore, their dream of the Goldenland, *Suvarnabhumi*, the Indian Chersonese :

“सुवर्णभूमिकदीपम् सुवर्णोत्तर मखितम्” ।

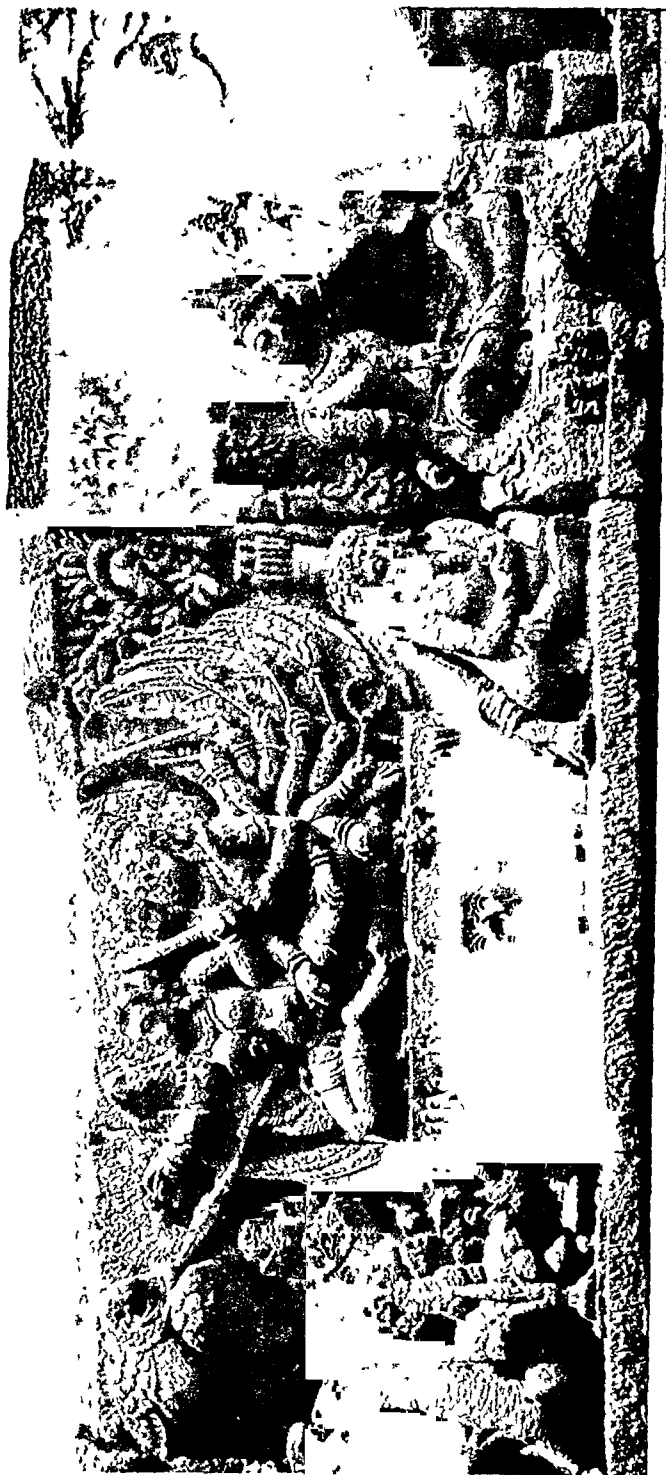
Be it Ceylon (Lanka) or Malay or Sumatra or Java, according to various schools of antiquarians, the fact remains undisputed that *Singhapura*—Singapore, is a symbol of that movement towards the sea and of that hunger for the unknown, that make up the

marvellous history of ancient Indian colonisation. This epic of the Indian Vikings, this golden legend of the Indian Eastward Ho ! Would it remain unsung and unwritten for ever ? Should we never enquire why the legends of the reign of the Emperor of Peace, Dharmasoka,

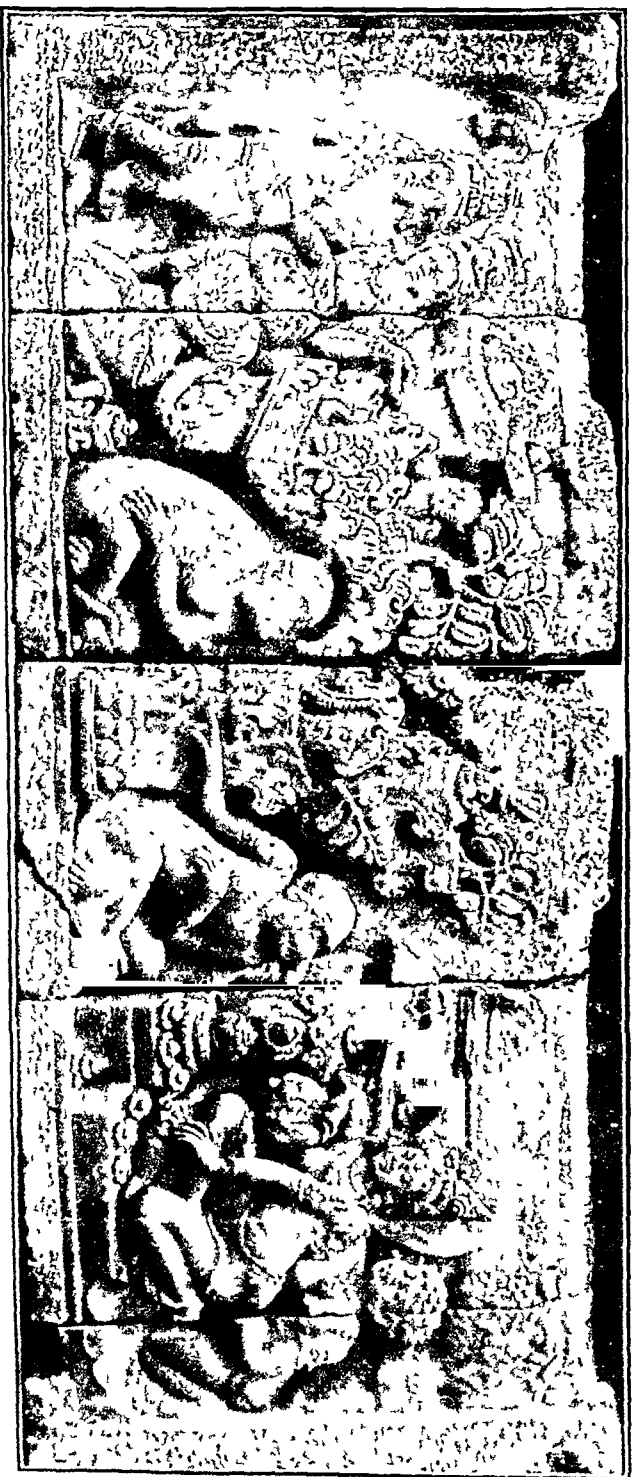


Nature's Fan. The Traveller's Tree.

tend towards Ceylon and Burma as early as the 3rd century B. C. ; how the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (64 A. D.) and the *Geography of Ptolemy* (2nd century A. D.), contain indisputable evidences of Hindu commercial and colonial activities ; how the *Yavadvipa* of the *Ramayana* is equated with *Ibadiu* of the Geographer of Alexandria and *Ye tiao* (Yap-div) sending tribute to the Chinese court in 132 A. D. (Vide Dr. P. C. Bagchi, “India and China”, Greater India



Scenes from the Ramayana.
(Left) Ravan carrying off Sita and fighting with Jatayu. (Right) Ram in sorrow for the loss of Sita.
(Prambanam Bas-Relief)



Scenes from the Ramayana
Hanuman goes to Sita in captivity in Lanka and interviews her.
(Prambanan Bas-Relief)

Society Bulletin No 2, pp. 37) ; 'how the chapter of commercial expansion was balanced by that unique chapter of cultural colonisation inaugurated by Dharmasoka and continued magnificently by the Prince Monk Gunavarman, the painter missionary of Kashmir, passing through Ceylon to Sho-p'o (Java or Sumatra) which was thoroughly converted to the faith of Fraternity (Maitri) ; and how the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien touched Ye-po'ti' (Yavadvipa) on his way to and from India in the 5th century A.D. ; how the great naval empire of Srivijaya (the She-li-fo-she of Chinese writers) with Sumatra as its base, wove India, Indo-China and Java into a grand scheme of cultural harmony, connecting the Imperial architects of Borobudur with the Palas of Magadh and Bengal and the Cholas of South India ; lastly, how the Hinduised Majapahit empire of Java continued to shape the destinies of the Malay Archipelago down to the very end of the 15th century (1476), claiming the vast expanse from Malay to the Polynesian world as the cultural domain of India, naming it as *Insulinidia* ? All these questions, together with the dim visions of the far-off empires of Champa and Kamboj which I had just left behind on my way to Java, and the shades of the cultural pioneers Kaundinya and Paramartha, Amoghavajra and Dipamkara, haunted me while I landed in *Singhapura*, the gateway to Java.

SINGAPORE, THE GREAT EASTERN GATE

But other lions are roaring here while the Hindu lions are almost forgotten, save and except in the name which still clings to this cosmopolitan harbour. My claiming descent from my great ancestors Sakya Nagasena, Gunavarman, etc., did not spare me the purgatory of the Passport Office. I had the British visa all right, but I was informed by my friend Dr. Parimal Sen of the Tan Tok Sen Hospital, who was all attention to me during my stay in Singapore, that I had better show my face before the Dutch Consul, who was the final arbiter of my destiny. Entering the dingy office, in the stuffy steaming atmosphere, I felt all my pride as a descendant of the great Hindu pioneers, dissipated into vapour. I had to offer all sorts of explanations as to why I was proceeding to Java, how long I was going to stay there, etc., etc. Thanks to my credentials and my previous visit to Holland which earned me some friends amongst the Dutch Orientalists, I managed to satisfy the

passport officers, who duly sanctioned my visit to the "Queen of the East" without paying the 200 guilders or so as *toelatings kart*, admission fee or deposit money generally exacted as a security against incorrect behaviour. I heaved a sigh of relief when my passport was regularised, although I was a bit crestfallen, thinking how History with relentless justice has written "barred by limitation" on the title deeds of my Hindu ancestors who were really the first to reclaim this part of the world from barbarism



Belles of Malay

to civilisation ; but they slept for nearly half a millennium (modest when compared with the sleep of their Gods who sleep through aeons), and I, their humble descendant, must pay the penalty for that luxury.

The penalty was not very heavy. I had to pay five Singapore dollars for the Dutch visa. Then enquiring about the ticket to Batavia I came to know that return passages from Singapore to Batavia and back would cost me 90 Singapore dollars. The steamers plying in that region, belong to *Koninklyke Paketvaart Maatschappij*—a Dutch shipping agency enjoying practical monopoly in that service. To the credit of this company it must be said that the steamers, berth arrangements, and other comforts are the very best that one can get during one's tour through the Far East. Neither the British Indian Steam Navigation Co. (Calcutta-Singapore line), nor the shipping lines of French Indo-China, both of which meet here in Singapore, can stand comparison in any way with the beautiful, clean, well-ventilated steamers of the Dutch Company. This contrast appealed to me the more sharply because I had just then had the bitter experience of travel-

ling in an antedeluvian French boat coming from Indo-China.

Before leaving Singapore I visited the nice little museum built in memory of Sir Stamford Raffles, who, during the Napoleonic wars, occupied Java for five years (1810-1815), lest that island might fall into the hands of the French. With the fall of Napoleon that fear was dissipated and Java was restored to the Dutch (1815). The British were thinking of establishing a commercial emporium in Achin, north of Sumatra; but Raffles recommended Singapore as the better site and he turned out to be a good prophet. For, thanks to Raffles, Singapore is now the very *key to the Eastern ocean*, commanding its extensive trade relations. Here the Ceylonese are jostling with the Chinese, and the Tamil bullock-cart drivers are bravely blocking the way of the up-to-date automobiles of the Westerners. Passing through the streets, looking at the huge commercial buildings and banks, I felt that slow yet mighty undercurrent of Dollars rushing under this superficial civilisation that the West has reared up here. The wealth of the East, vaster than what the epic imagination of Milton could have visualised, is passing to the Occident through this gigantic Mammon's mart, Singapore.

THE RAFFLES MUSEUM

The only cultural oasis in this desert strewn with dollars, is the Raffles Museum. The collection is made with a view to give a general idea of the fauna and flora, the geology and ethnography of the Malay Archipelago. I found specimens of dwelling houses and domestic things, weapons and implements, dress and decorations, from the various islands of the Dutch Indies. A Javanese theatre in miniature with the puppet heroes and heroines, the special musical instruments, the variegated types of masks, rich in suggestion and decoration—all gave me a foretaste of Java that was drawing me with an irresistible fascination.

In a corner I found a few things which seemed to me of great interest to the students of Indian culture history. A series of terracotta plaques with Buddhist figures in low relief, some containing religious texts in clear old *magari* character (as we find on some later Javanese sculptures), testify to the migration of north Indian (possibly Magadha—Bengal) Buddhism along this land bridge of Malay

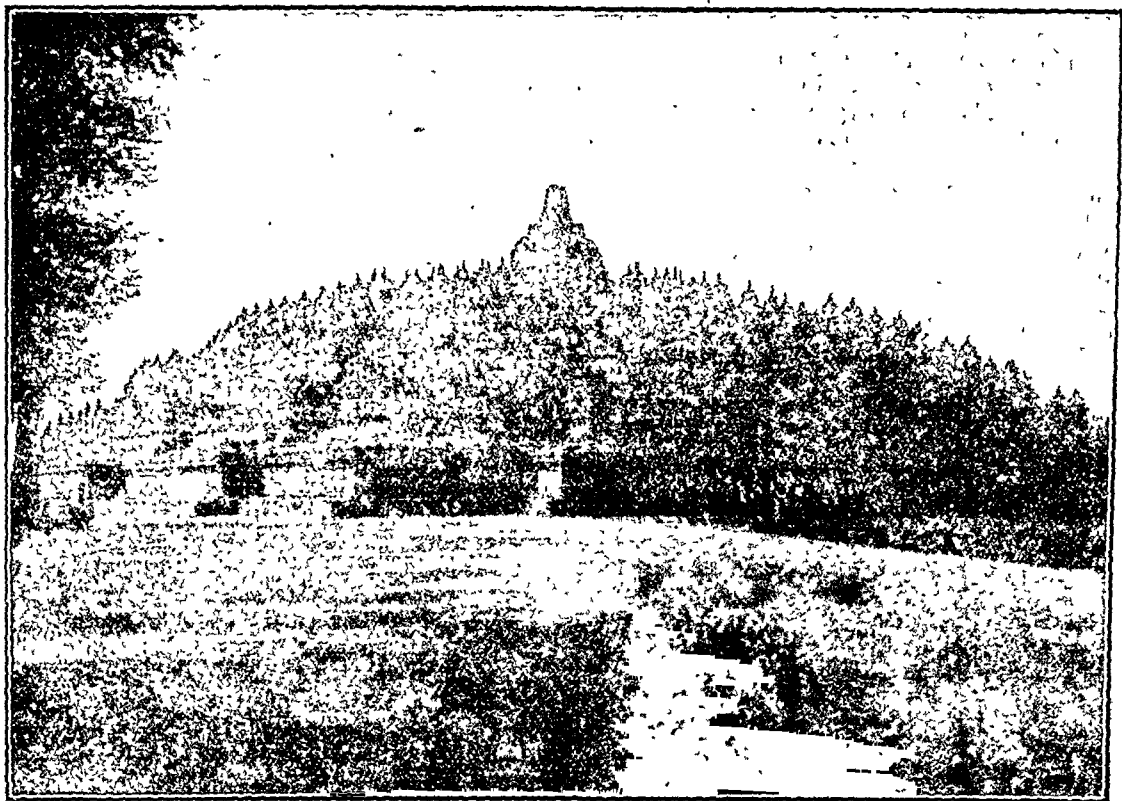
to Insulindia. Most of these things have been discovered in a cave of north Malay touching Siam. The great Dutch Indologist Prof. Kern had deciphered some of these documents and had ascribed them to the 9th and 10th century A.D. Another important relic is a mutilated pillar containing fragments of an inscription in old-Javanese (Kavi) language. It stood there as a forlorn monument of a submerged civilisation—the once glorious Hindu culture, overwhelmed by the later Islamic and Occidental inundations.

SAILING FOR JAVA

I sailed for Java on the Dutch steamer *Plancius* in the afternoon. Singapore slowly melted away in the distance. The dull gray sky and waters of the harbour were suddenly transformed with the crimson glow of the setting sun. In that mystic blending of colours I lapsed into an uncanny mood. I seemed to witness the sunset of Gods, *Le Crepuscule des dieux*, with its Wagnerian grandeur, the slow sinking of millions of Gods and heroes of the Australasian and Malay-Polynesian peoples, of the Brahmanical and Buddhist congregations—all disappearing behind the curtain of the Unknown! The ship sailed in the night and innumerable dreams kept rhythm with the palpitation of the stars.

THE ISLANDS OF BANCA AND SUMATRA, THE THEATRE OF THE SRIVIJAYA EMPIRE

The next morning we were passing through the Straits of Banca with the great island of Sumatra on one side and the island of Bangka or Banca on the other. Banca with Sumatra is rich in minerals. Gold, silver, iron ore, lead and amber are found, while tin is its chief product. Sumatra, Banca and other islands must have been explored by the early Indian adventurers, for we find very accurate descriptions of the islands in the *Ramayana* and other texts, "islands strewn with gold and silver." These were the halting stages in the onward march of the Hindus towards Java, Bali and Borneo. When Fortune smiled on every adventure of those intrepid Hindu colonists and Victory crowned them with her laurels, they founded here the great Sumatran empire of *Srivijaya*, which for nearly a thousand years maintained its proud title as the sentinel of the Southern seas, sweeping these waters of pirates and enforcing peace and fairplay. It was the Hindu kings of the Shailendra Dynasty of Sumatra



Boro-Budur

that reared up that architectural epic, Borobudur in Central Java (8th-9th century). The Sanskrit inscription discovered in Kota Kapur in the island of Banca, informs us that in 686 A. D., Srivijaya sent an expedition to Java. It was exactly then when the learned Chinese pilgrim Yi-tsing was studying Indian texts in the Sumatran centres of learning (685-689). The emperors of Srivijaya had relations with the Palas of Bengal, the Cholas of South India and the Khmer kings of Camboj. As late as the 11th century A. D., the great Buddhist reformer of Bengal Dipankara Srijnana (Atisha) went to meet Acharya Chaudrakirti in the Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra); the Sumatran schools of study were in close touch with the great Indian University of Nalanda. The power of Srivijaya was eclipsed by the great Javanese empire of Majapahit founded in 1294 by Sri Krtarajasa, which in its turn collapsed before the onrush of Islam in the 15th century (vide Dr. Bijanraj Chatterjee's "Java and Sumatra," Greater India Bulletin No. 3.)

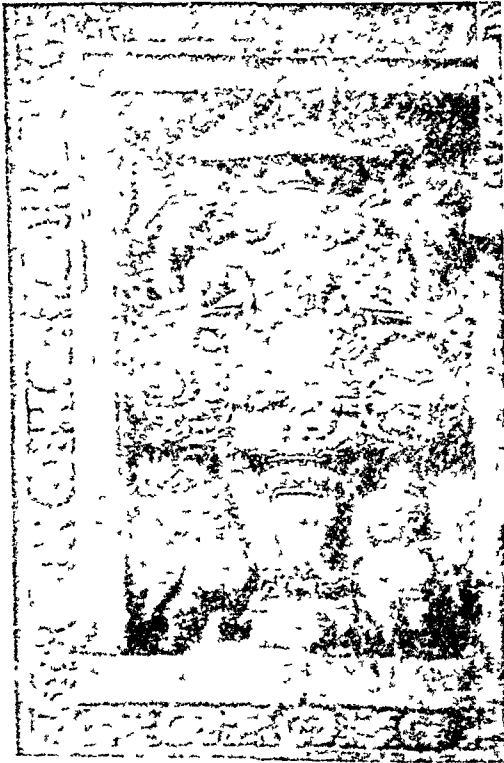
Now this area haunted by great historic

memories looks savage and deserted. The 100,000 population of Banca, shows over 50,000 Chinese, who are now dominating the whole of the Southern ocean right up to the Malay States. And Sumatra, the proud throne of the Shailendras, is covered with dense jungle. The whole day I listened to the sonorous music of desolation from the dark green forests of Sumatra, lamenting her past glories under the Hindu emperors of Srivijaya. How much of history is entombed within this sepulchre of greenery! How Nature tries to hide under the cover of her smiling forests, the ravages of Time and how Man with an uncanny instinct digs up the skeletons of his ancestral glories!

FROM SINGAPORE TO BATAVIA

Our fine little *Plancius* (6000 tons) floated from Singapore with a splendid weather. The sea was calm and placid like a pond. The *Plancius* crossed the Equator, gave us a superb view of Sumatra and Banca and brought us to Tandjong Priok, the harbour

of Batavia, in the morning, covering a distance of 532 nautical miles in 40 hours. From the harbour one can reach the city by train or by car in twenty minutes. Some friends who expected me, kindly met me on board the steamer and brought me safely to Weltevreden (well-content in Dutch) or the new city. Really it looked a well-contented metropolis with large clean streets, fine parks and sumptuous buildings. Batavia rivals Singapore as an emporium of Asiatic commerce. It is the capital of the Dutch possessions in the East—The *Nederlandsch-Indie* as it is called by the Dutchmen.



Kalpa-taru of Hindu Mythology.
A Specimen of Indo-Javanese Bas-Relief

I had the good fortune to enjoy the hospitality of Mr. Corporaal, the Principal of the Training College, "Gunung Sari." It is a "new model" school run on co-educational lines. Its fame for efficiency, order and peaceful atmosphere has attracted boys and girls from every part of the Dutch Indies. Students from east and west Java, from Bali, from Sumatra and other islands, greeted me

with their variegated native costumes and refined courtesies. At a glance I could discover the wide range of variation in features, in dresses, in gestures—a *tableau vivant* of the picturesque types of Indonesia greeting my eyes. How thankful am I that the Principal and his fellow teachers kindly arranged to keep me in the very heart of this community of Indonesian youths. How much would I have lost (as the tourists in general do) by entering an up-to-date hotel with its modern comforts !

A MODEL SCHOOL OF BATAVIA

The whole day, my first day in Java, passed away like a dream. The teaching staff, composed of Dutch and Javanese teachers, impressed me with a spirit of rare devotion and idealism. Mr. Corporaal struck me as an ideal captain ; then Mr. Maatman, Mr. Post and other Dutch scholars were splendid lieutenants, with true instincts and sympathy as teachers. The wives of the teachers were also in active service, some as superintendent of the girls' boarding, some as kitchen queens ! I was taken round the whole establishment, not excluding the washing department ; for, as Mrs. Maatman humorously said, I must be convinced that they observe Dutch cleanliness right through the institution. Really it seemed to me that I had come to a model school the like of which is rarely to be met with in India.

What intensified my joy was the discovery that our Poet Rabindranath had, from a distance, thoroughly captivated the heart of the professors as well as of the pupils. They asked me many things about the Poet and his Shantiniketan. I found here for the first time some of the Dutch translations of his works which, I gathered, were keenly appreciated. The special favourites were : *De Leerschool van den Papegaaï* (Parrot's Training) *Opvoedingsidealen* (The Crescent Moon) translated by the Javanese writer Noto Soeroto Rabindranath's "The Centre of Indian Culture" (*Het Centrum der Indische Cultuur*), has roused great enthusiasm for India in the heart of many serious-minded people.

I was introduced to the Javanese Pandit whose family name was *Shastra-viryya*. He taught the Javanese language and literature in the school and he furnished me with valuable information about the present state of scholastic learning in Java along indigenous lines. He lamented like our own Pandits that the traditional method

of study was decaying. I humorously asked if he knew the original significance of his family name शास्त्र वीर्य. He did not know Sanskrit and got a little confused. I complimented him by saying how his name paid a glowing tribute to the Indians, who believed that real strength was not in brute force but that it lay in the stored-up wisdom, the Shastras of our ancestors. Mr. Shastraviryya was highly flattered and requested me to recite a few slokas from the *Bhagavad Gita*, which I found to be the universal favourite here.

AN INDO-JAVANESE EVENING

So I had the joy of discovering the very first day of my stay in this ancient Indian colony that India still had some place in the heart of the Javanese people. I spent the afternoon describing the Shantiniketan school and the Poet's original method of teaching music and acting. I did not know that I was touching sympathetic chords and that my young Indonesian friends were preparing a most delectable surprise for me that evening. Scenting my weakness for music and drama and noticing my eagerness to know something of the famous Javanese theatre, boys and girls of the school conspired to overwhelm me with a suddenly improvised programme. I began to suspect it late in the afternoon when I found the boys running about, carrying foliage and flowers and other beautiful things towards the central *Pandapa* (Mandapa) in a corner of the spacious play ground. Then I was duly informed and taken to witness the performance. The students organised the orchestra (Gamelan), the chorus, the dance-drama, everything. They showed inborn taste and talent. In vocal music they did not show much individuality. The cosmopolitan music with imported European tunes, seemed a little queer; but the moment the indigenous orchestra, the *Gamelan*, started playing, all sense of discrepancy vanished and we felt transported to the age of classical Javanese drama. The girls were naturally shy; yet they contributed their quota by singing a few pastoral songs. There is a distinct regional character in their melodies. The Sundanese and the Balinese tunes seemed well differentiated.

Suddenly we were snatched away from our musical musings to vigorous action. The boys of Sumatra possessed the stage. They gave a splendid show of the Sumatran

dagger-duels. The most thrilling part came when one of the combatants charged furiously with a dagger while his rival,



A Javanese Mahayana Sculpture

completely unarmed, defended himself with a sureness and rapidity that seemed phenomenal. The Sumatrans enjoy even to-day a reputation for fight. A section of the

Sumatran people, those inhabiting Atchin, in the northwest, maintained their independence down to 1873, when the inevitable war with the Dutch broke out which resulted in the subjugation of the province. But the resistance offered was so strenuous that it cost 80,000 lives and £20,000,000 to the Dutch. It was only in 1908 that these people were completely subjugated. Naturally I found in the tense agile musculature and flaring looks of these Sumatran youths, vestiges of the old fire.

Then followed a comic interlude to relieve the tension. My friends explained how the boys were giving us an oral caricature of current politics, through brilliant dialogues in the cultured dialect of Central Java set against the boorish idiom of the unorthodox provinces. I was reminded of a similar *dialectal* duel between the aristocratic Castilians (of Madrid) and the upstart loud-tongued Catalans (of Barcelona) which I had witnessed in a modern Spanish comedy while I was in Madrid. The people of Central Java (Soreakarta-Jokjakarta area), consider themselves as the *Aryas* of Java, enjoying the monopoly of all refinement and artistic tastes, and their superior airs were excellently rendered, to the great joy of the audience.

A MAHABHARATA DANCE

I was convinced that the Javanese were born actors, but I did not realise how great they were in *dance* till I witnessed the representation of the *Brata joeda* (Bharatayuddha) by these amateur dancers of the school. Dancing is as natural to the Javanese as swimming to the swan. I wonder who teaches them the extraordinary expressiveness in rhythmic gestures—dumb yet so much more eloquent than the loud rantings of our

modern theatrical dialogues! The teacher, so far as I could gather, was tradition. So much the more reason for us Indians to enquire how old was that tradition and if it emigrated from India along with those recensions of the great Epics which were taken over to Indonesia by the early Indian colonists.

The episode given to us by the boys was that of the fight between Karna and Ghatotkacha during the fight of Kurukshetra. These boys, who seemed so quiet and docile in ordinary life, were transformed with an epic grandeur, the moment they donned their traditional costumes of the Heroic Age. On the one side, Ghatotkacha, the *non-Aryan* warrior with his wild and uncouth gestures, his violent methods of attack,—an incarnation of brute force, on the other side Karna, the Aryan hero, moving with grace and self-confidence, restraining passion, calm and self-possessed, yet quick as lightning, stunning his adversary with one unerring blow—without the least sign of cruelty disfiguring his noble visage—a very picture of chivalry and heroism, standing out of the pages of the Mahabharata. The whole interpretation of our Great Epic through rhythm and dance in accompaniment to the highly suggestive Polynesian orchestra, *Gamelan*, overwhelmed me with their conviction and verisimilitude. I thanked my Javanese brothers, these boy actors who are keeping up the great tradition of the dance-commentary on our Epics. How thankful should we Indians be to our friends of Greater India for this unique contribution to our Mahabharata! Throughout the night—my first night spent in Java—these dance rhythms whirled in my brain and I seemed to live again in the hoary heroic days of the Great Epics.

LETTERS FROM THE EDITOR

X

AT Vienna Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. and Mrs. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis and myself put up at Hotel Imperial. So far as I was concerned, I felt less comfortable in this hotel than in any other in Europe. Some of my requirements were attended

to rather tardily. The charges, too, were rather high.

I have already said that on the way to Vienna from Prague, Rabindranath felt indisposed. On reaching Vienna it was found that he had fever. Professor Dr.

Wenkebach, the leading physician of the city, was called in. He at once cancelled the Poet's lecturing engagements in Vienna for the time being and strongly advised him not to visit Poland and Russia in his weak state of health. So the visit to Russia was definitely given up. When he was at Berlin an invitation had come from Russia to him and his party, eight persons in all, including myself, to visit and tour in Russia, which was accepted. Passports had been obtained for the purpose from the British Consulate at Prague. As the Poet had to omit Russia from his tour programme, I, too, had to forego the advantage of seeing that most interesting country. I ought to add that, even if the Poet had not fallen ill, my own illness, which followed in the course of a few days, would have prevented me from continuing my travels.

Dr. Wenkebach is not a mere physician. He is a man of wide culture, as his conversation showed. He is a good conversationalist. In fact, he used to spend so much time in talk with the Poet that if one did not know that he was a physician having a most extensive practice, one would take him to be a man who did not know what to do with his abundant leisure. He is verging on seventy but looks younger. He confessed that he had been successful in his profession, but said he would have liked to be a poet, to have the vision of the good, the true and the beautiful. He added that his own desire had been to some extent realised in the person of a son of his who was an artist, a sculptor. "He has prepared a bust of myself," the doctor told us, adding humorously, "Even my wife says it is good!" When the conversation turned on the fame and pecuniary rewards of poets, Rabindranath said: "Poets should not have two rewards for one achievement." I am sorry I do not remember his exact words. But if I am not mistaken, I understood him at the time to mean that a poet's "vision" being in itself a sufficient blessing and reward, he need not feel dissatisfied if he had no fame or pecuniary reward. Similar dicta, though falling from Rabindranath's lips only as casual remarks in the course of ordinary conversation, impressed Dr. Wenkebach very much, leading him to dwell on the Poet's power of saying things of "tremendous significance" in the course of ordinary conversation.

One day Dr. Wenkebach gave the Poet

a comparatively big dose of some strong medicine, and expected that it would weaken him. But to his surprise, he found the next day that, though the medicine had produced its desired effect, it had not weakened him at all. So he thought the Poet's physique to be exceptionally strong. This gladdened us all.

I wanted to consult this eminent medical authority to get cured of my night sweat. He told me not to go to his clinic, as there was a long waiting list of patients there. If my name were put down at the bottom of the list, I might, he said, leave Vienna before my turn came; and if my name were interpolated somewhere near the top, the other people would get angry! So he promised to examine me at the hotel some day. And this he did, and prescribed some pills, though he could not find out the cause of my illness. He asked me many questions, two of which were, "Have you any worries?" and "Are you homesick?"! He said my internal organs were perfectly sound, but advised me to return home early. If I wanted to remain longer in Europe, I should in his opinion, spend the time in the south of France or in some other region where the climate was mild. I said I had friends in Geneva, not in the south of France. So he agreed to my going back to Geneva.

For an aural defect I consulted Dr. Neumann, who is the greatest throat, ear and nose specialist in Vienna. On the first day, when he had done what he had to do for my right ear, he suddenly thrust a lozenge into my mouth! I at first thought, was it part of the treatment? But when immediately afterwards he did the same to Mr. Prasanta Mahalanobis, who had taken me to his clinic, I understood it was perhaps meant to console me for the trouble (!) he had given me! I was amused to learn afterwards from Rabindranath that when he went to the doctor's clinic for treatment, he, too, was consoled (!) like a child in the same manner.

There are in Vienna 38 clinics for ear, nose and throat troubles. We heard this from Dr. Neumann when he came to our hotel to see Rabindranath at his request. When the Poet told him how he had in youth injured his vocal organs by excessive strain, the doctor said he had a class for teaching "voice production" or "logopedy", as he called it; and if Mr. Mahalanobis would go there for a few days, he might learn the method and tell the poet what to,

saw snow actually falling on the long black coats of the railway men. Then I had no more doubts. It was through an Alpine region that I had been passing.

As usual the train from Vienna was artificially heated. When it stopped at Zurich and after half an hour or so started towards its destination, leaving me in a through carriage to be picked up by a train going to Geneva, I remained in that carriage in the midst of the large wind-swept railway yard for more than an hour. Not being connected now with any source of heat, it soon became intensely cold. After spending so many hours in a heated carriage, to remain for more than an hour in such a cold one was not good. When I reached Geneva, it was raining, and my carriage was near that part of the platform over which there was no shed. So in alighting from the carriage and going to my hotel, which was near by, I got wet. This, added to the intense cold at Zurich, was perhaps the reason why I fell ill soon after my arrival at Geneva.

I had influenza with double pneumonia. The hotel where I was, was the same in which I had put up during my first visit to Geneva. During my illness the hotel people were very kind and obliging. My esteemed friends Dr. and Mrs. R. K. Das did all that was necessary for my speedy recovery. They called in a good doctor and engaged a nurse to remain in the hotel throughout the day and night. But the nurse could not have done much for me without the help of Mrs. Das, who, during the entire period of my illness, remained in the hotel day and night with the nurse in a room adjoining mine. This adjacent room was the hotel-proprietor's own room, which Mrs. Das prevailed upon him to vacate. If my daughters had been at Geneva with me, they could not have done more for me than Mrs. Das did. Such was her unremitting care that when she went downstairs the hotel people would ask, "How is your father?" They must have thought that one could do so much only for one's father or some such loved and honoured relative.

Rabindranath Tagore enquired of the hotel proprietor by telegraph from Vienna how I was. Mr. Rathindranath Tagore from Berlin and Mr. Prasanta Mahalanobis from Vienna made similar enquiries and helped me in other ways. I am grateful to them all for their kindness. When I was convalescent, the good doctor advised me to sail home by

the first available steamer. He is a French Swiss, and can speak a little English. When I recovered, he was good enough to say in his own interesting English, "Your heart [he meant the bodily organ] is too young for your age," and also, "You have recovered wonderfully quickly." His fee, considering his knowledge and skill and the cost of living at Geneva, was quite moderate. It was only ten Swiss francs per visit, equivalent to about Rs. 5-8.

I engaged a berth by telegraph in the Messageries Maritimes steamer *Amazon*,



The Editor on the deck of the *Amazon*

which was to sail from Marseilles to Colombo on the 5th of November, 1926. As I was then too weak to travel alone by railway, Mr. Satyendra Chandra Guha, who was carrying on researches in plant physiology at Geneva University for a doctorate, was good enough to accompany me to Marseilles. In the train I met Mr. B. C. Sen, I. C. S., who was returning with Mrs. Sen, after travelling in Europe for months, to take up his duties as Commissioner of Orissa. We knew one another by name, though we had never met and conversed before. As they were also going down to Marseilles to sail by another steamer, we had a long conversation in the train on various topics of the day, including last year's riots in Calcutta

and other places in Bengal. As befitted his position, Mr. Sen spoke with reserve. Mrs. Sen, eldest daughter of the late Sir K. G. Gupta, spoke in a way which showed that she had the high spirit of a true daughter of East Bengal. •

We arrived at Marseilles after nightfall on the 4th November. As several steamers belonging to different lines were to sail the next day, the hotels were rather full. Mr. Guha telephoned to several from the railway station with no encouraging response. At length we decided to go to Hotel Bristol, of which an omnibus was waiting at the station with a canvasser. Mr. and Mrs. Sen went to a different hotel, where they had engaged rooms by telegraph from Geneva.

Next day I went on board the steamer with Mr. Guha. As I do not know French and only a few employees of the *Amazon* know English, Mr. Guha's knowledge of French was of great use. Just before the ship steamed off from the harbour, Mr. Guha photographed me from the jetty. I had telegraphed from Geneva for a single-berth first-class cabin, but had been given an upper berth in a three-berth cabin. They had given me the upper berth in it in spite of the fact that a lower berth was vacant. However, on speaking to an officer, I was allowed to occupy this lower berth, so long as it remained unoccupied. So throughout the voyage, whenever the vessel neared some port, I was anxious lest some one should come on board to occupy this lower berth. If I had been in my usual state of health, an upper berth would not have much mattered. But as I was weak, it would have been risky to have to get up to and come down from the upper berth many times during 24 hours. This would have been necessary, because, though the cabin was a first-class one, there was not a single chair in it. One could take rest only on the bunk. The other arrangements of the ship, too, were far from being up-to-date. Only a limited quantity of water for washing was given in a bucket. There were no hot and cold water pipes and taps in the cabins. One might ring any number of times without the waiter coming. I rang one day in the afternoon many times for a cup of tea. The waiter came at length and gave me a cup of cold tea, telling me at the same time in French and with his fingers that it was 5 o'clock, and if I wanted tea on any other day I must take it at 4. It was not my habit to take tea or any thing else in

the afternoon. I took it only on that one day, and was served with unusual politeness indeed! The French are said to be very polite. I do not doubt it. But in the ship *Amazon* there was no superfluity of that commodity. The purser, or controller, as they call him, of the ship was entirely wanting in politeness. Nobody seemed in the least anxious for the comfort of the passengers. At least, that was my experience. I must here say that my fellow-passenger in the cabin, a French military officer, was very polite. He knows only one English word, "finish." He told me by gestures, when it was time to go to the dining saloon, when to sleep, etc. As there was no other Indian passenger in the first class, and as a third class Indian passenger named Mr. Balsara was rudely told by the purser on the second day of the voyage not to come to me, I was practically companionless throughout the voyage and I felt lonely and miserable, most probably because of my physical weakness. I constantly prayed for solace and strength and for faith in God's presence with me. On the 16th of November after nightfall, when it was very dark, I seemed to feel His presence.

The only respect in which the arrangements of the *Amazon* appeared to me superior to those of some other lines which I know of was that there was not the least trace of colour distinction in it. The passengers all sat at table for their meals without any distinction of race, creed, complexion or nationality.

There was a Japanese passenger on board whose ways were very amusing. He officiously introduced himself to the French-speaking passengers, who formed the majority, both men and women, and to the few English passengers also, and would hold long conversations with them. But, though on some days he sat next to me on the same bench on the deck for a long time, he did not speak to me. This snobbishness of his and his superior airs were quite amusing. But I also thought, why should people seek to cultivate the acquaintance of an inhabitant of an enslaved country? A funny little Chinese passenger came up to me one day and solemnly assured me that up to 133 years ago India was a dependency of China, and had only since then become a British dependency! He should not of course be

taken as a specimen of the educated Chinese. His pronunciation was such that it was difficult to make out what he said. But perhaps there are people in China whose knowledge of the history of India is like his. At one of the intermediate ports, on the African coast, a Bombay Musalman trader came on board with carpets, &c. I enjoyed a talk with him in Urdu for some minutes. I learnt from him that he had left home 12 years ago and was not inclined to visit India again. "I have neither father nor mother in India," said he. "I have married here, and have had children. There is British rule there, too, in India. Where is happiness to be found on earth?" That was the gist of what he said in Urdu.

At long last, I arrived at Colombo. It was still quite dark when I got up from bed in the small hours of the morning of the 23rd November and saw the rows of lights in Colombo harbour at some distance. At the suggestion of Mr. Mahalanobis, I had written to Mr. Sinnatamby of H. M. Customs at Colombo to kindly meet me on board. He did so as soon as it was possible, for which I thanked him. There was no delay or trouble at the Customs office. I found Mr. Manindrabhushan Gupta, art teacher, Ananda College, waiting for me there. As arranged by him, I was taken to the residence of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu of the Spinning and Weaving Mills. With the utmost cordiality he and Mrs. Basu did everything possible to make me comfortable. I felt quite at home with them, though I had not known even their names before we met. When I left Colombo after three days' stay with them and their two dear little babies, it was with a sad feeling as if I was leaving behind those whom I had known and loved all their lives.

The train from Colombo goes as far as Talai Mannar station. Passengers to India then cross over to Dhanuskodi in a steamer. The customs inspection on this steamer was very vexatious and inquisitorial.

The railway train stood on Dhanuskodi pier full in the sun for a long time. The

place was sandy and very hot. I felt very thirsty. But though I repeatedly asked the men at the restaurant car to give me some lemonade and ice, they simply promised but never brought me any to my carriage. Were it not for the kindness and courtesy of a panda of the Rameswaram temple, who had come to take pilgrims to the temple, I should have had to go without any drink for hours. His name is Motiram. He brought to me an aerated waters man, who served me all along the journey to Madras. Even the first-class carriages in the train to Madras are quite ramshackle; the jolting is terrible. For hours the train passes through a sandy region. So the passengers' dress, bodies, luggage and even their nostrils, throats, lungs and stomach get dusty! One had to pull up the window panes. But then the compartments became very hot in spite of the fans. This was in the last week of November. I do not know how it is like in summer. I have forgotten to say that though I had reserved my berth from Colombo through Messrs. Thomas Cook and Son and paid for a telegram to Dhanuskodi station, which I knew had reached it in time, the railway guard or some such officer was quite indifferent to enquiries as to where my berth was. He said he did not know. The customs inspection on the steamer, conducted by Indian officials, the guard's indifference, the restaurant car men's inattention to my needs—all told me plainly that I had indeed come back to my motherland, an outlander there. It was through the courtesy of a lower railway official that I got a berth. At Madura Mr. Bankim Chandra Ray, Engineer, kindly came to the train with rice, *dal*, vegetable curries, sweets, etc. I felt very grateful to him. I halted for a day at Madras with Mr. H. Bose, who is related to me. He and his family were very kind to me. I reached Calcutta on the 30th November last.

I beg my readers to excuse me for inflicting on them these rambling letters, which contain many trifling details which are probably of no interest to them.

OUR STUDENTS' INTERESTS

THIS is the season when the University examination results are declared in almost all provinces of India, and there is much sighing, wailing and breaking of hearts. A study of the "popular" newspapers on the subject might make even a cynic laugh, were it not for the fact that a tragic element is mingled with the thing. Many students and even guardians, in their ignorance, take the utterances of the daily papers—especially their favourite one, as Gospel truth. The tactics of these academic agitators is curiously alike everywhere: first a massacre of the innocents (this is the hackneyed phrase for the occasion) is recklessly predicted or even asserted dishonestly in defiance of truth after the publication of the results; the entire blame for the failure is thrown upon the University. The questions were too long or too stiff, the examiners were a set of butchers, or the Syndics were heartless outsiders without any interest in the colleges,—these are the favourite allegations. In addition, variety was added to the tale this year by a malicious attack upon Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, the first Indian *teacher-Vice-chancellor* in the history of the Calcutta University, because in this his first year the Matriculation pass percentage fell by 3 (from 57 in 1926 to 54 in 1927), though in the time of his predecessor Sir Ewart Greaves of hallowed memory and the "students' true friend," the Matriculation percentage had been brought down from 71.5 to 57—a drop of 14.5 per cent. *in one year*.

This personal issue was probably designed to blind the Bengal public to the real inwardness of our student problem. That problem is independent of personality and province. It is a question of general all-India concern. Why do our boys fail in examinations in such large numbers?

It must be obvious that our affiliating universities only examine or test candidates who have been taught by quite a different agency, namely, the schools and colleges, not one of which is financed or conducted by the university. The quality of the teaching in these institutions must decisively influence the

result of the examination, unless the examination is to be reduced to a mockery.

And the quality of the teaching depends entirely upon the teachers' pay, social standing and keenness for their work. Nothing can alter this law of Nature, though a University, if it is so ill-advised, can cook the figures that it publishes as "success" in its examinations.

In Bengal, the lot of the High School teachers has been growing worse year by year. They are underpaid, overworked, driven to eke out their scanty salaries (usually Rs. 25 to 35) by sweating as private tutors, and are browbeaten by "Management Committees" or private proprietors of schools. As the result of the fondness of school-managers to appoint only the "lowest bidder" as a teacher, Macaulay's remark about England a century ago has been verified here, and "the only qualification of a schoolmaster is that he is unfit for any other profession." (Speech in the House of Commons).

Even where competent teachers have been secured, they are sometimes irregularly paid or under-paid. Unless the guardians of our boys set themselves to reform this state of things, how can they expect better results? If we sow tares, we cannot reap wheat. The majority of our college lecturers and demonstrators are hardly better off; their pay is better—slightly better, but their wants are greater, and their status is as low, their tenure as insecure as that of the school-masters.

The evil is aggravated by the vicious practice that has crept into many of our educational institutions of cheapening expenditure and attracting pupils to the utmost, regardless of all other considerations. Class promotions are given and boys sent up for the University examinations without any testing of their fitness. In many places no "test-examination" is held, and in several it is a sham,—every student who can pay his fees is sent up for the examinations. The worst offenders in this matter are some large institutions with unmanageable roll-strength and a very easily manageable conscience. They do not weed out the unfit before sending

up candidates for the university. Nothing can be more harmful to the true interests of our boys than this policy. It keeps the student in a fools' paradise year after year, and leaves his rude awakening, when it is too late, to the axe of the university examiner. It is so convenient : all the anger of the disappointed student or his father is directed against the University, while the mercenary school or college continues to pile up fees from the deluded students as abundantly as before.

If a boy is told his special defect very early in his school course, he can try to improve himself by doing extra work in that subject (or book) and his people can keep a special watch on him by periodically marking his progress. Reform is easy at the initial stage, before the boy's particular defect has been hardened into incurability by years of neglect and ignorance of the defect. But if, on the other hand, he is promoted to a higher class as a matter of course, the opportunity of early reform is lost and the incentive to greater exertion is never kindled. Youth has a wonderful capacity for expansion and self-reform, if only we can make an appeal to it in the proper time and way, and guide its efforts. Our mercenary schools and colleges do their best to kill this capacity, because they keep our boys in the dark about their own merits and demerits and never rouse them to superior exertions on a definite line under the teacher's eyes. Is educational improvement possible, if college exercises are not made a reality ?

In scientific subjects, practical work is scamped or even avoided in several institutions. For example, Botany is taught without microscopes ! How can boys taught (?) in such money-piling shops pass even the Intermediate Examination in Science ?

The worst enemies of our student population are the political leaders who have been shrewdly exploiting the noble patriotism of our young men by turning them by the thousand

into unpaid servants for their personal glorification or ambition. We have noticed that for several months before the Council elections of 1926 and the Municipal elections early in 1927, in every ward of Calcutta the students' brigade was drilled, organised and put under requisition by designing political candidates of one particular party. They canvassed for the "leader", they organised his meetings, they packed every public gathering in order to shout down his rivals, they distributed his pamphlets, they swelled his street processions. Then, on the election day, early in the morning the boys' brigades were let loose on the town,—they took the voters to the poll, they crowded round the polling stations all the day, shouting, fighting for the voters, hurrahing *Jai ! Jai !* and at the close of the voting they led their chief's victorious procession through the streets, making night hideous. When did these blind tools of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians get any time to prepare for their examinations ?

The popular literature, cinemas and stage of the day teach that self-indulgence—the gratification of our animal impulses—is the highest expression of manhood and the mark of true freedom. Youth fed on such stuff is incapable of any earnest effort or mental discipline,—the two *sine qua non* of success in student life as recognised in ancient India as well as in the Universities of today. The inevitable result is what we see before our eyes. No jugglery by a University can make it otherwise.

These are the facts known to every observant Indian. Let the guardians of our students know who the real enemies of our boys are, however much they might camouflage their designs under a plethora of words ending in *-ism* and a stage drapery of "below 40 counts" homespun. The disease that is eating into the vitals of our youth is there. Dare we apply the remedy—or even propose it ?

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Some Indians and European Women

Madame Agnes Smedley tells us in the course of an article on "Indians in Europe," contributed to *Welfare* :—

Many Indians returned from Europe (I do not mean just England) after years of study here, as

well as many who have not even seen Europe, seem to have one idea which they continually perpetrate upon the Indian people through their letters to the press and through articles and private speech. It is that "all European women are immoral." Some add to this the statement that "European women are butterflies". And I know of one Indian woman who paid a flying visit

to Europe with her husband, who met rigidly moral, professional women, but who returned to India and wrote the same old story—"European women are immoral". Then I once met a Muslim missionary who, after a month in Germany, said to me, "All European women are prostitutes."

She records other similar false slanders of European women in general, and observes:—

I can think of a number of Indians who have studied in Europe who have known other than "women of loose characters." There is a group connected with the National Muslim University of Delhi. There are men from Madras and from the State of Hyderabad. There are some from Bengal. They have come into the same city and same environment as other Indians—but they seem to have chosen different kinds of women as their friends, than did so many others who poison the Indian public with their accumulated "wisdom" from Europe.

If loose men come to Europe looking for "loose women," they will find them. If there were but one in all Europe, they would find her. But that is no reflection upon Europe, and none upon the woman—it is a reflection upon the man to whom this is the goal of seeking.

Bertrand Russell on China

In reviewing a new edition of Bertrand Russell's book on "The Problem of China", Rev. Dr. N. Macnicol writes in *The National Christian Council Review*:—

Mr. Russell believes, he tells us, 'that all politics are inspired by a grinning devil. It is not surprising, in these circumstances, that the politics of Great Britain, of America, and of Japan in China come under his unqualified condemnation. America, having more than any other nation taken China under her tutelage, comes especially—not so much on account of her crimes as on account of her virtues—under his lash. His point of view in regard to China *vis-a-vis* the Western or Westernised peoples may be indicated by what he says of America's attitude, 'The Chinese have a civilisation and a national temperament in many ways superior to those of white men. A few Europeans ultimately discover this, but Americans never do. They remain always missionaries—not of Christianity, though they often think that is what they are preaching, but of Americanism. What is Americanism? "Clean living, clean thinking and pep," I think an American would reply. If the American influence prevailed, it would no doubt, by means of hygiene, save the lives of many Chinamen, but would at the same time make them not worth saving. It cannot therefore be regarded as wholly and absolutely satisfactory' (p. 221).

These are unjust words. It may be added—for America's comfort—that Mr. Russell gives 'pre-eminence in evil-doing' to Great Britain. The interest of the passage quoted is in the suggestion that it gives us that Western lands are in grave danger of being messengers—even in the case of the Christian missionary—of a very diluted Christianity, a religion that may be more the product, of our own inherited dispositions and

instincts and prejudices than of the mind of Christ. This is what in Mr. Russell's book gives one to think, and the book is worth reading by us all if it does so. Can we give India and China Christ without giving these lands those wrappings of 'civilisation' within which the West has through the centuries enwrapped His message?

Sankara and the Purification of Temples

Mr. T. L. Vaswani says in *The Kalpaka*:—

Of Sri Sankara I thought this morning, and I said with a heart-ache:—"O that Sankara were reincarnated in these days to save Hinduism and make it a lifting power in our national life,—make it world-dynamic."

For, Hinduism lies wounded today in the house of its own priests. Many of the Hindu temples in Sind alas! have fallen in the hands of drunkards and debauchees. Who will turn them out and bring back the Lord? Who will release the *mandirs* from the Dark Powers and bring back the White Ones? The little town of Old Sukkur, where I write these words, has set a noble example by starting a movement for the Reform of Mandirs. The watchword of the movement is:—"Purify the Temples!" Today Old Sukkur is engaged in a holy struggle to rescue a temple from the hands of a *bawa* who has usurped it in defiance of the Panchayat's decision and public opinion. Old Sukkur is fighting a noble fight for public morality and Hindu Dharma.

Mahatma Gandhi on Sister Nivedita

Commenting on the passage in *Young India* where Sister Nivedita is spoken of as a "volatile person" and "the splendour that surrounded her" is referred to, the *Vedanta Kesari* observes—

The above remarks give a very false idea of the illustrious Sister, and do great wrong to her memory. We do not question the sincerity with which Mahatma Gandhi gives expression to his thoughts. But for the sake of Truth we must point out that he has got an altogether wrong impression of the great soul that lived and died for the cause of India. Mahatma Gandhi saw very little of the real Sister Nivedita. And it is no wonder that insufficient knowledge, that is always "dangerous," would create a great misunderstanding.

Mahatma Gandhi evidently saw the Sister at the American Consulate in Chowringhee, where she was temporarily staying as the guest of some of her American friends who came to visit India about the time he met her. Neither the mansion nor the splendour with which he was taken aback were Nivedita's. Her usual "mansion" was a small, old house in a lane in a humble quarter of Northern Calcutta, where, to quote the words of an English friend, she "preferred an ascetic life to the comforts and luxuries of her Western home." And the "splendour" that used to surround her usually at the small girls' school con-

ducted by her came as a surprise to many of her visitors. Thus describes one of her lady students in a short sketch on the Sister—"The school house is far from being healthy or well-ventilated. The rooms are small and the roof very low. During the summer (when the school remains closed) the rooms get so hot that half an hour's stay there will make the head ache. There was no fan hung in Nivedita's room. She always used to have a hand-fan about her. The small compartment allotted to her, she decorated according to her own tastes. Most of the day she used to stay in that room buried in her work."

At the express wish of her Master, Swami Vivekananda, Nivedita dedicated herself to the cause of the school. She used to spend some time in teaching the girls. But the major portion of her time had to be devoted to literary work undertaken for maintaining the school. Sometimes she had to pass through great economic difficulties. On all such occasions the first thing she used to do was to cut short her very limited personal expenses. She would deny herself even the bare necessities of life. And as the result of this hardship she often suffered greatly in health. To those who knew and could appreciate the story of her self-imposed and life-long penance, Nivedita, the Brahmacharini, was the very personification of steadfastness and one-pointed devotion. To call her a "volatile" person is not only to misunderstand her but also to dishonour her blessed memory. We do not know who is really responsible for this unhappy expression. But whoever he may be, Mahatma Gandhi's experiment with Truth in the case of the illustrious Sister has not been a success. It would have been a complete failure had he not been able, in spite of his disagreement with her, to "notice and admire her overflowing love for Hinduism."

It is unfortunate that Mahatma Gandhi did not find any meeting point in his conversation with Sister Nivedita. But the idea that there could be no point of contact between them is preposterous. The Sister was a many-sided genius. She was a great spiritual idealist, a passionate votary of her adopted motherland, a vehement champion of Indian culture, a writer of rare literary abilities, an enthusiastic interpreter of Indian life and art, a most forceful leader of the national movement, a humble worker for the cause of Indian manhood, all in one. And many of the greatest sons of India found points of agreement with her, and could be counted as her life-long friends.

But like the greatest men and women of the world, she had her own ways of making friends. A complex personality that she was, she combined a hero's will with the spotless purity, kindly heart and self-sacrificing love of a perfect Brahmacharini. Even in the midst of her sweetness and tenderness, there was something in her character that might be termed militant. And rarely could one be included among her friends without facing an encounter with her. No wonder that after being the object of her sudden onslaught, some felt a sort of disagreement with her. In the words of one of her friends,—Mr. A. J. F. Blair, "Friendship with Nivedita was not a slow growth. It sprang to maturity at the first meeting, or not at all, and I do not know that any one was ever privileged to know the depths of her womanly kindness without first being subjected to that moral test."

But to one once admitted to her friendship it would open her heart and give herself without any reserve. Often after an apparent disagreement there would come a great understanding, and one could feel that "no kinder-hearted woman ever breathed." It was not given to all, as has been the case with Mahatma Gandhi, to fully discover "the inexhaustible mine of gold" that Sister Nivedita really was. Why it was so seems to be beyond the comprehension of ordinary mortals.

Nepal Government Railways

We read in *Indian and Eastern Engineer*:-

The Nepal Government Railways have just appointed as their Chief Mechanical Engineer Mr. H. St. John Sanderson, who holds the same post for the whole of Messrs. Martin & Co's Light Railways. Mr. Sanderson has just completed various appointments of railway staff for the Nepal Government and leaves India for home by the Anchor Brocklebank S. S. "Elysia" from Bombay on June 5th.

It would have been better if the Nepal Government had been able to employ an entirely Indian staff for its railways. Perhaps Nepali young men are in training for all posts.

Hindu Pantheism

The editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* observes:

Prof. Radhakrishnan's defence of what is generally understood as Hindu pantheism is very fine. He is quite right in saying that the "Hindu thought takes care to emphasise the transcendent character of the Supreme. He bears the world but is by no means lost in it." "Hindu thought admits that the immanence of God is a fact admitting of various degrees. While there is nothing which is not lit by God, God is more fully revealed in the organic than in the inorganic, etc." We think there is another aspect of the question. Even if we do not admit differences in Divine revelation in various things, ethical endeavour does not become impossible. The Hindu outlook that everything is divine is the greatest incentive to moral perfection. For the Hindu does not forget that a thing as it appears is not Divine, but that behind its name and form there abides the perfect Brahman, and that by transcending the limitations of *his own-self*, he gains the light of wisdom to perceive Brahman. This view makes man constantly struggle to break the bonds of ignorance and desire that bind him to the lower vision and to rise every moment to the height of superior spiritual perception. It is not necessary to recognise degrees in the Divine manifestation in things.

State versus Company Management of Railways

We read in Mr. S. C. Ghose's article on the above subject in *The Calcutta Review*:-

It may be useful to mention here that in the contract of the newly formed company, which has taken over the German State Railways and is managing them as commercial concerns, the following clause appears :—

"The rights of supervision and control of the operation and tariffs of the Railways reserved to the Government by the present law shall never be so exercised by the Government as to prevent the Company earning a net revenue adequate to secure the regular payment of interest and sinking fund on the bonds and the preference shares."

A railway or railways of a country are the arteries of trade and industries, and the flow of traffic through them should be even and continuous, and this can only be done if the management is efficient and the rates and fares are reasonable. Interference and control of Legislature over Railways of a country are essential so long as they are in public interests, and do not tie the hands of the managers too tightly, whether the railways are company-owned or state-owned. But when the railways are state-owned the Legislature in a democratic country is naturally responsible both for efficiency in management any for their finances; and they are again required to see that the safety of the public and the charges to the public are fair and reasonable. If these can be attained by state railways, which are already there, it is well and good, but if company ownership, of a purely Indian character, can at any time develop and purchase the Indian State Railways and give efficient service and cheap rates and fares it would be still better because it would make the Indian people more enterprising and self-reliant, so long as such companies do not ask for any subsidy from the Government either in the shape of free gift of land or a guarantee of minimum dividend.

The Olympic Games

The Volunteer writes :—

THE OLYMPIC GAMES:—Next year in July the Olympic games will be held in Amsterdam. Fifty-five nations of the world are to take part in these international trials of progress in physical culture, games, athletics and sports. Germany is making great preparations to make a success at the games. The German Government has sanctioned £ 7,000 this year and £ 15,000 will be received next year. She is trying to put in a large number of candidates—340—as against about 250 to 300 from Great Britain. This is the first time after the War that Germany enters the field. The Stadium at Amsterdam which has already cost £ 40,000 will be completed by January 1928. Separate Hockey and foot-ball grounds and a splendid Cycle Track are also nearing completion.

In 1932 the Olympic games are to be held at Los Angeles, California, in the United States of America. One million Dollars already have been spent for the building of the stadium. The American Representative to the International Olympic Conference has offered to provide a ship to carry competitors from Europe to the place of the Games.

AFRICAN GAMES:—Africa is also taking up organised physical culture in a remarkable manner.

African Games are to be held in 1929 in Alexandria for the first time. King Fuad who is at the head of the scheme has subscribed £ 3,000 and the City of Alexandria £ 10,000. If this first attempt succeeds the African Games will soon come to the level of the Olympic Games.

How much money the India Government, we wonder, is spending for such purposes or for the matter of that even for physical culture in the country itself?

"Gospel Ethics"

Mr. Mahesh Chandra Ghosh writes in the *Vedic Magazine* :—

Here and there we find good moral precepts in the Gospels. But the general level of Biblical morality is very low. Morality is valued not for its intrinsic worth but for what is supposed to be its commercial success. Gospel morality is an affair of rewards and punishments.

He illustrates this remark by quoting passages from the Gospels, and observes :—

Thus we see that 'reward' occupies a prominent place in the Gospel morality.

Avoidance of punishment is, according to Jesus a correlative spring of action. We are to do good or not to do evil, for otherwise we shall be punished.

He gives examples in support of his remark, and says :—

It is useless multiplying examples. The whole of the Bible is permeated by this idea of reward and punishment. What is called *Dharma* in Indian Philosophy is also a religion of reward and punishment; but it is meant only for those who are on a lower level and have no higher ideal. *Dharma* leads to heaven but not to *Moksha* (salvation). Those who have risen to a higher level have condemned it in unequivocal terms. In the Mahabharata we find the following verse :—

Dharma-vanijyako hino jaghanyo dharmayavadinam,
Na dharma-phalamapnoti yo dharmam dogdhumicchat.

"Among the professors of virtue, the vilest and most despicable is he who is a *virtue-merchant*. Results of virtue will never accrue to him who wishes to milk the '*virtue-cow*'. Vana-Parva XXXI. 5.

He quotes other similar sayings from the Hindu scriptures, and concludes :

Biblical morality is purely mercantile; it is a System of Barter—an '*Art of trafficking*' (emporike techne. Euthyphro, 14), to borrow the fine phrase of Plato, who uses it to condemn the religion of 'give and take.' This sort of morality has, however, merits of its own. All men are not on the same level of spirituality and the highest form of morality will never satisfy those who are on a lower level or have been trained to remain so. These men will appreciate the precepts of Jesus.

Nature and Men in Kashmir

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins writes in *Stridharma*:

It is a strange thing that in this land, where Nature wears her loveliest robes embroidered with the most lavish flowers, foliage and fruit, under her ermine cape—her snow-clad mountain range—with her jewels of sparkling waters and ruby sunsets and diamond-headed lotus leaves and the vivid blue enamel of her skies and their reflections in her many waters, yet the dress of the human being is nowhere in India so ugly. Dull greys and browns and dirty whites are the colours of which unwieldy, wide circumferenced, knee-long kurtas are made, and worn alike by men and women. The sleeves are very wide and turned up at the end like those of kimonos, but there is not a line of beauty in the costume. I found the excuse for its ugly, ungraceful width in the fact that during the many cold months they carry under this garment a small wicker basket in which there is an earthenware bowl filled with smouldering charcoal. In such wise do they keep themselves warm! Occasionally one sees a brilliant coloured turban on a man, but a discoloured cloth covers the head of the woman back from the forehead as a kind of shawl. A large amount of very skillful filagree work in silver is worn as jewellery. If only the women dressed more beautifully their handsome features would show to great advantage, but the men think that their beauty then would be too much of a temptation to other men, so a dirty appearance is a sign of modesty and chastity, and a clean, rosy complexion is, in this land, amongst the uneducated people at any rate, a sign of vanity and looseness of character. Of course, the educated women are entirely different and have more sensible ideas. It is from a similar idea that the Japanese married woman makes herself hideous by blackening her teeth and the Tibetan wife by putting disfiguring black smears under her eyes and on her forehead, and women in India were veiled. It is a strange struggle between beauty and man's jealous sense of possession of it!

Flies

We learn from *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:—

Flies literally swarm in some houses, covering every article of food by day and blackening the walls by night. In other homes comparatively few are found, for the tidy housekeeper takes every precaution to keep them out. She is especially careful not to leave food of any kind standing around uncovered and drives the flies out of doors at least once every day.

Flies are not only an annoyance to the occupants of a house, but they are filthy creatures. They come directly from the filth of decaying animal and vegetable matter, and without taking the pains to wipe their feet, settle upon or in our food and drink, or upon our hands, faces and clothing, depositing everywhere their filthy fly specks and the germs of disease. Their feet being covered with fine short, sticky hairs, are especially well

adapted for collecting and carrying filth and disease germs.

Recent investigations have established without a doubt the fact that flies carry many germs of typhoid fever, tuberculosis, cholera infantum, dysentery, and probably many other diseases.

It has been estimated that every fly carries about with him most of the time, in or upon his body, about a quarter of a million bacilli, and scatters these wherever he goes. The germs are not only carried on the feet, legs, and other portions of the body, but they occur also in large numbers in the fly specks which are so freely deposited by flies. As many as five thousand tubercular germs have been found in a single fly speck.

Flies should be kept out of houses, and from all places where foods are prepared, sold, or served. This can be done by tightly screening all doors and windows, and by driving out or killing the few that may gain entrance when the screen doors are opened. Bakeries especially should be kept free from flies, and all foods exposed for sale should be properly screened. Great care must be exercised to protect the baby and its food and the nipple of its nursing bottle from infection by flies. Do not buy foods of any kind that are to be eaten without thorough cooking if they are being run over by flies, for in so doing one is running too great a risk.

Flies may be killed by means of sticky fly paper, fly traps, and various liquid poisons. Of the latter probably the best is a solution of formalin water, which may be prepared by adding a teaspoonful of the 40 per-cent solution of formaldehyde to one-half glass of water. This liquid should be exposed in saucers or plates where the flies will have free access to it, but must be placed beyond reach of children, as it is poisonous. A fly poison not dangerous to human life may be prepared by dissolving one dram of potassium bichromate in two ounces of water, and adding a little sugar. This should be distributed about the house in shallow dishes. Flies may be stupefied by burning pyrethrum powder in the room and may then be swept up and burned.

To prevent the breeding of flies, all accumulation of decomposing animal or vegetable matter, especially stable manure, should be removed from the premises daily, or at least two or three times a week. If this cannot be done the manure or other decomposing substances should be sprinkled with chloride of lime or a solution of sulphate of iron, two pounds to one gallon of water.

Outside privy vaults should be made flyproof. This would necessitate only a slight expense, but the benefit to be derived from such a course would be very great. Garbage cans should be frequently cleaned and sprinkled with lime or a solution of formaldehyde or other disinfectant, and should be kept tightly covered.

"The Soul of Education"

Mr. Bernard Houghton opines in *Current Thought*:—

The bureaucratic schools turn out a docile serf; India's schools will aim at brave and intelligent men and women. The ideal of the

bureaucracy is the well-drilled soldier ; the ideal of India should be the citizen of Greece. The one education crushes, represses, the other inspires the mind and thrills the soul. Difficulties there will surely be at the commencement. We do not expect miracles. Many teachers who have grown up to manhood and womanhood under a despotic government will fail to grasp the new spirit, the new angle of vision. Many will cling to authoritative methods and think in chains.

But the changed mental atmosphere of India will achieve much. Everywhere there will be a sense of freedom, of buoyancy, as of prisoners long held behind walls who taste the free air and see again the green spaces of the open country. Everywhere patriotic men and women will be seeking fresh outlets for their energies and adopting new ideas. Swaraj is no mere reform of political machinery ; it means the renaissance of India. It touches the imagination which reforms leave cold. In such an atmosphere men and women, shaking off the fetters they have worn so long, realise themselves ; they achieve wonders. We may be sure that teachers, too, will look out on the world of education with very different eyes to those with which under the bureaucracy they now see it.

In education, as in government, it is policy which counts. The spirit with which a government or a department is worked affects all from the highest to the lowest. Proclaim military ideals as now, and from university to village, dogma and discipline raise their ugly heads. Set up the standard of freedom and of fellowship, and everywhere men walk an inch taller and with a bolder step. This new spirit in education the inspectors will bring home to every teacher, they will explain the new methods and hearten on the beginners. Progress may be a little slow at first, but then the teachers will labour not to find favour in the eyes of a foreign master but to build up a new India, for the greatness and glory of their own dear Motherland.

Indian Architecture

The third instalment of the late Mr. Manomohan Ganguly's notes on Indian Architecture, published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, concludes thus :—

A pessimist as a philosopher, a Hindu is not so as an artist. As an artist he spiritualises matter and thus embodies architectural idealism in different forms which never oppress the imagination by its solid reality.

The architecture of the ancient Hindus is pervaded by a spirit of earnestness and self-sacrifice, the temple being as it were an offering, a gift to the deity, the Islam enshrined in the sanctum and as such we notice a profusion of decoration condemned by Fergusson as "over-decorated ugliness," a remark exemplifying the deadening effect of the idealisation of the principle of utility, for architecture is not construction, the beaver's art, but is according to Ruskin, "the art which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised

by man, for whatsoever use, that the sight of these may contribute to his mental health, power and pleasure."

The structures of the present-day illustrate a violation of this fundamental canon of architecture by allowing the constructive element to override the aesthetic side, indicating the nemesis of the decorative principle forming a vital part of ancient and mediæval Indian Architecture.

However, hampered by tradition or fettered by conventionality ancient Indian Architecture may be, we find evident and clear indications stamping it with originality, vigour and genius. Ours of the present day appears as one badly imitated, unsuited to the climate and the traditions of the past.

"Do Justice to Inferior Servants"

We read in the *General Letter* issued by the Bombay Presidency Postal and R. M. S. Association :

One often wonders what the Postal administration thinks about the status of Inferior Servants of the Department. The inferior servant is not entitled to any kind of leave with pay. At the most he is paid the difference between the pay earned by him and the wages paid to his substitute. Then in the matter of pension, the situation is still more grotesque. The pension of Rs. 4 was settled in the old by-gone days when the Runner was paid Rs. 6 and the other inferior servant scarcely anything more than Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 at the most. Between those old times and now, there is a difference of 300% in the cost of living. The minimum pay of a Runner is Rs. 14 and the Post Office inferior servant gets an average of Rs. 16 in the lowest scale. In Cities like Bombay, the lowest monthly wages is Rs. 28-8-0 where a pension of Rs. 6 is simply ridiculous. But even this pension cannot be had after 30 years of service: the man must complete the age of 60. Thus a man who enters service say at the age of 15 must work for full 45 years before he can earn a grand pension of Rs. 6 a month. Perhaps the Department considers an Inferior servant as no better than a day labourer. The Department forgets that the lowest of the inferior servants requires a greater intelligence, a greater precision and far greater honesty and character to withstand temptation such as is placed before him every minute of his life in the Post Office. The conditions in the Post Office are peculiarly hard and exacting and require a far greater consideration at the hands of the Department than has been yet given to these unfortunate servants.

Suspicion of Japan

Mr. St. Nihal Singh writes in *The Indian Review*:

Japan is both hated and feared by nations of the West with possessions in the East. She is

hated because, by managing to keep herself out of the foreign clutches and making herself self-sufficing in arts and crafts, she has raised the pulse of all the dependent people of the Orient and placed before them patterns upon which they can model their national life. She is feared because she is credited with the ambition of dominating Asia to a degree even greater than that to which it is now dominated by Occidentals.

In the view of most Americans in the Philippines, every Japanese in the Archipelago is a spy. They will tell the stranger in confidence that when the day comes for Japan to strike, every member of the Japanese colony will perform his or her appointed task in aiding the Nipponese landing parties to add to the Sunrise Empire these islands of great potential wealth which they have been coveting for years.

The Filipino leaders do not share such suspicions. They say that the Japanese scare has been raised for the express purpose of cheating them out of their birth-right. In 1916 the United States Congress pledged itself solemnly to withdraw its "sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable Government can be established therein." The only condition laid down has long since been fulfilled. Since, however, the men at the helm of the American nation are in no mood to honour that pledge because they are reluctant to forego the opportunities of exploiting themselves the rich and varied economic resources of the Islands, his excuse has been manufactured.

In the Dutch East Indies the Japanese are subject to the same suspicion.

The British in the East do not give tongue to their suspicions of the Japanese so freely as do the Americans and Hollanders, but they, as a race, are not outspoken, and, moreover, until recently they were in alliance with the Japanese and considerations of decency doubtless exercise a restraining influence. Had they been without misgivings and fears, however, the scheme for the establishment of the Naval base at Singapore would never have been conceived.

In all places where the West dominates the East, Japan is, indeed, being charged with cherishing secret designs to oust Europe and America, and to substitute herself in their place.

What we are concerned with is the harsh treatment meted out to them in the ships during the passage. They are all packed together like tinned sardines as the Company sees to it that as many passengers are carried as the deck can hold. An awning is put above them which in monsoon weather, when there are squalls and heavy rains fails to afford them any protection. Most of them are drenched whenever there are heavy rains. In Western countries people treat their animals more decently.

First there are the ticket examiners. They have a peculiar way of examining tickets whenever the idea enters their heads and before starting, all the coolies who have been let into the ship are asked to get out and then come back into the ship after showing their tickets to the tin gods of the Company. In the process, they are kicked and abused if they rush together at the entrance, which they have to do if they are to get a decent place on the deck. But this is only the beginning of their trials. "The checking of tickets cannot be done too often" seems to be the slogan of the ship's officers and the insults to which the poor coolies are subjected every time the tickets are checked, would call for prosecution for "grievous hurt" at least in any other country.

Then there are some people who are entrusted with feeding these labourers. First come first served is not the only condition which the coolies have to understand. Those who go first are given food and what is called sauce, which latter, as time goes on, gets more and more diluted with water, and the result is there is a rush of the coolies when the food is served. They carry in their hands leaves which they hold in their hands into which handfuls of rice are thrown and sauce poured with a dexterity and quickness and soullessness which reminds one of feeding time at the zoo. There is a scramble to get the sauce while it is as yet undiluted with the attendant kicks from the immortals who look upon the labourers as so much cattle and treat them with a callousness that one cannot see matched anywhere else in God's earth.

The International Institute of Agriculture, Rome

Mr. D. Ananda Rao says in *The Mysore Economic Journal*:

The B. I. S. N. Company's Treatment of Deck Passengers

The Indian, a monthly published under the auspices of the Indian Association of Singapore, observes:

When the poet of the "Inferno" wrote about the people in the seventh circle of Hell, he had no idea that in the future there would be no necessity to go to a theological hell when worse things were possible in this world itself. The condition of the Deck passengers on board the ships of the B. I. S. N. Company is so gruesome that one wonders why people who could put an end to such tortures are quite apathetic about it.

We have heard and we have seen ourselves what is being done to the coolies from South India on board the company's ships.

One might ask what practical influence this Institute exerts on the States which are represented in it. It is possible that through this Institute the recommendations and desires of the agricultural world could be put into practical effect. It can summon on its own initiative conferences to consider matters of moment and which would even tend to modify existing national legislation. For example, in 1914 it summoned an International Phytopathological Conference, in 1920 the Conference on Locust Control and in 1926 the World Forestry Congress and the meeting of experts on Chemical Fertilisers. Again, just at the time of the visit of the writer, arrangements were in progress for holding an International Congress on Olive growing. To us in India such congresses

and conferences are of immense value as it would mean that we would be benefited by enquiry into agricultural questions of international importance. Opportunity may be taken by qualified Indians to attend such congresses as delegates. With an Indian representative on the spot, it would be possible to institute enquiry into social and economic conditions of the farming classes and also on the condition of important crops and live-stock of the country. That the whole of Great Britain and its colonies and dependencies are represented by one delegate means that India is practically lost sight of. It goes without saying that in order to achieve any benefit from an Institute of this nature, India must have her own representative, and at India's expense. He must be one who will justify the trust imposed on him, capable to plead India's cause at all times, and one who is young enough to return to India for future work having been profited and mellowed by the opportunities he had in discussing with people of international reputation and thus raise the status of that one community which forms seventy-five per cent of her people.

Widows at Brindaban

We read in *The Widows' Cause*:

Miss Hellen Ingram writes from Delhi:—

"Can't you do anything through your paper to stop widows coming to pilgrimage places like Brindaban? I have seen them there and their condition is terrible."

This is what a sympathetic heart feels for humanity, for the womankind and for our own sisters and daughters. This is where every heart feels pinched and where that cannot but express itself, this is where the Hindu mentality is revealed in its worst, where it denies human sympathies and the very existence of God. It is here that the savageness of the middle ages is still traceable in our present civilised age. It is here that the march of centuries stands unaffected. And it is here that we have to kneel down and thrust our heads between our knees in all shame, humility and helplessness.

And for all that Bengal in particular is responsible.

Government's Treatment of Mail Runners

'Blue Bird' writes in *Labour*:

"The mail-runners are conspicuous among men for their unfailing regularity and utter trustworthiness. Even in districts which boast of good roads and the inevitable motor-bus, the latter may not be used for mail transport for motors break down runners never do."

"The salary of a mail runner averages from twelve to fifteen rupees a month. Runners are especially liable to heart disease and lung troubles; it is not often that a man is fit for work after fifteen years of it."

"There are many growls against the Post Office which certainly does fail us with a frequency that is irritating. But it is never the runners that let us down. Every one in India owes a

debt of gratitude to them; and we touch our hat to them in passing, perhaps the most faithful, loyal hand of workers this present age knows."

The above are excerpts from an article. "The Indian Mail Runner" by traveller, which appeared in a recent issue of 'The Times of India Illustrated Weekly'. The praise and eulogy is well-merited and is by no means fulsome or exaggerated. I have seen the runner at work, in fair weather and foul, in biting cold and sweltering heat, on hills and in the plains and on the water-ways of Eastern Bengal and can and do bear testimony to his regularity and loyalty. The decision, therefore of Government not, for the present to improve the pay and conditions of service of the runner is most disappointing not only to the runner, but to all who realize and appreciate his faithfulness and loyalty, for the runner is unquestionably deserving his pay totally inadequate and by no means commensurate with the work he is called upon to perform.

Tuberculosis among School Children

The D. A. V. College Union Magazine has a useful article on the above subject by Rai Bahadur Captain Maharaj Krishan Kapur, M.D., D. Ph. There he tells us in part:

An Indian child in his own family is under none or very little restraint.

He has also full liberty to run about and play about in the streets and in open air. His admission into a school more particularly in a Boarding School, involves such a sudden change in his habits and environments, that the unstable frame of a growing child, is very easily affected, unless sufficient care and precautions are exercised by those who have the charge of the little ones. No undue pressure should be inflicted, and the child should be gradually and smoothly weaned from his old habits, and brought to adjust himself slowly to the new conditions of restraint and discipline. Even monkeys and certain other wild animals have been noticed to develop consumption, when admitted in zoological gardens, unless very scrupulous care is taken to protect them from the evil results of the sudden change of the conditions of their life.

This then is the first duty of the schoolmasters the neglect of which, in several cases (in the past at least) has driven young children into the clutches of Tuberculosis. Little children must be dealt with much more sympathy and kindness and the proverbial school-masterly rigour must take the place of paternal kindness very very slowly. Do not for God's sake overdo in your zeal for the immediate correction of a child's bad habits, that have grown with him, but try to bring him round very gently and softly.

Defective school buildings and over-crowding in the class rooms are a great menace.

In open air schools classes are held in verandhas or open sheds or in the school park or gardens. To protect the children from severe cold or intense heat, class rooms can be built cheaply, with inexpensive arrangements to flood them with fresh air from outside in abundance, so as to keep the air within almost as clean and

atmosphere outside. The health and growth of children always improves wonderfully in these conditions. Even children predisposed and inclined towards Tuberculosis or otherwise deficient benefit enormously in the open air schools.

An Analysis of Indian States

Mr. V. Venkatasubbaiya says in the *Karantaka* :—

In spite of the so-called sanctity of sannads and treaties, the number of States has been varying from year to year. Their exact number in any particular year has to be ascertained from the corrected list for that year, *The Imperial Gazetteer*. Vol. IV of 1907, gives the total number of 693 ; but the list for 1925 contains only 562 States. The grouping and classification also are different in the two years. The smaller figure of 1925 is due chiefly to the reduction of States in three Provinces—from 148 to 89 in Central India Agency, from 52 to nil in Burma and from 26 to 1 in Assam. Drastic changes apparently are not unknown to the Political Department of the Government of India.

As many as 454 States have an area of less than 1,000 sq. miles that 452 states have less than 100,000 population and that 374 States have a revenue of less than Rs. 1 lakh. British India, with an area of 10,94,000 sq. miles and a population of nearly 222 millions, is divided into 273 districts. The average area of a British Indian district is therefore 4,000 sq. miles and its average population about 8,00,000. If the suggestion were made that each district in British India should be constituted into a State, how ridiculous would it be considered? Yet it is only some thirty, among the 562 States, that possess the area, population and resources of an average British Indian District. Some of the States are so absurdly small that no one can help pitying them, for the unfortunate dignity imposed upon them. As many as 15 States-territories which in no case reach a square mile! Fourteen States exist in Surat District, not one of which, according to the list of 1925, realized a revenue of more than Rs. 3,000 in the previous financial year. Three of these States could not boast of a population of 100 souls and five of them a revenue of Rs. 100. The smallest revenue mentioned is Rs. 20—for the year, let it be remembered—and the smallest population 32 souls. What earthly purpose is served by magnifying these petty landlords into Chiefs and Thakores and by talking of them in the same breath as of the Nizam or the Maharaja of Mysore? From the analysis given above, only some fifteen States appear to possess the necessary area, population and resources to be able to function efficiently as States according to modern conceptions. What should happen to the rest is a big question. The large majority would certainly have to be removed from the list. Others may be formed into groups, so that each group may be considered a State for certain purposes. But anyhow, the question has to be thoroughly gone into : and only a Royal Commission will command the confidence of the various parties concerned.

Rural Ireland and Rural India

Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri observes in *Rural India* :—

That Ireland and India are alike in many respects is one of the commonplaces of historical as well as contemporary experience. But in no respect do they resemble each other more than in the fact that both, Ireland and India, live in the village. In both, the village economy broke down under the storm and stress of modern competition. They differ however in this respect, namely that Ireland has achieved rural reconstruction while India is talking about it.

Ireland suffered from loss of Industries, rack-renting, extreme sub-division of holdings, religious feuds, social disunion, poverty, emigration, economic depression, low standards of life, unsatisfactory education, artistic sterility and other evils which have been familiar also in India. But very early the finest spirit of the land made strenuous and continuous efforts to combat the poverty of the people and to put a new spirit into them.

Creameries, agricultural societies, credit societies, poultry societies, flax societies, etc., were successfully started and worked.

The co-operative principle was applied also to the home industries such as hand-knitting, lace-making, embroidery, carpet-making, etc. Co-operative stores were started in numerous places. Industrial co-operation also was begun.

The result was that wealth increased in the land. Even more than this, practical ideals of communal action and communal welfare permeated even the lowest and poorest classes. The sense of responsibility was developed. The following passage has a direct lesson to India : "Through the co-operative movement has come a growing social consciousness and a recognition of the common interests of people living in the same neighbourhood. Concerning itself with matters in which all have a common interest it has proved that the factors of dissension so prevalent in Ireland need not prevent the development of a real community life. Race, religion, politics have so dominated the minds of Irishmen that the possibility of uniting in any direction for any purpose has seemed to them very remote. The granting of Home Rule, many said, would merely raise other issues. The Irishman would never be happy unless he was disagreeing with some one. And, indeed, the danger to the co-operative movement from these causes was very serious. Meetings were often held in an atmosphere of considerable tension... Nevertheless the dangers were averted in a remarkable fashion. Only one case is recorded where a society was wrecked by sectarianism. To-day no lesson is more firmly fixed in the minds of co-operators than that neither race, nor religion, nor politics interferes with a man's co-operative capacities... And where men unite to run a creamery or an agricultural store without allowing their differences and other questions to interfere, they cannot long continue to feel bitterly toward each other in the streets outside. The dividing facts of life are being relegated to their true position by the realization of community of interest in the economic sphere."

Importance of Cattle-breeding and Dairying

According to an article on the importance of the cattle-breeding and dairying industry in India, contributed by Mr. W. Smith to the *Journal of Animal Husbandry and Dairying in India*:—

It is certain that nothing can take the place of the draught bullock in Indian cultivation. Horses, mules, donkeys, tractors, camels and buffaloes have all been tried and found wanting. Now to produce a working bullock we must have a cow, and as our cow must rear her calf she must give milk; consequently, the cattle problem is a dairy problem, and it is, agriculturally speaking, a universal problem. The productivity of the soil depends upon the efficiency of cultivation, and this depends upon the quality of the plough bullock.

In many parts of India the introduction of cultivation and the adoption of more modern implements has been retarded owing to the in-

efficiency of the work bullocks. The cattle question is more important than the growing of any single crop; it affects the growing of all crops and is as important as cultivation itself. Then the cattle-dairy problem is important because nearly all primary transport in India, that is the transport of produce from the field to the railhead, is dependent upon bullock efficiency.

Again the general health and physical well-being of the whole of the people of India is affected by the milk and *ghi* (clarified butter) supply which comes from the cow. If modern teaching regarding the vitamin content of foods has taught us anything, it is that no vegetable fats can take the place of animal fats as food for children and young persons, as the vegetable oils do not contain the essential growth-producing vitamin. The great majority of Indians do not consume animal fat in any form but milk fats; and without a plentiful, pure and cheap milk supply the people of India cannot attain to the highest degree of health and physical development.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Indian Legislative Assembly a Debating Club

A German Socialist, named Franz Josef Furtwangler, spent some time in India, and contributed his impressions to the Berlin *Vorwärts*. Here are some of his impressions of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi:

Members receive twenty rupees, or approximately seven and one-half dollars, for every day's attendance, besides traveling expenses from their place of residence to Delhi and return. Although they meet in what is reputed to be the biggest Parliament House in the world they are one of the smallest legislative bodies in existence, and they probably have less authority than any other. 'Legislative Assembly' is a very nice term, but it does not accurately describe the parliament of a country where the Viceroy can legislate by simple decree. Nevertheless, this body has influential members—white jute kings and cotton kings, and others like them.

Altogether this debating society—to characterize it accurately—consists of one hundred and forty people, including government officials and government appointees. Fifteen of the latter are supposed to represent different vocational and business groups. Only one of them, a gentleman named Joshi, has been appointed to speak for labor. Since a man must have an income of two thousand rupees to vote, the workers can naturally elect no representatives of their own. Several Englishmen, elected under the property qualification, also sit in the body. Victor Sassoon, the head of the cotton industry, who is reputed to be a millionaire, is their leader. Only a little more than one half of the members are elected native

delegates. These fall into three groups, which are differentiated from each other by a very simple method. In a free country with a really representative parliament, industry, trade, banking, agriculture, labor, and various religious and cultural movements would all be likely to have their delegates. Nothing of the sort exists here, however. Really there is only one Party, which is divided into three strata, 'according to the degree of anti-British feeling,' as Joshi put it.

This German writer was present during the debate on the motion for the repeal of the Bengal Ordinance. Regarding the Home Secretary's speech in reply, he records:—

He was loudly applauded by the white members when he sat down. An English acquaintance of mine in the gallery, however, said he had never in his life heard a weaker defense of a government measure. Possibly so. I too felt that the gentleman who had just resumed his seat, wiping his brow with his handkerchief, would have felt it incumbent upon him to make out a better case had he been speaking in the House of Commons. Here, however, where the Assembly members have no real authority, he was not put on his mettle.

A German's Socialist's Impressions of Bengal

The same writer gives his impressions of Bengal partly thus:—

The people themselves were more interesting than their architecture and their street life. Calcutta

and in fact the whole province of Bengal, with its forty-seven million inhabitants, differ from the rest of India. Above all, they have practically no pariahs, or untouchables. This is of great political importance. In Southern and Central India the untouchables number many millions, and create a problem that must be solved before decisive steps can be taken toward greater political autonomy. The Bengalese, on the other hand, have a free hand to agitate for national and social independence. They are often called the French of India, and undoubtedly are quicker intellectually and more imaginative and emotional than any other people of the Peninsula. They have a keen sense of humor and irony, and what we designate by that untranslatable word 'esprit.'

A Bengalese peasant lives on a couple of acres of land, cultivated like a garden, from which he somehow manages to squeeze a meagre living. The soil is very fertile, and the rainfall abundant, so that famine is practically unknown. In order to keep the cultivators from waxing fat and slothful, however, the Government and the *zamindar*, or native landlord, are careful to relieve them of their surplus crops.

In the city the Bengalese is usually a merchant or a clerk in a bank or a trading house. When he engages in manual labor it is generally in the skilled trades. Resident Englishmen tell me that a Bengalese machinist or electrician is quite as competent as a white mechanic in the same calling. Calcutta's hundred thousand or more underskilled and underpaid textile operatives, especially in the jute mills, are mostly immigrants from other provinces, driven to the city by crop failures and overpopulation. Calcutta also has more lawyers than any other place in India. These are the gentlemen who keep the political pot boiling. In no other part of the country are the common people so well informed upon questions of the day. Nowhere else was I able to talk intelligently with a clerk or a hotel porter about Briand, Chamberlain, and Stresemann. The English naturally consider the Bengalese trouble-makers, because they are politically the most self-assertive of the natives.

Calcutta's secret police is one of the busiest organizations of the kind in the world. What Metternich called demagogues are here called agitators, and 'Red Bengal' is a term on every lip. Dozens of able and honorable politicians are languishing in confinement, where some of these have been held for several years. They are imprisoned under an ordinance issued by the Viceroy, after Parliament had rejected it, authorizing the Government to put political undesirables in jail for a term not exceeding six months. After the six months is up, these gentlemen are notified that they still have another term coming to them. The most prominent among the prisoners is Subhas Chandra Bose, Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, who was arrested in October 1924 and interned at Mandalay. We should call him in Europe a Radical-Liberal rather than a Terrorist or a Communist.

Some Truths About the Singapore Base and Jamshedpur

George Bronson Rea is responsible for

the following views expressed in the *Far Eastern Review* of Shanghai:—

India is to have a navy. Winding up its sessions in London on November 23, the Imperial Conference passed resolutions approving the development of the Singapore Base in order to facilitate the free movements of the Empire fleets and congratulated the Government of India on its decision to build a navy. The Conference applauded the Premier's speech on inter-imperial relations, which, among other things denied to India a Dominion status. British India and the congeries of quasi-independent native states will remain vassals of the Federation of British Dominions, subordinate to six mistresses, instead of one. It is well to remember, however, that India sits and votes in the League of Nations as a sovereign state, free to exercise its independence in minor world problems, but subject to the dictation of its overlords where vital British and Imperial policies are concerned. The Indian navy, manned by lascars and officered by British experts, adds just so many more warships to the quota assigned to Great Britain under the Washington treaty.

Singapore will become the masterbase of one major and two minor navies: independent in peace, but united in war. The British, Australian, Indian, and perhaps New Zealand, fighting fleet, operating from the Gibraltar of the East, and munitioned from the great Indian steel works at Jamshedpur, will, in time, dominate the Pacific and Indian Oceans. All arguments advanced to justify the ten million pounds expenditure for the construction of the Singapore Base indicate that the hypothetical enemy is Japan. Ponder over this. Immediately after Japan was relegated to the status of a second-rate naval Power by the Arms Limitation Conference, the trusted ally of Great Britain became a menace to the Empire whose security for twenty years had been guaranteed by its navy. For two decades, the Japanese fleets in Asiatic waters under the watchful supervision of British expert advisers, enabled Great Britain to concentrate her naval strength in the North Sea. When war became unavoidable, the Grand Fleet with all its first-line fighting units was mobilized in home waters, ready for the conflict. During the war the Japanese navy patrolled the Mediterranean and the All-Red-Route to India, Australia, and China. Dominions, and Indian armies, and supplies for the fronts in Flanders, Gallipoli, Saloniki, Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, passed in safety over the sea-lanes guarded by the warships of the Rising Sun. Yet the ink had hardly dried on the Washington treaties when the faithful and tried ally of Great Britain was transformed into an imaginary enemy against whom it became urgently necessary to construct the most powerful naval base in Asia!

The Philippines stand as a buffer between Japan and the British possessions in India, Malay, and the Pacific; a guaranty that so long as they remain under American protection their neutrality must be respected. Independence without the power to preserve neutrality is a perilous position. Should the United States withdraw her guaranty by conceding independence to the Filipinos, the strategic situation in the Pacific would at once become loaded with dynamite, far more dangerous to world peace than the squabbles of Europe. The

Philippines are the keys to world empire. If the possession of these keys ever passes out of the hands of the United States, they will be taken over and retained by some other Power who will know how to use them for its own profit.

The future of the Philippines is uncertain. Great Britain cannot afford to take chances. Neither can Japan contemplate with unconcern any further extension of European influence in Far Eastern waters. Within easy steaming distance of Mindanao and the Sulu Group—or any one of the thousand Philippine islands suitable as submarine bases—lies the Rubber Empire of the world a source of unlimited wealth upon which Great Britain is now drawing and will continue to draw to pay her debts to the United States. Eliminating the bogey of an Asiatic menace to Australia or India, these immensely rich possessions must be adequately protected against any possible contingency.

For propaganda purposes it suits Britain's book to encourage the belief that Singapore is aimed at Japan. Common sense will tell us, however, that as long as the war debt remains a subject of recurrent controversy Singapore is just as logically aimed at the country which might covet and profit by seizing her Rubber Empire. On the other hand, the uncertainty of American permanence in the Philippines forces Great Britain to prepare against the contingency of Filipino independence. Singapore automatically supersedes Gibraltar as the key to her Asiatic and Pacific empires.

Add to the British naval quota the present and future Australian tonnage, every ship placed in commission by the Indian Government, throw in the fortifications at Singapore, the huge Jamshedpur Steel Works—the key of British Imperial defense in Asia,—and Americans will begin to realize that if Japan is not to be eliminated as a first-class Power and her influence in Asia undermined her Government must make every sacrifice to maintain in a high state of preparedness and efficiency the full naval quota assigned to her under the Washington treaties.

By dint of subsidies, the Indian Government is developing the greatest steel works in Asia. If this subsidy be withdrawn, the Indian Army Board will operate and maintain its own steel plant from its own funds. Protected by the subsidy, the Indian iron and steel makers have captured the Japanese pig-iron market, compelling the Japanese manufacturer to contribute to the cost of creating a military weapon designed in part for their undoing. By the time the Singapore Base is completed, the Jamshedpur Steel Works will be placed on a permanent and profitable working basis. An Indian navy will be in the process of development outside the restrictions of the Washington treaties, and patrolling the waters between Singapore and Suez.

A Black Man's Protest

The speech of Lamine Singhor, Negro Delegete from Central Africa at the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities held at Brussels last February, has appeared in *L'Indépendance Belge* of Brussels. Extracts from it are given below.

Permit me to dwell a moment, by way of introduction, upon the word 'colonization.' What does it mean? It means usurping the right of a nation to direct its own destinies. Any nation that is deprived of that right is, in the strict meaning of the word, a colony. I will quote to you some passages from a report made by a former colonial administrator of France and published in several newspapers of that country. It relates to typical colonial abuses.

'I accuse M. Hutin, who was at that time a colonel and is now a general and a commander of the Legion of Honor for having ordered the looting of the trading station at Molenga and of having shared the loot.' A list of stolen articles follows—cases of jam for his personal use, pictures, a shotgun, a Browning, high-priced cloth, and so on. The author of the report continues: 'I accuse the Assistant Chief of the post at Bania of having brought before him a chief of the Gana tribe, who refused to tell him where certain Mauser rifles, captured by his men from the German deserters, were hidden. He first caused the chief's hand to be crushed in an iron copying press. He then had him flogged with lashes containing bits of steel, and, after honey had been rubbed upon his wounds exposed him in the sun to be stung by bees.'

Who is there that does not shudder with horror at the thought that Frenchmen in the twentieth century still commit atrocities that would shame the worst barbarism of the Middle Ages?

It is true that you can no longer sell a Negro to a white man or a Chinaman, or even to another Negro. But it is a familiar sight to see one imperialist Power sell a whole Negro nation to another imperialist Power. What did France actually do with the Congo in 1912? She simply turned a great territory there over to Germany. Did she ask the people of the country if they wanted to belong to the Germans? Some French politicians write in their press that their West Indian Negroes are beginning to demand too many privileges, and that it would be better to sell them to America and get something out of them. It is a lie that slavery has been abolished. It has only been modernized.

You saw during the war how every Negro who could be caught was put into the army, to be taken away and killed. So many were forced to serve that the French governors in Africa began to protest, fearing that the natives would rebel. But since cannon fodder must be had at any cost, France found a tractable Negro, heaped honors upon him, called him 'Commissioner-General' representing the French Republic in Africa, gave him an escort of French officers and of Negroes decked out in gorgeous uniforms, and sent him back to his native land. There he was received with the most exalted honors. French administrators and colonial governors greeted him, bands of music welcomed him, soldiers presented arms to him. So this Negro managed to get eighty thousand more men to add to the half-million already fighting in France.

Ah, you Chinaman among my auditors here, I embrace you as comrades. You are setting a grand example of revolt for all the oppressed colonial peoples. I only hope that they will catch the inspiration from you.

French imperialists, I say, have sent Negro troops to Indo-China to shoot down the natives of that country in case they rebel against French

oppression. They tell these troops that they are of a different race from the people whom they are ordered to kill, in case the latter venture to revolt against their so-called 'Mother Country.' Comrades the Negro race has slept too long. But beware: they who have slept long and soundly, when they once awaken, will not fall asleep again.

Now let us see how this 'Mother Country' rewards the services of the black soldiers who have been wounded in her defense, the men who have been crippled by the bullets of pretended enemies, and can no longer labor to support themselves. They are treated very differently from the French wounded who fought shoulder to shoulder with them on the battlefield, and in defense, as we are told, of the same 'Mother Country'. I will cite to you only two examples. Here is a wounded French soldier, graded with ninety-per-cent disability—that is, in the second class. He has one child. The French Government grants him a pension of 6388 francs a year. Here, on the other hand, is a Negro soldier of the same class, married, the father of one child, wounded in the same way, wounded in the same army, also graded with ninety-per-cent disability. He receives 620 francs. Then take a war cripple with one-hundred-per-cent disability. That is to say, he cannot move himself; he must be carried wherever he goes. If he is a white Frenchman he receives 15,390 francs a year; if he is a Negro he gets only 1800 francs.

When we are needed to be slaughtered or to perform heavy labor, we are Frenchmen. But when it comes to giving us our right, we are no longer Frenchmen—we are Negroes.

American Boys Taller than their Grandsires

Writing in *The Journal of the American Medical Association* (Chicago), Dr. Horace Gray of Chicago says that two inches in half a century is the rate at which the average stature of American-born boys of American-born parents has been increasing.

"Increases in the stature of children (average height for age), as shown in some recent series of observations, may be due to taller ancestry or to more comfortable economic class. But between two homogeneous groups an increase may also be due to other causes: measurement in the morning rather than the afternoon; measurement in a month of the year when seasonal growth is more rapid; accident (random sampling); progress in control of various infantile diseases that retard growth; knowledge of vitamins, sunlight, and rachitis, with consequent better nurture. This paper, however, is concerned not with the cause, but with the phenomenon."

Indianisation of the Army

Lieutenant-General Sir George MacMunn writes in *The Asiatic Review*:—

The admission of Indian officers to the same positions of command as British officers is admitted-

ly a difficult problem, and it is not too much to say that the difficulties of the situation have induced us, in a somewhat Anglo-Saxon spirit, to shelve the question for many years. In the Indian Civil, Medical, Forestry, and Engineering Services Indians have been admitted on the same terms as Europeans, and in certain phases of this work they have shown a brilliant aptitude. In the Army, however, though the martial classes are in many ways more readily agreeable to the British military officer than any others, we have never been able to give them any share in the higher positions. Has this been from a want of understanding, or have there been other causes? I venture to think that to a certain extent we must accept the blame, because we have not tried, until lately, to face the difficulties which surrounded the matter.

Rabindranath on the Chinese Expedition

The following views of Rabindranath Tagore on the Chinese expedition has appeared in *Unity* of Chicago:—

I have always felt very keenly on the subject of China and have never failed to express my condemnation of the policy that is being pursued there. The present expedition of the English against China is a crime against humanity, and to our utter shame India is being used as a pawn in the game.

The prepetrators of this tyranny that is doing havoc in China always keep themselves behind, while the Indians, who are being used as tools in carrying out their nefarious designs, have to come in direct contact with the Chinese people. The result is that all their resentment and hatred are directed against the Indians, so much so that they call us demons. It is not an unfamiliar sight in China to see the Indian policeman pulling the Chinese by the hair and kicking him down for no apparent reasons. What wonder is there that we should be characterized by that title! It was Indian soldiers who had helped England to wrest Hong Kong from China, and many a scar of their dealing disfigures the fair breast of our neighbour, the China who once treasured within her heart the foot-prints of Buddha, the China of I-Tsing and Huen-Tsang.

This is the tragedy of the present helpless plight of India. Enslaved as we are to our utter shame, we are being used as instruments for forging fetters for other people. In a crusade against justice, freedom and morality where the English are the aggressors, India is being dragged into the field against her own will. It is a loathsome insult to our manhood, and to add to this the columny and condemnation which should justly go over to our masters wholly fall to our share.

And what has India to gain by allowing such a huge waste of money and man-power? By fighting for a cause which is so disreputable, her sons cannot claim to be recognized as heroes, nor does it help her in the least to shake off the yoke of foreign domination that sits heavy upon her. That is why India is regarded by other Asiatic Powers as a menace to their freedom. The vast resources at her disposal are the very ground

of their apprehension and so long as the disposal of these resources lies beyond her own control, they will be always looking upon her with an eye of suspicion and sneer.

The result is that India is fast losing that respect which was only hers as the greatest spiritual ambassador in Asia. It is she who has for ages supplied the spiritual nourishment to China and other Asiatic countries and sent out emissaries to preach the gospel of love and unity. But in the hour of China's peril, the fallen people of India now go there as the harbinger of political repression: the age-long affinity that tradition has built up at once crumble down to pieces. Can anything be more deplorable?

We are being repeatedly reminded by the British statesmen that England is fighting on the defensive in China. But who gave the offence, may I ask? Who attempted to thrust opium down the throat of the whole population of China at the point of the bayonet and penalized their noncompliance by taking possession of their country? Why was Hong Kong wrested away from the Chinese people by force? It was China's weakness that made her submit at that time, and if a powerful China now demands the restoration of what was once her own, surely a long possession by force cannot be urged by the English as a justification for retaining an ill-gotten property. It was the English who took up the original offensive, and they should not now take shelter under the false cry of a defensive campaign. It is China that is really on the defensive.

Let the English indulge in the free exercise of their arbitrary will within India, but let them not compel us to participate in the colossal crime against humanity in China. Let them desist from the unholy exploitation of the helplessness of a people in order to rob other peoples of their heritage. Let lose your engine of "law and order" to work with unabated vigour, but for God's sake leave us alone to drink the cup of our humiliation within the four corners of this land and not make an exhibition of it before the world.

War clouds hover to-day over the sky of humanity. The cry resounds in the West; and Asia doth prepare weapons in her armouries of which the target is to be the heart of Europe: and nests are being built on the shores of the Pacific for the ravening vulture-ships of England. True, Japan of the farthest East is already awake. China in her turn is being roused at the sound of robbers breaking through her walls. It may be that this gigantic nation will be able to shake off the weakness of repeated blood-letting and of the fumes of opium, and become self-conscious. And of course, those who have been engaged in rifling her pockets will be bound to look on this as a menace to Europe.

British Use of Indian Soldiers in China

Rabindranath has voiced India's condemnation of the Chinese expedition and of Britain's use of Indian soldiers in China in his own matchless way. *The Modern World*

of Baltimore, U. S. A., for May has given extracts from some Indian journals on the same subject the first being from this REVIEW, with the following prefatory words:—

Since there is no subject, at the moment, on which skepticism is better justified than the willing acceptance by the people of India of British use of Indian soldiers in China. We give the following very illuminating comments from the Indian press.

The American paper observes in conclusion:—

Britain's use of Indian troops by *force majeure* is merely a part of the accustomed technique of imperialism. The belief by the outside world that India willingly submits to this condition is, however, an error which should not be allowed to prevail.

"Coerce or Convince"

We read in the same journal:—

In his recent address to the Indian Legislative Assembly the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, said:

"Those anxious to see constitutional advance must either coerce parliament or convince it. Parliament will not be coerced."

As several papers in India have noted, Lord Irwin does not appear quite to understand the history of British institutions and of the British Empire.

There is little evidence in the past to indicate that British rule, domestic or imperial, has, at any time, been convinced without coercion. Even the suffragists gained their point by methods of coercion. There have been, indeed, political writers who have exalted this fact in English constitutional development declaring that, every right the individual now enjoys having been won by force or the show of force, it has more validity than the rights given to the citizens of such democracies as France and the United States.

Lord Irwin does less than justice to his nation. Always it has given way only when coerced and never has a wider range of coercion encircled it! It is coerced today by the moral strength of Gandhi. It is coerced by the astuteness and diplomacy of Soviet Russia. It is coerced by the Kuomintang armies. It is coerced by the economic boycott increasingly applied to it. It is coerced by American financial supremacy.

Even in the country houses Englishmen are slowly being convinced that the day for their predatory activities is beginning to pass. Despite Lord Irwin coercion and coercion alone is bringing this conviction.

Abolition of Slavery in Nepal Not due to League of Nations' Influence

Fiji Samachar for March has reproduced an article from *Anti-slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend*, January, 1927, which briefly narrates the history of that measure.

As we have pointed out more than once, the League of Nations had nothing whatever to do with it, directly or indirectly, though Sir William Vincent gave the League credit for it. *Anti-slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend* writes :—

We have received an interesting note from the Nepal Anti-Slavery Office, briefly reviewing the work of the Maharaja. It appears from this that for a century the ultimate abolition of slavery has been in the minds of the Administration of Nepal and "some sort of legislation" has been passed from time to time, but it remained "to all intents and purposes a dead letter" as a result of the deep-rooted character of the institution and the proslavery sympathies of the population. The present Maharaja determined to carry the matter further. While fully aware of the difficulties, he has deeply impressed with the abuses and excesses inseparable from the institution of slavery. As a beginning, in order to ascertain full particulars of the slave population, he instituted a census in 1911 and again in 1921, and a general register was formed, which became the basis of the work of the subsequent emancipation. The laws on the subject of slavery were carefully collected, sifted and arranged, and then His Highness determined to appeal to the people and made his great speech of November 1924, at the same time announcing that he himself would make a gift of 14 lakhs of rupees to meet the requisite compensation money, and would provide more if necessary. This courageous policy met with an encouraging response, and by an overwhelming majority the slave-owners declared in favour of total abolition.

Changing Values in India

R. F. Maccune writes in *Vox-Studentium* of Geneva :—

The number of University students cannot be very much more than 100,000. The influence of the *literals*, however, is very great.

If there is one factor that affects the development of the Indian people to-day more than another, that factor is Poverty—not a low standard of comfort, but want of food and clothing. Hundreds of men come out of the Universities every year only to add to the number of the unemployed. The last days of the average Indian student's university career are shadowed by the fear, not of economic insecurity, but of *virtual* starvation in the immediate future. Some people who have been in India might consider this an overstatement. They have seen Indian students of just one "set"; and they do not know.

If the present-day student in India has any religious cult at all it is, broadly speaking, the cult of "social regeneration." His estimate of the values of life is in fact changing. He has, for instance, learned to grasp the real worth of human personality. Whatever his practice as a member of a community he does not *think* much of caste. He often calls it "an accident of birth." The days of "untouchability" are numbered in India now—and the present university student will be responsible for its extinction in no small measure.

Again the subconscious but effective feeling which has somehow lurked in the Indian mind that "woman cannot be trusted, that her nature is deceitful" affects but little the university student of to-day. The men recognise her as a being endowed with moral discernment even as they are.

Indian Students in Europe

According to P. R. Bharucha, writing in *The Indus* :—

Japanese and Chinese students speaking to equip themselves to grapple with the problems of their respective countries are found generally spread all over Europe, not necessarily confining their studies at any one single place, but wandering from university to university training themselves under the most competent teachers, whether in England, France, Germany, Denmark or elsewhere. And recently, the Government of Afghanistan has encouraged its students to do the same. There is no good reason why Indian students should not follow this method, instead of flocking almost exclusively to Oxford, Cambridge, London, or Edinburgh. Hitherto very few of us have ventured to try French or German universities.

Surely the young Indian trying to learn all about the co-operative movement at the London School of Economics, or Forestry at Oxford is an unconscious humorist! It does not seem to occur to him that for the first, he ought to go to Denmark and for the second he ought to go to France or Germany!

The writer says he is not concerned with those who go to England to qualify for good jobs.

We address ourselves to the young Indians who come out here as seekers, as learners. Their first care is, we presume, to make the best use of their time and opportunities here; if they go home well-equipped, they will find enough to do to occupy their whole lives; they can create jobs for themselves. We ought to study the methods of the Japanese student who comes to Europe not to collect degrees and diplomas, but to sit and learn at the feet of the great European *gurus*, and like a true scholar wanders from one place of learning to another, seeing and tasting of the best that Europe has to give. Not that we have any quarrel with degrees and diplomas as such; but let them be treated as mere incidentals.

Our present object is to draw the attention of our students to the fact that all the great Continental universities afford fine opportunities for study and research, and to urge them to take the fullest advantage of these opportunities for specialized studies, and to the endeavour that is being made to establish an international university centre at Montpellier in the South of France.

Justice for Kenya Indian

We read in the London *Indian* :—

British Settlers demand supreme control of

Kenya Council. They are only ten thousand in all while there are forty thousand Indians and Asians, and about three million Africans. Still they demand an absolute majority over all other groups. This will mean total degradation of Indians resident in Kenya. See what Mr. Churchill says about Indian achievement in Kenya:—

The Indian was here long before the first British official. He may point to as many generations of useful industry on the coast and in land as the white settlers can count years of residence. Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark upon a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith?

It is the Tory Government that is breaking faith with the Indians, and shall we apply the description of Churchill to their action?

In 1923 we were promised that there would be no segregation of Indians in township and residential areas. But this year 21 plots in the town of Mombasa are to be sold to Europeans only, the Indians not being allowed to buy. That is the way this Government is keeping its promises.

See Dr. Norman Leys' book on Kenya for what the Indian has done for the African population. The Indian is prepared to stand comparison with any other nationality for the uplift work that is being carried out. Yet under the name of civilization he is being unjustly dealt with.

A deputation has come from Kenya to London to place the matter before the Colonial Secretary, but he refuses to see them and asks them to see the Governor, with whom the matter has been discussed several times without any effect.

Kenya was called by Sir John Kirk as "India's America," meaning that it was an Indian colony in every respect. Indian laws were introduced in the country and Indian currency was ruling till 1922, when the new dangerous doctrine of European "vested interests being paramount" was first mooted. Since then the treatment of Indians has been that of squeezing them out of the colony and capturing it for British capitalists for exploiting the African.

India looks to British labour to help them to retain their hard-won achievements of centuries.

For Indians Desiring American Education

We read in *The Hindustance Student* (500, Riverside Drive, New York City, N. Y., U. S. A.):—

For detailed information about American educational institutions, consult the Secretaries of following organizations: American Academies Club, Jehangir Wadia Bldg., 1st Floor, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay; The American Club, 121 Esplanade Road, Calcutta; The Indian Students Union, 221 Gower Street, W. C. 1, London, England; Association des Hindous de Paris, 17 Rue de Sommerard, Paris, V, France; Verein der Inder in Zentral Europa E. V., Knesbeck-Str., 8-9, Berlin, Germany. Also consult American Express Company's offices. Copies of the booklet "Education in the United States of America" are available for reference in above places.

"Raison D'etre of Tagore Society" in Japan

Countess Metaxa, promoter of the Tagore Society in Japan, writes thus in part in *The Young East* of Tokyo:—

The society of the Friends of Tagore is being formed by us in answer to his appeal to the Far Eastern peoples in which he said that closer union of thought is necessary for the nations which have started their civilisation from a common source. A highly developed system of philosophy religion and knowledge of nature more extant, more transcendental than science of mere material facts, has been transmitted in common to the sages of several nations of the Far East from remotest antiquity. The conditions and circumstances of each of these nations were different, therefore the characters of their culture varied, but the foundation was one. Now China, India, Corea and Japan are like branches of the same tree, but the trunk which bears them is one. During centuries these nations have been infrequent intercourse and have kept their civilisation alive and thriving.

Our Society differs widely from the Pan-Asiatic one, because we do not study the ideals of the West Asiatic group of nations, as being utterly different from the East Asiatic one. Besides our aim is quite opposite, for politics are banished from our Society. Politics change, being based on personal or party interest, and nothing is so shallow as politics.

Therefore, our Society leaves out politics and concerns itself with the ideal and moral standard of the East Asiatic peoples. For this purpose it is vital to concentrate once more on that ancient wisdom which has been the pith and marrow of their life, and then, after having consolidated that acquirement as a national treasure, receive from the West what is congenial to their own nature, not blindly imitating, but appreciating, criticising, choosing freely, and rejecting what might make them weak and false to themselves.

Now the moment has come for the Eastern nations that partook in the past of the same civilisation to join together in order to strengthen the intellectual and moral tenets which were their common bond, so as to meet foreign influx in a clear independent broad spirit with a friendly heart, for only the strong can be really friendly. Now the man has come whom we can take for our model. Tagore the great Master of the East and to-day the greatest poet of the world. A Westerner said to me: "In future they will speak of Tagore as of Homer and study Bengali as we study Greek to read him in the original." True. Generally while great men are alive few persons understand their real value. Later, from a distance, humanity sees better. Let us not commit this error, let us appreciate him and follow his sunny figure while he is still with us. Tagore is an idealist but at the same time a positive and practical mind who has asserted himself by the creation of such useful institutions as his agricultural schools, farms and gardens at Santiniketan, his University at Bolpur. Standing on the solid basis of truth revealed to his ancient fatherland, he receives all that is just and good

in the foreign countries not losing his Hindu originality, and opening before his steps the hearts of European peoples. The union of East and West is possible, but it must be a union on equal level in the independent spirit of Tagore. Tagore is no dreamer. His feeling of eternal truth is based on transcendental reality. His love of life pervades his being with the sense of the Divine, and pours itself down on all the phenomena of earthly existence. In nature, in exterior things, he sees the link of the living Universe and this fills his soul with an ever renewed joy. I don't know one author in whose work the word "joy" comes again and again so often. All ancient Eastern philosophy is resumed in Tagore's short philosophical work, *Sadhana*, therefore our society will specially promote the study of this book.

To finish this exposition let me say once more that our aim lies in drawing nearer to each other in a bond of brotherly love, to safeguard what is beautiful in ancient culture and to walk into a larger future under the guidance of that great, radiant, loving genius, our Oriental teacher and poet Tagore.

Journalism in Italy

According to *The Inquirer* of London :—

The practice of journalism in Italy requires that the journalist must be of the "right" political faith. The National Fascist Syndicate of Journalists has issued an official *communiqué* which definitely excludes from the ranks of journalism more than 100 journalists, some of whom have had, under the old regime, very great influence on Italian political life. The Fascist syndicates will not allow any of them to resume in any possible way the exercise of the journalistic profession. Other journalists whose allegiance to the Fascist regime is doubtful will not be permitted to write articles requiring "any political responsibility."

Have Animals Souls ? French Academy so Decides"

Grace Knoche writes in *The Theosophical Path* :—

Thus the headlines of an Associated Press despatch from Paris, about the recent affirmative vote of the French Academy on this question, at a meeting of thirteen members.

The official report of this meeting is not before us, but several press-despatches are. From these it appears that the question came up rather unexpectedly in the course of the Academy's classic (and never finished) task of revising the French dictionary. *Mémoire* became the crucial word, its consideration eliciting the remark from Minister of Justice Barthou that (as translated in the despatches) "human beings alone possess memory (*Mémoire*), therefore the word itself applies to the human race alone."

Among those present were Marshals Joffre and Foch. Both protested against the statement because of personal experiences with various animals during the war, and cited instances in proof. Another

member, M. Henri Robert, the noted criminal lawyer, provoked further discussion by remarking that "while he had met many soulless men, he had never yet appeared for a soulless animal!" The discussion finally reached so amicable and dignified a conclusion that M. Regnier, the Academy's permanent secretary, called for a vote upon the question : "Do animals have memory (*Mémoire*) and incidentally, souls?" The thirteen Immortals, voting 8 to 5 decided affirmatively.

Sickness Insurance and Health

Professor G. Loriga, Chief Inspector of Labour, Rome, concludes his article on the place of sickness insurance in the national health system in *International Labour Review* thus :—

The object of benefits in kind as applied to accident insurance differs considerably from that which they have in relation to sickness and invalidity insurance. In the former case, the principal task to be fulfilled is one of preservation and reconstruction, which ceases with the individual; in the latter, the therapeutic function is associated with that of prophylaxis, present or future, and provision is made for prevention of the spread of disease, for improvement of the health of the present generation, and for the creation of more favourable conditions of existence for those to come. Thus, not only the individual but society as a whole benefits by it.

In view of this diversity of function, it might almost be said that accident insurance is an institution established principally for the purpose of affording assistance; the other forms of insurance are in the nature of social welfare institutions and as such form the most valuable auxiliaries of the state policy in relation to public health. In the author's opinion, in view of this difference in the aim of sickness insurance (the scope of which is not alone the restoration of the health of insured persons but also the preservation of their physical well-being and that of the whole community), the organisation of the medical service should be regarded as a matter of much greater importance, and should be rendered entirely independent of the administrative service. Moreover, it is felt that the following conditions are requisite for the efficient functioning of the medical service, both from the therapeutic and from the hygienic points of view :

(a) That assistance be made available for the greatest possible number of insured persons, both manual and intellectual workers, and for all the members of their families, living with or supported by them.

(b) That limits of benefit laid down for the purpose of repairing physical injury and for prophylactic assistance be made as broad as possible.

(c) That the needs of pregnant women, mothers and children of all ages receive special consideration.

In the present writer's opinion, sickness insurance established on these lines may become a really efficient adjunct to the social assistance of the economically weak, which is its ultimate

object, and may also contribute to a remarkable extent to the improvement of public health.

"Science Knows No Country

Arthur De C. Sowerby writes in the *China Journal*:

That science knows no country and knowledge is international are facts which we would have thought had been universally accepted throughout the twentieth century world. That the people of any nation laying claim to culture could be so backward or behind the times as to think that they could maintain a corner in any branch of human knowledge or retain the sole right to prosecute any particular line of investigation is hard to believe. Yet from Peking comes the astounding news that certain scientific organizations there have formed an association to fight the efforts of various foreign scientific expeditions to search for remains of ancient man and other treasures of geological and archaeological interest in different parts of China. It is held that Chinese ancient relics and treasures should be explored only by the Chinese people themselves. Particular exception appears to have been taken to the recent expeditions of the American Museum of Natural History into Mongolia and the proposed Swedish expedition under Dr. Sven Hedin into North-western China and Turkestan. Some of the members of the association have even gone so far as to demand the return to China of the "one million year old dinosaur eggs" discovered by Dr. R. C. Andrews and party in Mongolia and taken to America.

In so far as this movement aims at retaining in China valuable archaeological relics and actual treasures of a bygone age, we feel a considerable amount of sympathy with it, but to attempt to forbid foreign scientists from carrying out geological and archaeological explorations on the ground that this should be left for Chinese to do is carrying the principle of "China for the Chinese" to a point bordering on the ridiculous, and, if persisted in, will make Chinese scientists the laughing stock of the world, and place them outside the pale of modern science.

Chinese Women and the Struggle for Freedom

We read in the *China Weekly Review* :—

Sixteen years ago when Dr. Sun Yat-sen established his provisional government at Nanking, a

delegation of sixty Chinese women hobbled down the long street leading to the assembly building, hobbled along on their bound feet signifying centuries of oppression, to the assembly building and petitioned for the right to vote. This delegation received little attention at that time, but those Chinese women who gathered in the ante-room of the parliamentary building in Nanking sixteen years ago and interviewed Dr. C. T. Wang started something which has lived to this day and which has grown with ever increasing intensity to the present.

From that scene in Nanking of a decade and a half ago, we jump to present day Hankow the so-called seat of radicalism in China and we find as pictured herewith a women's Battalion, composed of very capable Chinese females who are actually helping in the revolutionary movement. No longer do these Chinese women hobble about on bound feet. They have normal feet and they wear the same kind of military uniform that their brothers wear and they carry very business-like revolvers and if we would believe all of the stories which are being circulated, they know how to use their weapons. It has been reported that these women, or at least some of them, have actually been in the front lines of battle, but this has not been substantiated. Usually they have been used as strike pickets, couriers red Cross relief, first aid behind the battle lines and so on.

The Arcos Raid

The New Republic observes :—

The British government's police raid on the premises of the Russian trade delegation and co-operative societies is an amazing incident. Sir William Joynson-Hicks, the Home Secretary, who appears to have been personally responsible for the action, asserts that the government was in search of a missing state document of importance. It was not recovered. He declares that it was burned by the Russians after the raid had started, while the Soviet representatives insist that it was never in their possession and that they know nothing about it. As a result of the incident, feeling against Great Britain is running high in Russia. Mass meetings of protest have been held in city after city, and the British government has felt it necessary to warn its citizens not to travel by the Trans-Siberian Railway until the present inflamed state of public feeling has moderated. The affair is certain to react unfavorably upon English trade with the U. S. S. R., which amounts at present to about \$65,000,000 a year.

MR. THOMPSON'S BOOK ON RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

MR. Edward Thompson has written a second book on the Poet Tagore, named "Rabindranath Tagore, Poet and Dramatist." I do not intend to review it. For, if I had

any leisure, I would devote it rather to reading and re-reading the Poet's prose and poetical works than to going through a book on him and his works by Mr. Edward

Thompson must not be understood to suggest that Mr. Thompson does not possess sufficient culture and powers of literary appreciation and criticism to write on poets' lives and works. What I mean is that the respective extents and degrees of his knowledge and of his ignorance of the Bengali language and literature are such that he is not competent to write on the works of the greatest of Bengali authors.

Let me be precise.

I do not mean that Mr. Thompson is absolutely ignorant of Bengali. For, I presume, he knows the Bengali alphabet, can probably consult a Bengali to English dictionary, and can form some idea of the substance of a piece of Bengali prose and poetry with the help of such a dictionary and of an educated Bengali translator. When he was in Bengal some years ago, he once tried to speak to me in Bengali, but gave up the attempt after perpetrating two or three sentences in broken Bengali. I believe, the teachers of our village primary schools possess more knowledge of Bengali than he. But as he is superior to them in other intellectual attainments, he can make such a display of his little Bengali as to be able to mislead his readers—unintentionally, let me hope. Nowhere has he frankly confessed how little he knows of the languages and literature of a country of whose greatest author he has set himself up as a judge.

I know that he is "lecturer in Bengali, University of Oxford" and have wondered whether other lecturers in living languages in that and other British universities are such marvellous scholars in their subjects as Mr. Thompson is in Bengali. Should that be the case, which I hope it is not and should that fact become known, Oxford would certainly be looked down upon with contempt by all real oriental scholars.

As if the fact of Mr. Thompson's being the lecturer in Bengali in a far-famed ancient university were not sufficient in itself to make the gods laugh, he states in the preface to his book that it "was accepted by London University as a thesis for their Ph. D. degree"! I wonder who the examiners were and what their pretensions to Bengali scholarship are. The winning of a London doctorate by two or three of my countrymen had made me suspect whether that university always obtains the services of competent and just examiners and whether some of its doctorates are not "consolation" degrees. Mr. Thompson's case strengthens my suspicion.

Were Mr. Thompson to appear at the Middle Vernacular Examination in Bengal, which is passed by many of our children before they are in their teens, he would be sure to be "ploughed" in the paper in Bengali literature. I will not be so unfair to him as to suggest that he should prove his Bengali scholarship by passing the Calcutta University Matriculation Examination in Bengali; for that would be too stiff for him.

Mr. Thompson must have been desperately determined to excite the risibility of the gods. For he has solemnly indited the following paragraph in his preface:

"Milton's English verse is less than 18,000 lines; Rabindranath Tagore's published verses and dramas, the subject of the present study, amount to 100,000 or their equivalent. His non-dramatic prose, in the collected edition of his works now in process, will be in the proportion, to his verse and dramas, of seven enormous volumes to three. *I undertook the appalling task of reading through his bulky literature, because I wished to understand the people among whom I was living: I wrote this book in the hope of serving two races.*" (The italics are mine. R. Chatterjee.)

It is not impossible that Mr. Thompson has performed the visual feat of looking at all the pages of all the published Bengali works of Tagore, *though he himself confesses that he has not seen many of the books* listed in his Bibliography. But does he mean to tell us seriously and expect us to believe that he is scholar enough to have *studied* "this bulky literature"? *Credat Judeus.*

Three facts mentioned in his book, viz., that he is lecturer in Bengali in the University, of Oxford, that his book was accepted as a thesis for the Ph. D. degree by London University, and that he has read through all Tagore's works has confirmed my belief that, so far at least as the vernaculars of Britain's dependency of India is concerned, SCHOLARS ARE BORN, NOT MADE, in the British Isles. Old Vishnu Sharma has told us somewhere in his work that people are reputed to be strong because of their wealth, and because of wealth they are considered become scholars also (*arthad bhavati panditah*). Had he been living now, he would have ascribed the genesis of the reputation for scholarship to political ascendancy also.

Had Mr. Thompson to write a book on a third-rate German or French poet, would he have dared to do so with such poor knowledge of German or French as he possesses of Bengali? Our humiliation and sufferings as a subject people are already too

many in various directions. But is that any reason why our greatest poet should be made to feel that he has been treated, not as a member of the world brotherhood of authors, but as a member of a subject race and a grey-haired pupil of the pedagogic Mr. Thompson? The tone of the book in many passages is of such (unconsciously) supercilious patronage as to make it very irritating reading.

The author asserts :

"I believe that no other nation would have served India better than my own has done ; but, on the whole, they have shown themselves very incurious as to its thought and literature. Resentment of this neglect has estranged educated Indians, and is a factor of first-rate importance in the present strained situation."

This is not the place to discuss what the British people have done in and for India and whether any other nation could have done better. But even Mr. Thompson will, I hope, allow that we the people of India know far better than he what we resent and what has created "the present strained situation" I can tell him unhesitatingly that it is *not* the "incuriosity" of the British people as to India's thought and literature which is mainly, if at all, responsible for estranging educated Indians, and that, as there is little or no resentment of this neglect, it is *not* a factor of first-rate or tenth-rate importance in the present strained situation, if it be a factor at all. Personally, I do not know a single educated Indian who *resents* this neglect and has been estranged by it. What we really resent, I need not say.

Mr. Thompson says in the preface that he has drawn largely on the poet's discussions with him. Many foot-notes do indeed tell us that the passages quoted are from the poet's "conversation" with him. Did Mr. Thompson take notes of these conversations in the presence of the poet at the time of these talks? If not, how long afterwards did he take down the notes? Did he ever tell the poet that he was doing so? Did he inform him that any of these notes would be published? Did he ever show them to the poet for verification before making public use of them? I know that he did not. I know that the poet does not remember having told Mr. Thompson many of the things he has reported. It is possible, though not at all certain or probable, that in some instances the poet has simply forgotten. But is it not very probable that in more instances Mr.

Thompson's memory and his preconceptions have been to blame? In any case, gentlemanliness, fairness and the scholar's anxiety for absolute accuracy, so far as that is attainable, should have prompted the Reverend E. J. Thompson to behave in such a way as to enable him to answer in the affirmative most of the questions I have put above.

As regards the book having been accepted by London University as a the-*is* for their Ph. D. degree, may I ask what sort of documentation is required by that University for doctorate theses? Are notes of conversations taken to be correct and reliable without any proof of their accuracy?

In this article I am not concerned with the merits or demerits of the book as a whole. I write only of what my eyes fell upon in turning over its pages.

Mr. Thompson writes, page 88, "He seems to have made no direct study of the New Testament." This is not true. The poet has read the New Testament, but not the Old. According to Mr. Thompson, "Tagore (*Thakur*, 'Lord') was a title used by the early British officials for any Brahmin in their service." The poet himself, it is to be presumed, knows more of the derivation of his family name than the Oxford lecturer. And it is likely, too, that his knowledge of the history of Bengali word-meanings is greater than that of the author. So I merely state the fact that the poet has never heard that his family name became Thakur for the reason assigned by the author. Nor have I. Who is Mr. Thompson's authority?

According to him, "Pirili," the name of the Brahmin sub-caste to which the poet's family belongs, is derived from Persian *pir* + *ali*, "chief minister." That is wrong, according to my information. The story goes that an ancestor of the Tagores was a high officer of a Musalman chief of Jessore named Pir Ali. This ancestor of the family was excommunicated by the orthodox Hindus of the time because he had involuntarily allowed the smell of some meat dishes prepared for the chief to enter his nostrils; as according to a Sanskrit adage, smelling is half-eating. Pir Ali is a common Muslim proper name. See the Bengali dictionary by Jnanendramohan Das, the best yet published.

About the poet Michael Madhusudan Datta, the author writes :

"He keeps an almost unbounded popularity, and there can be very few among Bengal's

thousands of annual prize-givings where a recitation from his chief poem is not on the programme."

Every educated Bengali holds the opinion that Michael was a great poet. But as to recitations from his chief poem, the author has been misinformed. I have been a schoolboy, a college student, a school-master, a professor, a principal, and a president at many annual prize-givings. But I do not remember a single such function at which any recitations were given from Michael. During the last four months I have presided over two prize-givings. In these, too, the recitations were from other authors.

I have said that I am not at present concerned with the quality of Mr. Thompson's work. Nor am I concerned with his opinions of the poet's works. Nevertheless, as I find that he has devoted one whole chapter to the poet's "jibandata doctrine," as the author calls it, I wish to say that he has not understood it aright. He had better ask the poet the reason why, if he be in the humble mood to learn.

Mr. Thompson holds that in *The Home and the World* Tagore has adapted the scheme of Browning's *The Ring and the Book*. But the author himself says in another place, "First-hand knowledge of Browning came late, and even then, I suspect, was confined to the short pieces." Moreover, *The Ring and the Book* is a sort of grouping together of stories of a murder told from different points of view whereas in *The Home and the World* the chief characters analyse their own respective feelings and moods, and the workings of their own minds as influenced by various events and circumstances. I fail to see, therefore, how there has been any adaptation here. It is not necessary for my purpose to discuss the point in greater detail.

As regards the play *Achalayatan*, Mr. Thompson thinks "Its fable was probably suggested by *The Princess*, and more remotely, *The Castle of Indolence* and *The Faerie Queen*." I know the poet has not read either *The Faerie Queen* or *The Castle of Indolence*. As for *The Princess*, the poet, I know, is unable to perceive the remotest resemblance between it and *Achalayatan*; nor am I. The author thinks that this dramatic piece "obviously owes something to Christianity, perhaps more than any other book of his." I wish Mr. Thompson had stated definitely where the debt lay. I could then have disproved his assertion, as I

hold he is wrong. He is equally wrong when he says that "It owes much to such modern Hindu movements as" that of Ram-Krishna and Vivekananda, which inculcates the oneness of all religions." Here, too, it would have been well if he had stated where the debt lay by quoting parallel passages and sayings. It is not my point that Rabindranath has not been influenced by any ancient or contemporary movements or teachers or literatures. What I insist upon is that nobody should run away with a preconceived notion or say things which cannot be proved. Mr. Thompson had said several such untrue things in his smaller book on the Poet, which were pointed out in *Prabasi*. Perhaps it is mainly because of the elaborate *Prabasi* review that he admits in his present work that the earlier one "is mistaken in some respects."

In more than one passage of his book the author tells the public that after the poet's "famous success", with his *Gitanjali* winning the Nobel prize, there has been a "complete reversal" among Britishers and the poet has been treated "as an exposed charlatan." But he has not given his readers any extracts even from newspaper reviews of Tagore's works to substantiate the truth of these uncomplimentary remarks ascribed to the poet's British critics. Meanwhile his British publishers are as eager as ever to publish new works of his and new editions of his old works. They are hard-headed men of business, not "the Poet's Bengali admirers." Does this show a "reversal"?

Mr. Thompson does not perhaps like that the poet is so popular among German-speaking peoples. He says that "reaction will come, as elsewhere." But during my recent visit to Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria, I did not find any signs of this predicted reaction.

Mr. Thompson's Howlers

I have no time to compare Mr. Thompson's translations of Tagore's poems with their originals. But I will give some of his translations of Bengali words, including names of the Poet's works, etc. These deserve to take their place among schoolboy howlers.

He translates "Kabiwallas" as "poet-fellows." This is ridiculous. "Kabi" means "poet" undoubtedly. But in current and colloquial Bengali it means also the verses, poems,

songs, doggerel, improvised by the Bengali improvisadores, who had great vogue some decades ago. See Juanendramohan Das's Dictionary. They were called "Kabiwallas", that is to say, "makers of *Kabis*." Perhaps Mr. Thompson is not acquainted with any such improvised "Kabi". I will give one here. Once at Jara, a village in Midnapore, the home of a Zemindar family, there was a "poetic tournament" between two Kabiwallas. One named Jaga sang first, comparing Jara to Brindaban, to flatter the Zemindar. Then up rose his rival, and sang :—

কি কোরো বলি, জগা, জাড়া গোলোক ব্রন্দাবন ।
কোথা রে তোর আনকুণ্ড, কোথা রে তোর রাখকুণ্ড,
সান্নে আছে মাণিককুণ্ড, কোথগে মুলো শরশন ।—
কবি গাইবি পরমা নিবি, খোদাবুঁী কি কারণ ?

"How could you, O Jaga, call Jara Golok Brindaban? Where is your Shyam Kunda, where your Radha Kunda? Right in front of you is Manik Kunda: go and see its radishes there. You are to sing *Kabis* and take the fee; why indulge in adulation?"

Shyam Kunda and Radha Kunda are in the real Brindaban. Manik Kunda is a village near Jara noted for its big radishes.

The author translates "*ayi-ma*" as "nurse" in *Loving Conversation of a Newly-Wedded Bengali Couple* (p. 89). *Ayi-ma* means grandmother or great-grandmother.

Chalita bhasa is not "walking language," but current or colloquial language.

Sabdattva is not "sound and reality," but "the science of words", or philology in one of its branches.

"Chhutir Pada" (ছুটির পদ্য) is not "Verses in Leisure" but "Readings (for boys and girls) for Vacation time." *The readings are in prose.*

"Gita-panchashika" does not mean "Five Loops of Song", but a collection of fifty songs. Just as "score" stands for twenty collectively, so *panchashika* stands for fifty collectively. The name has nothing to do with the Bengali word Shika (শিক). Mr. Thompson's translation must cause uncontrollable laughter among Bengali women; —they do not keep songs on *Shikas*!

"Arupa-ratana" is not "The Ugly Gem," but "The Formless Jewel", meaning the Being Who has no form.

Let me stop here. It would be a tiresome job to point out all the laughable renderings of the author.

To be a competent judge of the works of any people's poets, a man's mind should be steeped in their literature as it were. He should have long breathed its atmosphere, and known the associations which cling to many of its words, etc. But can the author of howlers like those to be found in Mr. Thompson's book be believed by any stretch of imagination to have equipped himself in that manner for his difficult task?

নিরক্ষপাদ্যে দেশে পরডোদপি দৃশ্যত ।

PRIMARY EDUCATION FOR BENGAL

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE news has been published in some papers that Mr. B. Chakrabarti, Minister in charge of Education, Bengal, has drafted a primary education bill for introduction in the next session of the Bengal Legislative Council. The draft not having been published yet, I have not seen it. Its object is said to be the extension and improvement of primary education. It is also said that universal or compulsory education will not be attempted, but nevertheless new taxation will be resorted to for meeting the expenditure needed for the improvement and extension contemplated.

Political, economic, social, moral, edu-

cational, sanitary, agricultural, industrial, commercial, and all other kinds of progress, are interdependent; and many, if not most, of these divisions overlap. But in this note I shall deal only with primary education. I need not discuss whether without education any advance along any line can be made. Some education, I take it, is necessary for advance and improvement in any direction. And for an entire nation the easiest and surest means of imparting education is literacy. Therefore, we have to consider the ways and means of making the entire population of Bengal, above the age of 5, literate.

This cannot be done at once. Those old

men and women who are illiterate we may leave out of consideration. For, though it may not be *impossible* to make them literate, it is impracticable. The remaining adult illiterate male population may be taught the three R's, and much else besides by means of the magic lantern, the cinema, etc. The adult illiterate women are more difficult to tackle. Nevertheless, an attempt should be made to educate them. For the present, what I am concerned with is the education of boys and girls. If we could give elementary education to *all* of them, in course of time, when the old and adult illiterates would die out, the whole country could be spoken of as literate.

In many civilized countries, where universal elementary education is the rule, such education is given to all children of the ages between 6 and 14 years. In Bengal let us be less ambitious. Let us see what it will cost to impart elementary education to boys and girls of 5 to 10 years of age. Girls must not be left out of consideration for any reason whatever. The Thakore Saheb of Gondal showed much common sense, shrewdness and insight into human nature when in his State he made primary education compulsory for girls alone, making it optional for boys. He argued that an educated or merely literate mother would be sure to try to make her sons and daughters literate, though many a highly-educated father does not feel ashamed to keep the daughters uneducated. And he also rightly argued that the illiterate husband of an educated wife, should there be any such, would be quick to educate himself for very shame.

I need not repeat the stock arguments in favour of the education of girls and women. The time has long past when it could not be taken for granted that their education was indispensably necessary in their own interests as well as in those of the nation as a whole.

In the British-ruled province of Bengal there were 73,42,558 boys and girls of the age 5 to 10, according to the census of 1921. Out of these, according to the Education Director's Report for 1925-6, only 16,50,555 children were at school on the 31st March, 1926, which means that less than 25 per cent. were at school. But we must provide schools for and educate all these children. Let me assume that, owing to the natural increase in population, their number is now 75 lakhs. According to the Director's report the cost

of educating a child in a primary school in Bengal is on an average only Rs. 3-12-5 per annum. This is very much smaller than the all-India average, which in 1923-24 was Rs. 7-13-3 for boys and Rs. 10-6-5 for girls. It is a disgrace that so little per head is spent in Bengal for the primary education of its children. This disgrace attaches to the Government of India for fleecing Bengal to the skin, to the successive Governors and Governments of Bengal for submitting to be so fleeced and for not allotting more money for primary education and to the people of Bengal for not doing their very utmost to remedy such a scandalous state of things.

Let me, however, see what it would cost to give all the seventy-five lakhs of Bengal's children primary education of the kind and quality that may be had for even the very small sums spent. Let me make the amount Rs. 4 instead of Rs. 3-12-5. Then the total expenditure would come to Rs. 3,00,00,000 (three crores or thirty millions of rupees). Is this too big a sum to spend for giving primary education to *all* the children of a province containing a population of 4,66,95,536? Certainly not. But the question arises, how can the expenditure be met? It can be quite easily met, if the Government of India allows Bengal to keep for its own expenditure an equitable portion of the revenues raised in Bengal.

How hard Bengal has been hit by the apportionment of revenues between the Central and the Provincial Governments will appear from the following table:—

Province	Population in 1921	Provincial Income Budgeted for 1927-8
Bengal	4,66,95,536	10,73,39,000
Madras	4,23,18,985	16,54,80,000
Bombay	1,93,48,210	15,08,00,000
U. P.	4,53,75,787	12,94,50,000
Punjab	2,06,85,024	11,13,00,000

This table shows that the most populous of the five major provinces is allowed the smallest sum of money for its expenses. Bengal is not a barren desert. Bengal is not a province without any industries or commerce. It does not occupy the lowest place among the provinces in agriculture, commerce and industries. The total revenue collected in this province, whether classed as provincial or central, is not the smallest of all collected in the different provinces. On the contrary, Bengal's total collection is the largest. Why then is Bengal allowed to keep only the smallest amount?

It is usual to say that, owing to the permanent settlement of the land revenue in Bengal, the land revenue here, which is a provincial head of income, is very small, and hence Bengal's total budgeted income is small. But the Permanent Settlement was made by the British Government with the landlords in its own interest. The people of Bengal as a whole were not a party to it. They do not benefit by it; for, the majority, who live by agriculture directly or indirectly, have to pay the landlords in the shape of legal, non-legal and illegal exactions not less than the common people in other provinces. If any persons profit by it, it is the very small minority of Zemindars. Let the Government, therefore, say and do what it likes to these landlords. We the ordinary people must refuse to be cheated and starved, because in the year 1793 the British Government and the Zemindars entered into some arrangement mutually advantageous to them.

Moreover, if less land revenue is raised in Bengal than in some other provinces, more revenue is raised by taxation of some other kinds in Bengal than elsewhere. Let us take, for instance, land revenue and the income tax for the year 1924-25, the latest from the latest issue of the *Statistical Abstract*.

Province	Land Revenue	Income Tax	Total of the two
Bengal	3,10,73,587	5,54,73,933	8,65,47,520
Madras	6,15,05,867	1,31,56,365	7,46,62,232
Bombay	5,16,52,815	4,03,77,094	9,20,29,909
U. P.	6,71,08,534	78,87,089	7,49,95,623
Punjab	3,53,68,120	60,67,102	4,14,35,222

Thus from the two sources named above it was only in Bombay that more revenue was raised than in Bengal, and that to the extent of only Rs. 54,82,389. But as against these fifty-four lakhs of Bombay, in the same year 1924-25, Rs. 3,75,63,920 were raised by export duty on the raw and manufactured jute of Bengal, which is practically a monopoly of Bengal.

It has been argued that the jute export duty is not paid by the people of Bengal, but by the foreign purchasers of jute. This is not axiomatic. For, as pointed out by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Legislative Assembly on the 10th of March this year, in the opinion of the Fiscal Commission, page 100 of their Report, "*some portion, if not the whole, of an export duty falls on the home producer.*" The same gentleman pointed out in the same

place and on the same day, that the Taxation Enquiry Committee observed in paragraph 150 of their Report:—

"In spite of the monopolistic character of the product, there exists a possibility that, in certain conditions of the trade, a portion of the export duty may fall on the producer."

So Bengal is entitled to *at least* part of the proceeds of the jute export duty. But assuming that the producer does not pay any part of the duty, according to what principle of justice or equity does the Government of India lay hold of the entire proceeds? It is in Bengal that the thing is produced. It is the Bengal Government which does something, however little it may be, for the improvement of the cultivation of jute. It is the people of Bengal who toil to produce the raw jute. It is they who suffer from the contaminated water and the malodours resulting from the steeping of jute. It is they who suffer from the pollution of the river waters by the septic tanks of the jute mills. It is the public health department of Bengal which does something, however little, for counteracting the injurious effects of the production of raw and manufactured jute. The Government of India simply looks on from its serene heights all the while, and it is only when the proceeds of the export duty are collected that it swoops down and carries off the booty in its mighty talons. The Meston Award, which has legalised this plunder, is absolutely iniquitous. *Bengal ought to have the whole of the jute export duty, and then free universal elementary education would be at once feasible*; as only three crores are required for it, and jute duty produces more than 3.75 crores. Up to the 31st March, 1927, the Government of India have, by means of this tax, netted at least 34 crores of rupees, starving all the "nation-building" departments of Bengal.

It has been argued that as the whole of the income tax revenue collected in Bengal is not really paid by the inhabitants of Bengal, they have no claim to it. Perhaps it is meant that the purchasers in other provinces of the things made or imported by manufacturers or importers in Bengal pay part of the income tax collected in Bengal; for these manufacturers and importers include the income tax in fixing prices. Assuming the cogency of this argument, at least the portion of this revenue which is paid by private individuals out of their incomes in Bengal, can certainly be claimed by Bengal.

And as for the portion of this tax paid by manufacturers and importers, surely the province which is able to give them a local habitation and opportunities of enterprise owing to its geographical and other advantages, ought to be entitled to what they pay as income tax. Great Britain is mainly a manufacturing country, and its manufactures are for the most part sold in various foreign lands, including India. In fixing prices British manufacturers take into consideration the income tax they would have to pay. Therefore, in reality, it is the foreign purchasers of British goods who pay most of the British income tax. But does the British Treasury for that reason send to the public treasuries of the purchasing countries the bulk or any portion of the British income tax collections? We Indians should be very glad to have our share!

For all these reasons we have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that Bengal should be given as much money as Madras, or as Bombay, which has less than half of its population, and then free universal elementary education would at once become quite easy. We do not in the least suggest that Madras or Bombay or any other province should be robbed to do justice to Bengal. Nothing of the kind. There is ample room for economy in the spending departments of the Government of India. Let there be retrenchment there, and all will be well.

I am entirely opposed to any extra taxation for extending primary education, as we have shown that the thing would be quite feasible if Bengal were equitably treated by the Central Government. Let our Ministers manfully stand up for such just treatment. If they do not get it, let them resign. But if they, the brown bureaucrats, simply cry ditto to the white bureaucracy and go in for additional taxation, they would simply prepare the ground for civil disobedience. An educational tax or cess in the present financial arrangements and circumstances of Bengal, would more than justify a "No Taxation" civil disobedience campaign.

The suggested expenditure of three crores of rupees for primary education in Bengal is nothing extravagant. In the year 1924-25 Bombay spent Rs. 1,70,12,999 for 556,566 Primary School pupils, and Madras spent Rs. 1,41,14,168 for 18,98,436 pupils. Therefore, to suggest the expenditure of Rs. 3,00,00,000 for 75,00,000 of pupils is rather to err greatly on the side of culpable economy.

I have hitherto said only what can and ought to be done by the Government. In constitutional theory, the Government and the white bureaucracy are not identical. But it lies in the power of the white bureaucracy to give effect to what ought to be the principles of all enlightened governments. It is on that account that they are called upon to do their duty. We do not want any alms from them. We only ask that, instead of mis-spending the money we pay in taxes, they spend it for the improvement of the moral and material condition of the people. But if they do not do their duty, we should bring pressure to bear on them in all possible righteous ways.

Increase of income is not the only way to meet the suggested expenditure. Retrenchment also is possible and should be resorted to. For instance, the posts of divisional commissioners, police superintendents, etc., may be abolished without loss of efficiency.

In the meantime, we can and ought to do something ourselves directly, in addition to or instead of what may be done by and through the Government.

Endeavours made by educated and comparatively well-to-do people for the good of the country are sometimes looked upon by them as favours done to the backward illiterate poor people. That is a false notion.

It is we the educated classes who are deeply in debt to the illiterate poor people for our education and in many other ways. In the two universities of Calcutta and Dacca, very much more is spent for the education of the university students per head per annum than is received from the students. This amount in excess, of which we are unable just now to give an exact idea, not having the necessary statistics before us, is contributed by the Government. Government grants come in the last resort either from the taxes paid by the common people or from their labour of various kinds. So, those who attend the University classes as students and obtain their degrees in the various faculties are indebted to their poorer and less fortunate countrymen for their intellectual equipment. As for collegiate education, I have compiled the following statement from the Education Director's Report for 1925-26, showing the expenditure per head and the amount contributed by the Government per head, per annum:

College	Annual Expenditure per student	Govt's share.
Presidency	Rs. 507 0 0	Rs. 366 0 0
Dacca Intermediate	" 415 12 2	" 325 4 9
Hughli	" 524 8 4	" 433 15 0
Sanskrit	" 614 10 3	" 564 2 3
Krishnagar	" 594 15 0	" 496 4 6
Chittagong	" 217 3 5	" 126 10 10
Rajshahi	" 207 9 2	" 111 4 11
Aided Colleges	" 103 2 0	" 23 7 2

The fees paid by the students do not suffice to meet all the expenses of their education. Government meets the deficit from the taxes paid by the people. Therefore, we the educated classes are indebted for our education to the people, and should try to repay this debt in all possible ways. It should not be supposed that our debt is measured simply by what the Government has paid *plus* interest thereon. We are indebted to our people for whatever money or fame or other things which our education has enabled us to acquire. Those who have graduated from private unaided colleges must not think that they have paid fully for their education and are not indebted to anybody. They are indebted to the comparatively poorly paid professors, lecturers and demonstrators of these colleges.

We can try to repay our debts in two

ways. Seeing that a primary school in Bengal can be maintained by an average annual expenditure of only Rs. 122-6-5, it should undoubtedly be within the means of many an educated well-to-do man in Bengal to maintain such a school. Those who are not in a position to do so can pay Rs. 3-12-5 per annum for the education of a single primary school pupil. Those who cannot do even that ought themselves to undertake to personally teach at least one child, not related to them, up to the highest primary school standard. Those who are in a position to make pecuniary contributions may do so to some Society or Association for the education of the people, which they know to be trustworthy. For my part, I recommend the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes, Assam and Bengal, of which the office is situated at 14, Badur-bagan Row, Calcutta.

In conclusion, I would appeal to the well-to-do Zemindars of Bengal to do their duty in this matter. There are Zemindars who have no village homes. They live in Calcutta or some other town. Others have homes in villages. All should do their duty to their tenants in the matter of education; for they owe their income to these rayats.

INDIANS ABROAD

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri Criticised

THE South African Settlement arrived at by the Habibulla Deputation has roused resentment among many of the South African Indian intelligentsia. Although, owing to a persistent propaganda carried on by certain persons, many people have been led to believe that the Settlement is something of a great achievement, it has not convinced everybody, and, we are probably facing a fresh period of intensive agitation in Africa for the recognition of Indian rights there.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, who has proclaimed the excellence of the new arrangement from the press and the platform, has come in for a large share of criticism from South African journals. In reply to an article contributed

by the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri to the *Hindustan Review* in which he discusses the present settlement, Mr. Subramania Aiyar, editor of the *African Chronicle*, publishes a spirited retort in *Indian Views*. He says about the article in question,

Shorn of all verbiage, the article is a tissue of platitudes and political contradictions and no wonder. Mr. Sastri is so unpopular politically in India as he is likely to be here ere long!

Mr. Aiyar later turns to Mr. Sastri's Poona speech and says,

The Hon. gentleman, the brain, head and shoulder of the Round Table Conference addressing his moderate and liberal colleagues at the Deccan Sabha at Poona, on the 6th March thus expressed his candid opinion on the Indian Settlement. He said that the difference between the White and the Coloured population in South Africa were both racial and economic. The respective

standards of life also markedly differed, a circumstance that should not be lost sight of. The whites have incurred sacrifice to maintain their higher standards and are afraid of the larger number of Indians in their midst who have comparatively a far lower standard and who are numerically superior. Those who seek an honourable solution of the Indian problem in South Africa must give due weight to these facts. Afraid of being swamped by Indians their reduction to a manageable compass was thus deemed necessary to the maintenance of the Standard of the Whites."

Mr. Sastri and his brother Islamic and European Colleagues came all the way from India, at the expense of the poor Indian tax-payers, with a view to elbow the Indian out and proclaim to the world that as a race the Indian is unfit to live, trade and work side by side with the white man! But in his eagerness to make out a case for the party he has espoused, Mr. Sastri has evidently been following a wrong course altogether and in building his case, he has started from erroneous premises and reached totally irrelevant conclusions. When he says that the Indian is numerically superior in number, there he starts from wrong premises, a reference to the statistics would prove the fallacy of his contentions. Indeed, the white population of South Africa is about one and half million, while the Indian population does not exceed 150,000 all told, and therefore, it would be obvious that it is not the Indian who is superior in number but it is the White!

Mr. Sastri maintains that the Whites have incurred sacrifice to maintain their higher standard more than the Indian who have comparatively a far lower standard" but the Rt. Hon. gentleman has apparently forgotten that the present high standard of living and that of the efficiency of their industries and commerce is due, if not entirely, at least to a very great extent to the exploiting policy pursued towards the Indian whose perseverance and noble sacrifices made Natal fit for European expansion in this outpost of the Empire. There was a time when the white man could not earn three shillings per day and had to run away from this country for pastures new and their crops were rooting on the ground for want of workers and for lack of distributing agents. Under such harrowing circumstances, the Indian was invited to colonise and it is he who brought prosperity and built up the commerce and industry which have proved the main frame work of the white civilisation and necessarily for the maintenance of the present high standard of living! After building up their industry and civilisation, now finds the white man that the Indian who was indispensable at one time is no longer desirable because the latter is : to use Mr. Patrick Duncan's fitting expression "advancing in education and civilisation" and as such is becoming a deadly competitor in the open market. The power and prestige of the white race as rulers over non-Europeans, disables them from frankly disclosing the true causes that have led to this burning race antagonism, and so, in order to make out a case against the Indians, they find it expedient to level against them all sorts of imaginary accusations, and in order to lend additional colour to these charges, they have in addition to spreading unfounded alarmist reports, armed themselves with a wage Colour Bar Act, and

a legislative Colour Bar Act all having the objective to keep the Indian and Native down for ever, without affording them an opportunity to raise their head above the water level, and yet the white races shout that the Indian is a menace to the country which Mr. Sastri and his colleagues, who were ostensibly our leaders and spokesmen accepted these asseverations for its face value.

After doing all these and similar vandalism in the name of the maintenance of "Western civilisation, and for upholding their "higher standard", and after exhausting all their ingenuity, subtlety, skill and power to deter other races from raising to a higher standard of living, it is simple amazing to hear from the lip of an outstanding Indian of the type of Mr. Sastri repeating the same old fable which Dr. Malan and Mr. Boydell have been in the habit of sermonising! If these were the real causes that influenced Mr. Sastri and his colleagues to arrive at the conclusion to "*reduce the Indian Population to a manageable compass*" then one is constrained to ask why should they visit South Africa to deliver this precious judgement! They could have confirmed it long ago, because the Paddison Deputation had already placed their seal of approval on behalf of the Indian Government and having all the official documents and Blue Books before them, they could have issued their ukase without this wastage of public money!

Indeed, one is very doubtful whether Mr. Sastri and his colleagues have arrived at the conclusions they did on the merits of the case or whether it is the outcome of political and high Imperial expediency which I leave to the public to draw their own inferences!

Mr. Aiyar further says :--

Indeed Mr. Sastri has committed an unpardonable blunder in being a party to this unnatural alliance with the Union Government for eliminating the Indian community from the shores of South Africa and undoubtedly he has done irretrievable damage to the cause of Indian Nationalism and to the future of our race among the comity of civilised nations. No patriotic Indian could help but saying that this so-called Settlement is a shame. It is a blot on the sacred name of India and certainly it is an insult to the wide culture and acute intellect of Mr. Sastri himself. In however, grand eloquent phraseology he may expatiate on the wonderful achievements of Sir Mahamed Habbibullah's statesmanship, the fact remains that the future historian of India would chronicle in bold black letters this dismal chapter in the history of South African Indian colonisation as a standing monument of India's eternal thralldom to an alien Empire, as a clear demonstration as to how Indian interests are bargained away for the paramount interests of this "White Empire," and as a manifest proof of how when a nation loses its freedom, that nation becomes callous to all manliness, indifferent to all sense of national honour and other distinguishable qualities which go to make up a free civilised being! However, India's subservient position to all and sundry white races having been established by the white beauracracy and their brown hench-men under this Settlement it is still to be seen whether the people of India and Indians of South Africa in

general would resign themselves to their fate and meekly with stoic indifference or whether any spirit left in them to survive the present ordeal. Time alone can tell the effect of this humble appeal to the higher instincts and nobility of character of the Indian people.

We are finally provided with an able summary of the present arrangement, which we reproduce below in full.

1. Under the Immigration Regulation Act, the stigma of undesirability imposed on the Asiatics as a race remains as ever before and those of the domiciled Indians are assigned only provincial domicile, but no Union domicile which debars them from being recognized as subjects of the Union and as such not entitled to claim the rights of South African Nationals even though one was born and brought up in South Africa: and in the absence of any provision in the Statute for recognition of Indians as Nationals of the Union, no settlement based on understandings would have any salutary effect on the fortunes of the domiciled Indian community.

2. The original stipulation of Dr. Malan's Reservation of Areas Bill, has been complied with under this settlement. Those were Dr. Malan maintained that Asiatics were an "alien element" in the population of this country and as such there must be a considerable reduction of them by economic pressure but not by force. In the present settlement, the acceptance of the so-called assisted Emigration of Indians by the offer of a bonus of £20 a head, in addition to amending the Immigration Law giving autocratic powers to the Executive to challenge the right of any Indian and to deport him, has satisfied that part of the conditions which had reference to the alien element. As for the economic pressure, the acceptance of the Industrial Legislation based on socialistic principles has completely swept the Indian off the board notwithstanding the pious wish of the signatories to this settlement to find some ameliorating steps for the Indian workers.

3. Dr. Malan aimed at segregating the whole Indian population within a radius of thirty miles; under this settlement while the Indian Government have yielded to segregation within municipal township and village board jurisdiction by their agreement for the sale of lands with restrictive clauses there is obviously no need for urban segregation because there will be no Indian population left on account of the fact that under economic pressure, the Indian will have to choose between starvation and repatriation!

4. Respecting the concession given to the Indian side, it has been maintained that the mere fact of the Union having agreed to allow the repatriates to retain their domicile for a period of three years after their return to India is a valu-

able concession. While I am not prepared to say anything about the practical effect of this concession, the point is whether the bulk of the permanently settled Indian population have given their consent to the Indian Government to bargain away their rights for the sum of £20?

5. It has been urged that the Union having bound themselves to afford opportunities for Indian advancement as they would other subjects is a Magna Charta! The point is whether the Union Government have, under this settlement, recognized at least those of the permanently settled Indian population as part of the general population of the Union! If that be so, then the Magna Charta could be considered a Magna Charta, but from the recent utterance of Dr. Malan, one has just apprehensions, when Mr. Strachan Martizburg representative in Parliament, suggested to the minister that the Provincial barrier should be removed in the case of those Indians who could comply with the European standard of living, Dr. Malan promptly repudiated any such undertaking and added that the policy of "localising the Indian" in their respective provinces shall be followed in fact; under the circumstances, wherein comes the Indian Magna Charta?

6. As regards the uplift of the Indians educationally, it was only last week that the Natal Provincial Council by a unanimous vote threw out the proposal. On the whole, from the foregoing analysis of this settlement, by which the Indian Community has gained practically nothing, coupled with the fact that the Union Government have introduced two Bills, which are in a disguised form, a part reproduction of the spirit of the late Reservation of Areas Bill, it must be transparent to all well-disposed and honest-minded citizens that the Indian Question has assumed a new phase and in all probability the community may, in the near future, be called upon to face a combined opposition from two powerful Governments in their endeavour to gain their elementary rights of citizenship for which they have hitherto been struggling! It is significant indeed that Mr. Sastri the pet of the British Imperialists, and the darling of the European Association of India and by no means an ardent Indian Nationalist, should have been chosen for the post of the first Agent General to this country, but despite his winning eloquence and consummate diplomatic skill, it is to be apprehended that, in the present temper of the Indian community, he is not likely to meet with a smooth working of his settlement and in fact, it is regrettable to note that, he has to a considerable extent estranged Indian public feeling in this country by his recent speeches and articles in the Press, in vindication of the unwise and questionable policy which he has been acting on in respect of the Indian question in South Africa.

REPRESENTATION ON THE POPULATION BASIS AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

AT one of its sittings in Bombay the All-India Congress Committee has resolved that the adequate representation of the "two great communities" of India should, if desired "be secured by reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the central legislature." This means that, so far as each of these two communities is concerned, the principle is recognised that the number of the representatives of each community in the Legislative Assembly is to be determined by its numerical strength. If a community is to have the number of its representatives in the Assembly determined by its numerical strength in a province, then it stands to reason that the number of representatives of each province in the Legislative Assembly should also be determined by the numerical strength of its total population. To take an example. If the Hindus of the Punjab and the Musalmans of the Punjab are to have a number of separate representatives in the Legislative Assembly, their respective numbers being determined by their respective numerical strength, then the total number of representatives of the entire population of the Punjab in the Assembly should be also determined after comparing the number of its inhabitants with the numbers of the inhabitants of the other provinces. If the population of British India be taken to be 240 millions in round numbers and if the number of elected members of the Assembly be fixed at, say, 120, then each province should have one member for every two millions of its population.

What we drive at may be summed up by saying that what is sauce for the Provincial Community Goose should be sauce for the Total Provincial Population Gander also.

Let us now see how many elected representatives in the Legislative Assembly each province has at present and let us also mention how many inhabitants each province contains.

Province	Elected Members	in L. A.	Population
Madras	16		42,318,985
Bombay	16		19,348,219
Bengal	17		46,695,536
U. P.	16		45,375,787
Punjab	12		20,685,024
Bihar and Orissa	12		34,002,189
C. P. and Berar	6		13,912,760
Assam	4		7,606,230
Delhi	1		488,188
Burma	4		13,212,192
Ajmer-Merwara	1		495,271

A glance at the table would suffice to show that representation has not been given to the provinces on the basis of population. It need not be pointed out which provinces have been unjustly treated on the population basis. Will the All-India Congress Committee pass a resolution that each province should have representatives in proportion to its numerical strength?

If we take the representation of any of the provinces as the standard, it will be found that some of the other provinces are under-represented and some over-represented. If the provinces of Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara, which have the smallest number of representatives, namely, one each, be taken as the standard, it will be found that all the other provinces are under-represented. If the province of Bengal, having 17 members, be taken as the standard, most of the other provinces will be found to be over-represented.

As Bombay has given birth to some, perhaps most, of the ablest statisticians of India, let us take Bombay as the standard and find out how many representatives the other provinces should have. For convenience of calculation let us take the population of Bombay to be twenty millions in round numbers. Then, as Bombay has sixteen members, we may say, the rule is that every province is to have one member for every 12,50,000 of its population. According to this rule the provinces should have the

following numbers of representatives in the Legislative Assembly :—

Bombay	16	C. P. and Berar	11
Madras	34	Assam	6
Bengal	37	Delhi	Nil
U. P.	36	Burma	10
Punjab	16	Ajmer-Merwara	Nil
Bihar and Orissa	27	Total	193

One hundred and ninety-three is by no means a large number for the Legislative Assembly of such a large and populous country as India. The British Parliament has a very much larger number of members, though it represents a much smaller number of inhabitants.

We do not, of course, suggest that the Legislative Assembly should be constituted exactly according to the table printed above. We have given the table just to show how representation in the Legislative Assembly on the population basis might look like.

It may be thought that, as things are, Bengal has the largest representation of all provinces. That is not true so far as the people of Bengal, we mean its Indian inhabitants, are concerned. Omitting the representatives of the European birds of passage, the provinces have the following numbers of representatives :

Madras	15	C. P. and Berar	6
Bombay	14	Assam	3
Bengal	14	Delhi	1
U. P.	15	Burma	3
Punjab	12	Ajmer-Merwara	1
Bihar and Orissa	12		

This table makes the unjust treatment of some provinces on the population basis still more glaring.

We do not know on what basis the Government has fixed the number of representatives for the different provinces. We have seen that the basis could not have been population ; for then, most of the provinces would have had, proportionately, far different numbers of members. Literacy or education could not have been the basis either. The numbers of literates in the different provinces are shown below.

Province	Literates	Indians' Representatives.
Assam	483,105	3
Bengal	4,254,601	14

Province	Literates	Indians' Representatives.
Bihar and Orissa	1,586,257	12
Bombay	1,645,533	14
Burma	3,652,043	3
C. P. and Berar	633,293	6
Madras	3,621,908	15
U. P.	1,688,872	15
Punjab	833,492	12

This table also shows how some of the provinces have been unjustly treated on the basis of the total number of literates.

The number of representatives may have been assigned according to the total amount of revenue collected in each province;—we do not know. We have not at present before us these figures of total revenue collections. When we have them or can make time to work out the totals, we may deal with the point. But we have a rough idea that even according to that basis some provinces would be found to have been unjustly treated.

Speaking for our own province of Bengal, we may say that, whatever basis of representation be adopted, Bengal would be found to have been very unjustly treated, and is woefully under-represented.

Of the eleven provinces which send representatives to the Legislative Assembly, six, namely, Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the United Provinces, Assam and Burma, have been saddled with representatives of the European community. This incubus is the heaviest in the case of Bengal. Europeans in Madras have one representative, in Bombay two, in the United Provinces one, in Assam one and in Burma one ; but Bengal Europeans have three representatives, to counterbalance as much as they can the totally inadequate representation which the Indian inhabitants of Bengal have. Bengal has allowed almost the whole of her commerce and industries to be captured by outsiders. She pays the penalty by her wealth being drained away. But under-representation of her Indian inhabitants and over-representation of her European birds of passage is an additional punishment which she does not deserve.

NOTES

Audit Control of Public Expenditure

The Accountant General, Central Revenues, has favoured us with a copy of *Audit and Appropriation Accounts of the Central Government (Civil)* for the year 1925-26. This compilation is a feature of the new constitutional reform in India, and fulfills a statutory requirement. The transitional character of the administrative changes in India is reflected by the fact that, though the present volume relates to the fifth year of the Montagu reform era, it is the second report on the British model. The usefulness of a strict audit control over departmental expenditure cannot be exaggerated under any form of Government. In the British Isles, this control is exercised not merely in the interests of economy and regularity of expenditure, but also as a powerful aid to parliamentary control over spending departments. While financial decorum and integrity are ensured by the examination of accounts with reference to technical rules by an authority independent of the administrative departments, the audit and appropriation accounts enable the House of Commons, through its Public Accounts Committee, to satisfy itself that expenditure has not transgressed the scope of the different heads under which money was voted. Since 1921, the Legislative Assembly in India has enjoyed a limited right of voting expenditure; and as a corollary to it, the Government of India Act requires the appointment of a Public Accounts Committee, partly elected by non-official members of the Assembly and partly nominated by Government, to examine and report on the "voted" expenditure of Government. The Committee is presided over by the Finance Member, and is assisted by the Auditor-General in its work of scrutiny of the audit and appropriation accounts. Principal departmental officers appear before it as witnesses to be examined in detail on the points arising out of the accounts, and sometimes a wide ground of administrative questions is covered by such examination. This procedure not unoften leads to exposures of official improprieties of varying magnitudes. The Committee thereafter presents its report

to the Assembly along with a verbatim transcript of the evidence of departmental witnesses. The Finance Member at the same time moves for the formal grant of any excess vote under any head that may be necessary to regularise expenditure of the year under report. Such excess vote does not necessarily mean actual provision of additional funds, because excess of expenditure under one head is almost invariably counterbalanced by unspent money under others. Though the control of expenditure thus exercised by a parliamentary institution is 'post mortem' in character, tradition has made it none the less effective in Great Britain. To be reported to the Public Accounts Committee for any irregular spending, is considered to be a severe ordeal and chastisement for the British official. The limitations of the present Indian constitution, the privileged position of the superior officialdom, the division of expenditure into "votable" and "non-votable", and the shadowy character of the authority of the Legislative Assembly even in the sphere of "votable" expenditure, tend to deprive this well-known parliamentary expedient of its potency as an engine of control and correction.

The volume before us deals with both "votable" and "non-votable" expenditure of the Government of India in all departments, excepting Military, Railway and Posts and Telegraphs, and it will be considered by the Public Accounts Committee shortly. A detailed examination of the contents of this compilation would be beyond the scope of these notes; and we hope the daily press will do greater justice to these official publications than it has hitherto done. We will, however, touch upon a few salient feature of these accounts, just as a sample of the valuable materials that are available to the publicists even in dry-as-dust audit reports.

In the year under review, the departments covered by the report were responsible for an expenditure of about 28¾ crores of rupees under the "voted" head, and about 28½ under "non-voted", as against total grants of about 37 crores voted by the Assembly and about 29½ crores in the non-voted sphere. The percentage of total savings under voted grants

works up to 22'50 and under non-voted grants to 3'55. This remarkable disparity in the proportions of savings points to overbudgeting of "votable" expenditure (in expectation of cuts ?) and the report itself admits "a tendency to provide more funds than ultimately prove actually required for voted expenditure". It appears that the Public Accounts Committee drew attention to this evil tendency while dealing with the accounts for 1924-25. The fact that over-estimating is not so noticeable in the non-voted sphere, suggests the necessity of a scientific inquiry into the psychology of departmental authorities, that secures far greater accuracy in estimates in the non-voted compartment of public expenditure. Though the total expenditure shows a large saving, there are individual heads under which grants have been exceeded. Thus, sanction of the Legislative Assembly is required for an excess expenditure of about 12 lakhs under certain votable grants, while the non-voted grants under certain heads were exceeded by about one lakh for which the sanction of the Finance Department is necessary. Here again, the disparity is obvious. In justice to the account authorities and the Public Accounts Committee, it must be admitted that they are making efforts to solve these difficulties and ensure greater control of expenditure.

A measure of some importance, touched upon by the report, is the institution of the Provincial Loans fund, since April 1925, "for the purpose concentrating all loan transactions between the Central and Provincial Governments in a self-contained financial unit which should be altogether independent of the general debt account of the Central Government". The total capital liabilities of Provincial Governments due to the Government of India and outstanding on the 1st April 1925, amounted to over 106 crores. And in the year 1925-26, the fund advanced Rs. 9.82 lakhs and odd to various Provincial Governments, while repayments were made to the extent of 1.86 lakhs and odd.

While such items are likely to prove attractive only to the serious student of public affairs and economics, the portion of the audit report affords that to the average reader interesting side-lights on the administrative machinery of Government, is that which deals with financial irregularities. It may be mentioned that the term "financial irregularities" covers a wide field, extending from instances of non-compliance with

technical rules and errors in interpretation involving financial loss to the state, to cases of serious breach of trust and downright cheating. The general tendency appears to be to condone past "irregularities," while laying down stricter rules for future guidance. The function of the audit authorities ceases with bringing instances of irregularity to the notice of Government, and incorporating the more important among them in the audit report for the information of the Public Accounts Committee. The report, moreover, mentions the action taken by Government in each case; and unless the Public Accounts Committee is satisfied with such action it can make its own comments for the edification of Government. It is thus a moral check that is exercised by the audit authorities and the Public Accounts Committee, for the right to condone irregularities is vested in the Executive Government. Publicity, such as is given to these cases in the audit report and the proceedings of the Public Accounts Committee, has undoubtedly its effect. And from this point of view, we should desire greater details to be provided of such cases in the audit report. As this is the first year when we have been presented with a copy of the audit and appropriation report, we are unable to follow the rather cryptic references to certain cases dealt with in previous reports and which are yet pending. For instance, in paragraph 33 of the report, brief reference is made to the financial irregularities brought to light in the accounts of the Rajputana Salt Sources, and in another place it is stated in two lines that the cases are still under investigation and no final orders have yet been passed by Government. It is difficult to identify in these brief references, a scandal of great magnitude, in which large amounts may be involved, and which was dealt with by the Public Accounts Committee last year in connection with the audit report for 1924-25. That Government should take such a long time in coming to a final decision in a case of this description, appears to be surprising.

No one, in these days, will accuse the Government of India of being over-burdened with conscientious scruples in their trusteeship of our public revenues, when the financial interests of officials conflict with those of economy or constitutional propriety.

Thus, in the list of changes in the classifications of expenditure from "voted" to

"non-voted," we find that it has been "ruled" by the Legislative Department of the Government of India that the passage pay admissible under Schedule IV to the Superior Civil Rules, 1924, is non-votable, *irrespective of whether the ordinary pay of the officer is non-votable or not*; and further it appears that even the ordinary travelling allowances of officers whose pay is non-voted are no longer subject to the vote of the legislature. These changes have the merit of being effected openly as a matter of deliberate policy. The audit report, however, gives us glimpses here and there of irregularities that are being perpetrated behind the scenes in the matter of supply of Government quarters and furniture to officials. Mysterious references indicate that the conduct of even some of the highest officers is open to grave question in these matters. Certain facts appear to be quite clear:

Proper economic rent is not charged to some officials for residential buildings, and maintenance charges are not covered by the rent realised. No regular accounts are kept about furniture supplied to high officials, and it is uncertain whether annual grants for the maintenance of such furniture are properly utilised. Excessive prices are sometimes paid by high officers for the purchase of furniture, and the limit of cost prescribed by rules—which appears to be high enough—is sometimes exceeded. There is "misrepresentation of facts and manipulation of accounts." The following extract from the report is an index to the character of the scandal:—

"The Committee—agreed with the Auditor-general that special care should be taken by high officials not to ask for furniture which is inadmissible under the rules, from the supplying officers, who might be placed in a difficult position if such demands were made."

In most such cases which concern the high officials themselves, the action usually taken by Government is either condonation or amendment of the rules to suit the irregularities; and where it is neither of these two, "the orders of Government are awaited", from year to year!

Lord Canning's Minute on Archaeological Remains

Lord Curzon is known to have taken a great interest in the archaeological remains of India. But long before him, Lord Canning

took a similar interest in our archaeological remains. In January, 1862, Lord Canning "recorded a minute regarding the investigation of the archaeological remains of Upper India". In this minute, he wrote:

"It is impossible to pass through that part 'Upper India'—or indeed as far as my experience goes, any part—of the British territories in India without being struck by the *neglect* with which the greater portion of the architectural remains and of the traces of by-gone civilization have been treated, though many of these, and some which have had least notice, *are full of beauty and interest*. By 'neglect, I do not mean only the omission to restore them, or even to arrest their decay; for this would be a task which, in many cases, would require an expenditure of labour and money far greater than any Government of India could bestow upon it. But, so far as Government is concerned, *there has been neglect of a much cheaper duty; that of investigating and placing on record*, for the instruction of future generations, many particulars that might still be rescued from oblivion, and throw light upon England's great dependency; a history which as time moves on, as the country becomes more easily accessible and traversable, and as Englishmen are led to give more thought to India than such as barely suffices to hold it and govern it, will assuredly occupy more and more the attention of the intelligent and enquiring classes in European countries. It will not be to our credit as an enlightened ruling power, if we continue to allow such fields of investigation as the remains of the old Buddhist capital in Bihar, the vest ruins of Kanouj, the plains round Delhi, studded with ruins more thickly than even the Campagna of Rome, and many others, to remain without more examination than they have hitherto received."

Accordingly, the Archaeological Survey of India was undertaken by the Government of India and Colonel A. Cunningham was appointed as the first Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India, whose "investigations would pass from South Bihar into Tirhoot, Goruckpore and Fyzabad".

F. N. Bose

"Pagal Haranath"

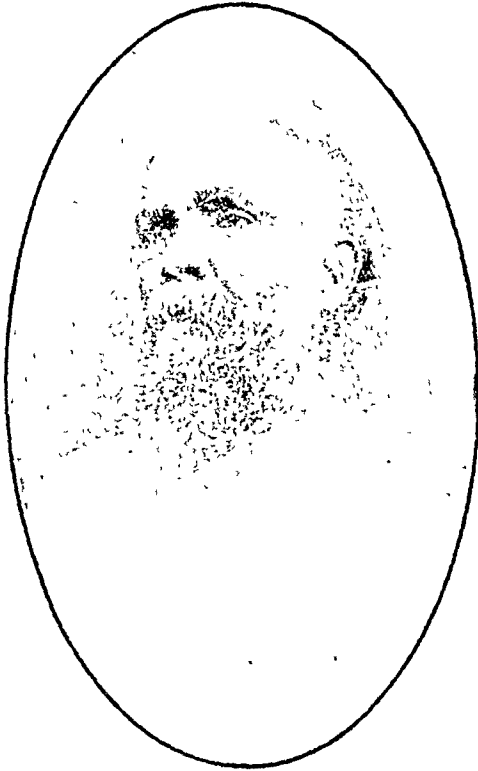
We are indebted to Mr. N. M. Mehta, corresponding member of Haranath Society, West Field, Warden Road, Bombay, for a copy of the photograph of the religious teacher who was known as "Pagal Haranath" or the mad Haranath and who passed away on the 25th of May last. He was born in Sonamukhi in the district of Bankura, Bengal, on the 3rd July, 1865, according to Mr. Mehta, but in July, 1870, according to the

* Annals of Indian Administration. Vol. VII, p. 91.

Bengali weekly *Samay*. His family name was Banerji. He studied up to the B. A. standard but could not get a degree. He served for some time in Kashmir as the Assistant Superintendent of its Dharmartha Office. He had followers of many castes and creeds in various provinces of India. He did not preach any particular dogma or doctrines,

News of Women in Many Lands

Mrs. N. O. Freeman, Chicago's oldest Co-ed., 77 years old, is taking a course in American and English Literature at North Western University with men and women students who are of the age of her grandchildren—such is her love of knowledge.



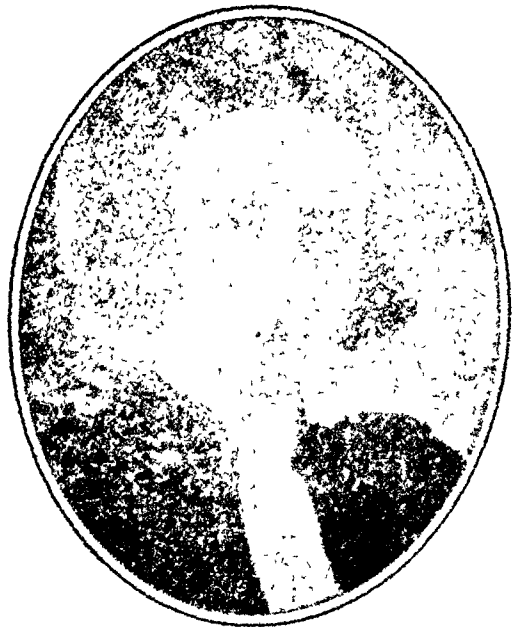
Pagal Haranath

but appears to have laid great stress on loving neighborly conduct. The following is from a printed message of his sent by Mr. Mehta :

...a player, who has thrice to appear on the stage and act in one particular play can never after his first or second appearance totally disappear and leave the play. He only changes his dress and remains sitting amongst all, and no sooner the time comes than he again puts on the proper dress and continues playing his part. The actor by changing his dress can remain amongst the spectators unrecognised by them, but he cannot go out of the sight of the other members of the theatrical company. In whatever dress he may be dressed, they all recognise him at once. Therefore do I say that they do not belong to the inner circle, who set their minds a-thinking about such disappearances.



Mrs. N. O. Freeman



Mlle. Juliette Veillier
Some months ago Mlle. Juliette Veillier, a

barrister of Paris, delivered a thesis on the life of Mahatma Gandhi at the reopening of the French courts. She is the first woman lawyer ever to address the assembled Bar of Paris.

Srimati Alamelumangathayammal has been made an honorary Presidency Magistrate in



Srimati Alamelumangathayammal
Photo, Indian News Agency

the city of Madras. She is the first lady to attain this position there.

Mrs. Lakshmi Ekambaram has been appointed a member of the Tuticorin Municipality by the Government of Madras.

Mrs. Parvati Ammal, wife of Dewan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer, has been nominated a member of the District Board of Bangalore. She is the first lady to attain this distinction there.

Mrs. Bhadrabai Madgaonkar, wife of the Hon. Mr. Justice Madgaonkar, and Mrs. Shivagavri Gajjar, who is in charge of the Bombay Vanita Vishram, have been appointed honorary magistrates for Bombay.



Mrs. Lakshmi Ekambaram
Photo, Indian News Agency.

Mrs. Sharada Diwan, a daughter of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, has, with distinction, passed the M. A. examination of the Bombay University with a thesis on the population problem in India. Much credit is due to her and to her husband that she has been able to prosecute her studies after her marriage. She is the first Hindu Gujarati lady to obtain the M. A. degree.

Miss Shyamkumari Nehru, daughter of Pandit Shyamlal Nehru, who had already distinguished herself by topping the list of successful candidates of the Allahabad University in the B. A. and the M. A. previous examinations, obtaining a first class in both, has recently stood first in the previous LL. B. examination of the same University. After obtaining her law degree, she intends to practise in the Allahabad High Court.

Miss Sheila Roy, daughter of the late Dr. Paresch Ranjan Roy, has stood first in the first class in the Allahabad M. Sc. previous examination in Chemistry. As very few girl students go in for science



Mrs. Parvati Ammal
Photo, Indian News Agency



Mrs. Sharada Diwan



Mrs. Madgaonkar

Mrs. Gajjar

degrees, Miss Roy's achievement deserves special mention.

Filipinos Leading Chinese Soldiers

The following clipping from the continental edition of the *Daily Mail* of England will be found interesting:—

Manila, Monday:—Filipinos trained in the Insular National Guard under United States officers are now commanding units in the Cantonese Nationalist army, according to reliable reports circulating here today.

A foreshadowing of increased independence agitation in the Philippines, meanwhile, is seen in the formation in the islands of a secret society resembling the Kuomintang of the Chinese Nationalists. The Kuomintang, it is pointed out, was the chief factor in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, and has been the most potent force in the success of the Southern Nationalists to date.

Branches of the new Philippine society, called "Legionarios del Pueblo", are being formed throughout the archipelago, and the movement is believed to be spreading rapidly.

The native population is showing a keen interest in the advance of the Chinese Nationalists. The local Press is carrying detailed accounts of the developments of the Chinese civil warfare.

It has not been definitely determined to what

extent the Philippine Independence Party, headed by M. Manuel Quezon, President of the Insular Senate, is identified with the new Nationalist Society.

Sasimohan De of Sylhet

In a village in the district of Sylhet there was a wicked debauchee of the name of Fayeze Ali. He had dishonoured and ruined many girls and women, and some others removed to other villages to escape being victimised by him. It is a shame that, owing to the moral atrophy and cowardice of most of the



Sasimohan De of Sylhet

villagers, this man was enabled to pursue his nefarious career so long. At length he attempted to seduce the sixteen year old young wife of a poor man by offering her costly presents through a woman of the same village. The name of this young girl is Pabitra, which means "The pure one". It is a very appropriate name. Pabitra refused all these present and overtures with scorn. Not to be baffled, the brute Fayeze Ali thrust himself into the cottage occupied by Pabitra and her mother. Pabitra was firm and again refused

compliance with his wishes. He left, threatening both mother and daughter that if they did not yield he would dishonour them both by force. When a neighbour of theirs, a young man or boy of 18, Sasimohan De by name, heard all this, he promised to protect them. So when one evening Fayeze Ali forcibly entered their house with evil intent and was about to assault Pabitra, Sasimohan came in, with three companions, and began to belabour him with a *lathi* to make him desist from his wicked attempt. The man died in consequence. Sasi was committed to the sessions on the charge of murder, as he alone beat Fayeze Ali. The jury consisted of five Hindus and two Musalmans. They returned a unanimous verdict of 'not guilty', and the judge accordingly let him off. We are glad, the chivalrous and brave young man has been rightly let off without any punishment. In Bengal assaults on women and girls, followed sometimes by murder or unintended death of the victims, have become very numerous. The people as a whole are not up and doing against these wicked deeds. The Government has not taken any special steps to deal promptly and effectively with these crimes. Only a very small number of the people of Bengal are trying to fight the evil. All these circumstances have to be taken into consideration in judging of the worth of the young hero who so nobly and at such great risk came to the rescue of the poor, pure-hearted girl Pabitra.

It would have been well if Fayeze Ali had survived the lesson he was taught and lived to repent and reform himself. But there cannot be the least doubt that the honour of women is far more precious than the lives of debauchees, and if the defenders of women's honour happen sometimes to kill their assailants in the attempt to prevent an impending assault, it cannot be helped. Girls and women must be given protection at all costs.

Lies in the British Parliament

Earl Winterton stated in the house of commons a few weeks ago that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose had been placed before two judges and other detenus before one. Some other similar untrue statements were made by him. When Mr. Bose's statement flatly contradicting these assertions was published.

in India and subsequently cabled to England, Lord Winterton had to eat his words. But it need not be assumed that he would mend his ways; men of his ilk are incorrigible, because they cannot be brought to book in the only way which appeals to them.

His lordship chooses to call the detenus convicts, though they have never been tried and no formal charge even has ever been framed against them. Let him please himself. They are no more convicts than he is a dinosaur.

Another man, of the name of Pilcher, who also is an M. P., has said that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was implicated in a murderous plot of which the object was to kill the Governor of Bengal!

The utterers of all these lies are morally contemptible. But politically they are not despicable. For they are capable of much mischief. The least that the people of India can and ought to do is to have an Information Bureau with sufficient funds, to contradict these lies in the countries where they are broadcasted.

The Arcos Raid

The excuse for the Arcos raid in London was that a secret document of great value was to be recovered from the building raided. It was not found, however. But it was claimed that other important documents had been found. Russians declare these to be forgeries. We are not, of course, sure. But we cannot say that British politicians are incapable of forgery. History has convicted them of the crime repeatedly. And recently on the occasion of the Arcos debate, Mr. Arthur Ponsonby said in the House of Commons:

"I have no respect for dirt even in high places. But what I object to more than dirt is the hypocrisy which pretends that we are so pure that we do not indulge in any of these methods during war time. All this is recognised as part and parcel of war machinery. You have lies, propaganda, atrocity-factories, telephone tapping, letter opening, department for forgery, department for faking photographs, and that sort of thing, and each Government has it. We must really face the fact when getting on our high moral horse that forgery, theft, lying, bribery, and corruption exist in every Foreign Office and Chancery throughout the world. This weapon is used during war because it is valuable. It is used during the so-called peace because peace is used for making preparations for the next war."

When challenged by Sir Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Ponsonby said that during his career he had

seen a document taken from the archives of a foreign country.

What Britishers May and May Not Be Forgiven

The Modern World of Baltimore, U. S. A., writes.

Sir Stanley Jackson is the new Governor of Bengal.

He recently informed the subjects of that province that if they "played cricket," that is, played fair with him, he would reciprocate by playing fair with them.

Welfare—a very able Calcutta publication, with the specific policy of seeking the physical improvement of the Indian people—comments on his proposal as follows:

"Sir Stanley was not quite doing justice to the spirit of cricket when he thus made fair play a conditional thing. Moreover, Sir Stanley forgot his captⁱⁿ in the Government of India. How can it be cricket at all, when we are fielding eternally with shackles on our feet and they are hitting and scoring as they like. Whenever we talk about declaring the innings and taking up the bat ourselves, we are told that our bats will be only 2 inches by 6 inches and that we must play with leaden leg-guards and with bandaged eyes. And to crown all, our stumps must be a mile wide and a mile high, while the ball will be fired at us from a field-gun. We own up our defeat right at the beginning."

This is followed by the American journal's own comments, which are reproduced below.

There is an elementary rightness in this criticism. Certainly it ill becomes an imperial power, holding sovereignty by force, to urge the code of ethics of sportsmen on a subject people.

A very distinguished Indian recently declared:

"We of India readily forgive England for everything she has done to us save one thing. We forgive her for conquering us. We forgive her for firing our people from guns. We forgive her for foisting the opium habit upon us. We forgive her for any physical thing she has done to us. Down all history outside conquerors have subjected us to similar things. We are accustomed to them. We look upon them as rooted in the elemental passions of mankind. But there is one thing England has done which no one of our former conquerors ever attempted. She has sought to justify her deeds on moral and ethical grounds. Unwilling to admit the selfishness and greed which prompted them, she has rationalized her rapacity in terms of morality. This, obviously, means the debasing of the moral currency of mankind. It is an attempt to make black white and white black. It obscures all the true ethical relationships of men and races. This hypocrisy, this debauching of moral ideals, the East will never forgive the land of Mr. Pecksniff."

Let us be honest about these things. The Occident is in possession of superior organization and of superior weapons. With these it is able, temporarily, to bully the Orient and all weaker peoples. There is nothing intrinsically base about

this. Baseness enters the picture only when intellectual panders arise to proclaim that idealism and not self-interest actuates our bullying. Baseness enters the picture only when we expect from those we bully, adherence to "sporting" canons which imply relations between equals and not relations between the powerful and the powerless.

There may be something more unsportsmanlike than in urging sportsmanship upon a hopelessly handicapped and shackled adversary. But we doubt it.

A Detenu at Death's Door

We extract from *The Bengalee* the whole of the following editorial article, because it relates to a detenu in the grip of a fatal disease :—

Nearly four years ago—to be correct, in October 1923—Sri Jiban Lal Chatterji was arrested under the famous Regulation III of 1818. When arrested, he was a hale and hearty young man. During the course of his detention he has contracted tuberculosis, a disease which is perhaps the most treacherous of all known to medical science. Unless it is detected in the incipient stage and unless the greatest care is taken to arrest its progress, tuberculosis invariably ends fatally. The reports received about the state of health of Jiban Babu hardly justify an optimistic prognosis. The opinion of the Superintendent of the Sharenga Santhal Mission Hospital is that both his lungs are affected. Hæmoptysis is very frequent. His present weight is only 100 lbs and he has lost 6 lbs. in two months. This shows that there is very little hope of his surviving for long. Yet the Government, instead of acting up to the declaration made by Sir Alexander Muddiman in the Assembly and following the precedent set up by the release of Sri Subhas Chandra Bose, has so long kept Jiban Babu in a jail and only recently transferred him to the Sharenga Hospital. But the conditions in which he has to live there are by no means those which are called for in the case of a phthisis patient. The climate of Sharenga is not at all bracing; on the other hand, its neighbourhood is malarious. The hospital is meant for women and is surrounded with high walls which block the ventilation, the hospital building being one-storeyed. Jiban Babu is himself kept in a small room in the Phthisis Ward which is hardly better than a prison cell. There are practically no arrangements for nursing. There is no privy in the hospital, which is a great inconvenience to weak and emaciated patients, such as Jiban Babu has now become. And, to add to his troubles, the Government has sanctioned an allowance of Rs. 40 only, which cannot conceivably suffice for him, as the diet needed for a consumptive is very expensive. Fruits and other articles have to be sent for from Calcutta, as they are not procurable locally. Though Kaviraj Srinadas Vachaspati is treating Jiban Babu, yet owing to confinement, at the Sharenga Hospital and the absence of facilities for examination as often as is necessary, the treatment cannot be as effective as it might have been; there are also great inconveniences in sending medicine. But all these considerations do not weigh with the Government which allows itself to be guided by police reports in its policy

of detaining and imprisoning men without trial or judicial conviction. But may we inquire of the Government why Jiban Babu is being treated differently from Subhas Babu? From all accounts he is more seriously ill than Subhas Babu; and the Government has itself recognized the principle that detenus should be released, if the release is called for on medical grounds. Why then is he still deprived of his personal liberty? Is it because he is not yet considered sufficiently ill? Or is it because he did not enter and resign from the Indian Civil Service and did not become Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation? Or is it because public meetings have not been held specifically demanding his release and because questions about him have not been asked in the British House of Commons?

The facts about the health and treatment of all the detenus which appear almost daily in the papers should be brought up to date and printed in the form of a pamphlet, for the information of members of the British Parliament and of the Legislative Assembly. The Indian Journalists' Association should perform this duty. We are prepared to bear our share of the expenses.

Aftermath of 'Rangila Rasul' Case

'Rangila Rasul' is, it appears, the title of a pamphlet attacking the life and character of the prophet Muhammad Mr. Justice Dalip Singh of the Lahore High Court, in his judgment in the 'Rangila Rasul' case, criticised this pamphlet most unsparingly and also said that it was natural that such an attack on their prophet would enrage and deeply wound the susceptibilities of the Moslems. But he thought that the section of the penal law under which the accused, the author of the pamphlet, had been charged and sent up for trial did not apply to the case. And therefore the man escaped being punished. This greatly enraged the Moslem community of the Punjab. *The Muslim Outlook*, one of their organs, attacked the Judge in language which in the opinion of the Lahore High Court amounted to contempt of court. So its editor and printer have been punished with simple imprisonment and fine.

We do not think that either the kind of attack which *The Muslim Outlook* indulged in or the fury of the Punjab Muslims is at all justified. For the Judge, far from justifying the author's conduct or extenuating his offence, criticised his pamphlet severely. The man was let off, because in the opinion of the Judge he was not guilty of the offence with which he was charged. Suppose one man libels another man, but is prosecuted for theft. If a judge lets him off on the ground

that he is not guilty of theft, it cannot be said that the judge has encouraged libel. We say this only by way of illustration, for the 'Rangila Rasul' case is of a different kind.

What in our opinion the Muslim community and its organs were legitimately entitled to do was to show that Mr. Justice Dalip Singh's interpretation of the law was wrong. They might also have demanded a change in the law or in the wording of the particular section under which the Judge had to deal with the case.

The conduct of Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Governor of the Punjab, in connection with this case has been improper and indiscreet. He had no legal authority to sit in judgment on a High Court Judge; and even if he had, he would have been under the necessity of hearing both what the Judge had to say as well as what his accusers had to say. It was highly improper on his part to take into his confidence a deputation which waited upon him, and to tell its members that a test case would be instituted and if the judgment in that case, too, proved unsatisfactory in his opinion, an attempt would be made to change the law. Sir Malcolm, it is certain, would have got very angry and would have been scandalised, if a High Court Judge had done with reference to some of his executive actions what he has done with reference to a High Court judgment; and he would have been quite right, too. We think Sir Malcolm's improper conduct has encouraged the Muslims in their unreasonable and fanatical attitude.

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The Indian Cotton Industry

One could predict from the unconscionable delay in the publication of the Tariff Board's Report that Government would give no protection to the cotton industry of India. The *Sarkar* has refused to give effect to the recommendations of either the majority or the minority in the direction of protection. Protection has to be given against Lancashire and Japan. The Government of India is a British Government, and the Lancashire textile industry is the British industry which exports to India goods of greater value than any other British industry. Directly and indirectly a majority of the British people profit by Lancashire's exports to India. So it cannot be expected that any effective protection would be given against Lancashire. If

protection had been given against both Lancashire and Japan, then, too, Japan would have been displeased. But to give India no protection against Lancashire while giving protection against Japan would have been doubly offensive to the latter. Owing to the Chinese situation, it is necessary for Britain to keep Japan pleased as much as possible. Moreover, the Singapore Base is not yet ready. So India must suffer. Our only protection lies in avoiding the use of foreign cotton cloth. This would be feasible if all of us could make up our minds to bear the slight inconvenience of using somewhat coarser and thicker cloth than the fine stuff imported from Lancashire. As for the payment of a slightly higher price, the comparatively well-to-do people who use fine cloth can certainly pay something extra. And poorer people, too, can pay for somewhat higher-priced cloth if they give up the injurious and useless habit of smoking cigarettes. There is also, no doubt, the problem of a sufficient supply from our own industries. This is by no means insoluble. More mills may be started. That would, no doubt, take time. But the charka and the handloom are cheap and easily and quickly made. If the richer people would use home-spun hand-woven cloth, leaving the mill products for the poorer classes, a sufficient supply could be ensured without much delay.

Some people are deceived by the cry that, the mill industry is mainly a Bombay industry and the consumers of cloth are spread all over India; why then should these poor consumers pay higher prices (which, it is said, they can ill-afford to do) in order to enrich Bombay capitalists? But the Bombay Presidency is in India and Lancashire is in England. Lancashire has become prosperous by destroying the cloth industry of India, and England's political power has been used to bring about this destruction. It is better to enrich Bombay capitalists than to enrich Lancashire capitalists. It is true that when the Swadeshi agitation of Bengal was at its height, the Bombay cotton magnates took undue advantage of the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of the Swadeshists. That was execrable and unpatriotic conduct. But as Lancashire capitalists are not angels, why should we side with them to spite Bombay? We would go on arguing with and even cursing Bombay, but would support Bombay all the same. Of course, the ideal is for

every region to be self-supplying as regards its wear. But if and so long as that cannot be done, we should take our supplies from the most convenient region in India.

India and China

The Chinese Nationalist press give great prominence to the fact that India's views on China are exactly the opposite of British opinions. *The People's Tribune* stresses the fact that India has no quarrel with the Chinese people and stands firmly for the struggle for the independence and freedom of all the oppressed peoples of the world.

Germany and China

While British firms and especially British bankers are facing ruin at Hankow, Erich von Salzmänn, China correspondent of the *Vossische Zeitung*, says: "There is not a German in Hankow to-day who is worried or scared. The German population in Hankow, which exceeds 250, is just as large today as a year ago."

There are no German gun-boats in China.

Chittaranjan Seva Sadan

The Chittaranjan Seva Sadan is a women's hospital established as a memorial to Mr. C. R. Das. The report issued by its board of trustees shows that it has supplied a great need, and has been doing good work. In fact, the demand for accommodation is so great that new buildings have begun to be constructed for 32 more beds. An appeal has been issued for five lakhs of rupees. It deserves to have a generous and prompt response. Contributions are to be sent to the Secretary, Deshbandhu Memorial Trust, 36 Wellington Street, Calcutta, or to the Account of the Deshbandhu Memorial Trust, Central Bank of India, Ltd., 100 Clive Street, Calcutta.

The Statutory Commission

The Statutory Commission to consider the success or failure of the "Reforms" and to advise whether more "boons" are to be conferred on the people of India or those already

given are to be taken away in part or as a whole, is to be appointed not later than 1929. Should it be appointed earlier, it would be due to the desire of the Tories now in power to choose such members as would try their best not to promote the cause of self-government in India. The Tories fear that a general election may take place before 1929, with the result of either the Labourites coming into power or of the Liberals sharing power with the Tories. In either case, the personnel of the Commission might not be to the liking of the Tories.

We do not suggest, however, that a Commission appointed by a Labour Government would give us the "moon."

Our British "trustees" have started the cry that only such men should be appointed members of the Commission as have had hitherto nothing to do with India; because they might be biassed one way or the other. Thus Indians are all shut out in a body; for are they not all likely to be partial to their own country? And those Englishmen who have served in India or in connection with India or have resided here as men of business or their assistants, should also be considered ineligible. The real reason for seeking to exclude them would be that they have some knowledge at least of the country. Should there be among them by some chance some persons with some sense of justice, it would not be easy to hoodwink them. So by eliminating all classes of obnoxious persons, the "trustees" arrive at the conclusion that only such Britishers should be considered eligible as have had nothing to do with India. But the people of Britain as a whole are interested in keeping India in at least economic dependence on their country, and this economic hold on India cannot be maintained without keeping her in political subjection. For this reason, we do not think that there is any class of people in Britain who are at heart in favour of India's full self-dependence, economic and political. Individual exceptions there may be. But they are likely to be known to any party in power, and would not be appointed members of the commission.

Our own opinion is that the commission should consist almost entirely of Indian nationalists with only one or two foreign constitutional experts. They may be Britishers.

All imperializing or predominantly manufacturing nations of the world are interested

in keeping India economically dependent, more or less. They all exploit or expect to exploit her. Hence, a commission composed of entirely disinterested foreigners would be hard to form. If there be any small enlightened people who do not exploit India and cannot be bribed or intimidated by Great Britain, members should be drawn from them, assuming, of course, that Indians are not to be thought of.

We do not build any hopes on the appointment of the commission. We have written on it, because it is a current topic.

Prohibition for Mysore

The Representative Assembly of Mysore is to be congratulated on its declaring itself in favour of total prohibition. It wants a committee to be appointed to suggest methods for meeting deficits. An enlightened state like Mysore should not find it beyond its power to meet deficits. The Maharaja is a progressive Hindu ruler and his Dewan is an enlightened Musalman. The religions of both, as well as of the majority of Mysoreans, enjoin total abstention from liquor. This should make reform easy.

Besides meeting deficits, there is the difficulty of preventing smuggling from the adjoining British territory, which is not 'dry.' But it is not beyond the power of the Mysorean intellect to overcome that difficulty. We should feel proud to find an Indian State setting an example to British-ruled India in this matter. And it would be so natural for it to do so.

Colour Ban in Edinburgh

The colour ban imposed in some Edinburgh restaurants and dance-halls has been naturally resented by our students and other countrymen there and elsewhere abroad, as well as in India. Many dance halls are not desirable places. But it is not with the object of safeguarding the morals of our students that the ban has been imposed. Had that been the object, it would have been natural for the shrewd and patriotic Scots to seek to prevent their own young men first from going there before seeking to do good to others. The Assemblies of the Church of Scotland and of the United Free Church of

Scotland have rightly condemned the imposition of this colour ban.

One should avoid going to places where one is not welcome. As there are centres of good education where living is as cheap as at Edinburgh, it should be easy to shun that place. And so far as India is concerned, it would be desirable to keep aloof from Scots as far as practicable—not in a spirit of retaliation, but for maintaining our self-respect.

A Medal of Rabindranath Tagore

We are indebted to Dr. Bernhard Geiger, university professor of Sanskrit in Vienna, for the photograph of a medal of Rabindra-



A Vienna Medal of Rabindranath Tagore

nath Tagore, reproduced here. It has been made by Hugo Taglang, a very well known sculptor of Vienna. The poet's Indian admirers should all buy it.

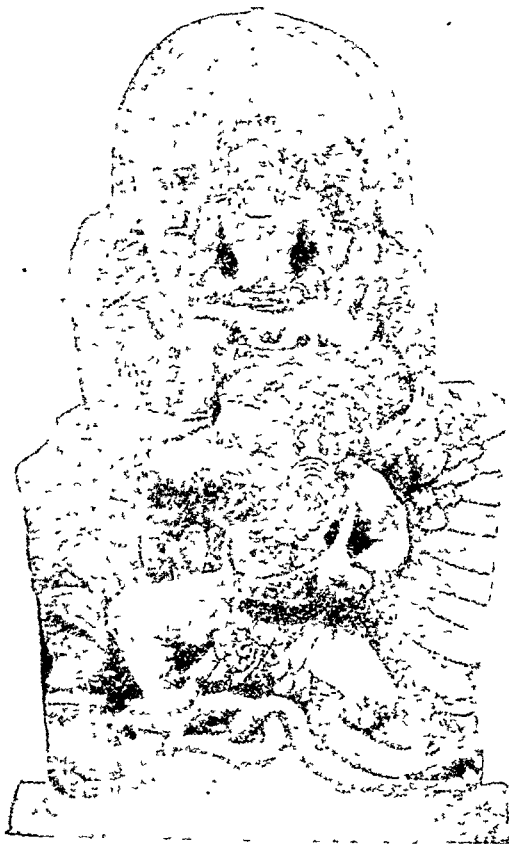
B. O. C.'s Gift to Rangoon University

In recent months several big donations to Rangoon University have been announced. The biggest of them all is the Burma Oil Company's gift of a hundred thousand pounds sterling for the foundation and maintenance of a college of engineering. The use to which this portion of its wealth, obtained by the Burma Oil Company by the exploitation

of Burma, has been put is laudable. It would not be ungracious to add, however, that this gift shows how enormous is the legalised plunder which is being carried away from Burma by her foreign rulers and exploiters. Those who can easily give away lakhs must be making crores of profit.

Impressions of Java and Bali

Elsewhere in the present number of the *Modern Review* we have published the first instalment of Dr. Kalidas Nag's impressions



Vishnu on Garuda
(A Masterpiece of the Hindu Art of Java)

of Java and Bali. The Indian poet and seer's voyage to Indonesia, which he will undertake this month, to see the vestiges of Indian culture there, will lend a special interest to Dr. Nag's article.

Calcutta's First Mayor's Programme

According to the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, Mr. C. R. Das, the first Mayor of Calcutta, laid down the following programme:—

1. Free primary education.
2. Free Medical Relief for the poor.
3. Purer and cheaper food and milk supply.
4. Better supply of filtered and unfiltered water.
5. Better sanitation in *bustees* and congested areas.
6. Housing of the poor.
7. Development of suburban areas.
8. Improved transport facilities.
9. Greater efficiency of administration at a cheaper cost.

More than three years have passed since this programme was drawn up. Mr. C. R. Das did not live long enough to carry out his programme. In any case, it would be both ignoble and fruitless to criticise a dead man, who cannot defend himself. We criticised him when he was alive. But it is allowable to say that, as from April 1924 onwards, the Swaraj Party has been in power in the Calcutta Corporation, it should be able to demonstrate what it has done in furtherance of the aims of its departed leader. So far as we are aware, the first two items in the programme have been attended to to some slight extent. As for the other items, our food and milk supply is neither purer nor cheaper than before. The editor of this magazine has been paying house rent for his office, press and private lodgings for many years, and can say from his personal experience that the supply of filtered and unfiltered water has not improved a bit, nor has it become more copious than before. The only tangible proof of better sanitation in *bustees* and congested areas can be found in a lower death-rate. But as far as we have been able to notice, the death-rate has not decreased. We are not aware that more and better houses for the poor have been built by the municipality in recent years. Neither are we aware that any suburban areas have been developed or transport facilities improved in recent years by the *Calcutta Municipality*. As regards efficiency of administration at a cheaper cost, we are not in a position to say anything. But those councillors and aldermen of Calcutta who are interested in securing

an honest, economical and efficient municipal service, ought to be able to enlighten the public on the subject.

The South African Settlement

Mr. C. F. Andrews has sent the following special cable to *The Indian Daily Mail* from Cape Town :—

Both Indian Bills passed the final stage to-night without any hostile amendment being accepted. The Minister embodied the Congress suggestions in the committee stage carrying everything successfully. The Natal members' opposition broke down completely. This implies the full ratification of the Indian Agreement by the Union Parliament.

Looking back over the six months since the Agreement was signed, it is possible to regard that the Round Table Settlement is gradually winning the way, through intense opposition, to general acceptance. It will now be given an honourable trial with success fairly assured.

One valuable amendment carried making the three years' absence, involving forfeiture of domicile, count from the passing of the Act and not retrospectively. This should be explained by the Gujarati papers, because many Indians are affected.

I am meeting Mr. Sastri at Pretoria on Tuesday and am embarking on July 22 reaching Bombay on August 8.

We have not been among the admirers of the Settlement. But if the two Indian bills passed by the South African Union Parliament be of greater service than disservice to the South African Indian community, we shall be pleased.

The So-called "Indian" Delegation to the League of Nations

The selection of Lord Lytton to lead this year's misnamed "Indian" Delegation to the League of Nations has given occasion to *The Leader* and *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* to retell the story of the attempt made by some of our legislators to get the Government to appoint an Indian to lead the delegation. Having written and spoken much on the subject already, we do not feel inclined to repeat our assertions and observations, which no Imperialist bounder has been able to challenge or contradict.

India was made an original member of the League by getting her to sign the Peace Treaty. That was a trick to obtain one more vote for the British Empire. So, while India

pays the piper, the piper is always a Britisher and it is Britain which calls the tune.

Like many of our contemporaries, we, too, have expressed a wish for the appointment of an Indian as leader of the delegation. That is more or less to save our face, however. For, so long as we do not possess self-rule and so long as the alien Government of India has the power to choose and to issue instructions to the leading and other delegates, the substitution of an Indian leader for a British one would not be of any use. On the contrary, the Indian chosen to lead may be such that the Indian press may have to exclaim in disgust, "*sa papisthas tatodhika*." The only little improvement which is practicable in India's present political condition can be effected if the Central Legislature obtains the power to select and appoint all the delegates, including the leader. Otherwise it would be best for India to give up her membership of the League, as a few states have done already. We know even in this matter India cannot give effect to her will. But the elected Indian members of the Central Legislature can and ought to pass a resolution in favour of India's withdrawal, in case they fail to obtain the power to select and appoint the delegates, who, we repeat, must all be Indians, including the leader.

The Disingenuous Plea for Fresh Taxation

In commenting on the latest report on the administration of Bengal, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes :—

The author of the report has tried hard to white-wash things which are ugly and to shift responsibility on to the quarters where it does not lie. Yet what he was compelled to chronicle in the greater part of the book constitutes, without his knowing it, a grave indictment of the efficiency and the so-called beneficent nature of the British rule. And what is more distressing is that we find in it a clear *jabab* on behalf of the Government that, good or bad, what they have done for the material and moral advancement of the country is the limit to what they can do in the present state of their finances. If, therefore, more education, more sanitation, or more medical relief is to be provided for the people to make them more fitted in the struggle for existence, the people themselves must have to do it. They must get rid of "the general disinclination to face the fact that improved services and better conditions must be paid for by them." In other words, the people must be ready to bear the fresh burden of taxation.

Our contemporary then proceeds to point out that the extreme limit of taxation has been reached—people who cannot get two full meals a day ought not to be called upon to pay more taxes. That would sound like a "heartless joke." We have no flaw to find in this argument so far as the majority of our people is concerned. But we wish to point out that we need not at all say anything at present which might sound like an argument *ad misericordiam*. As we have indicated in the article on "Primary Education for Bengal," we pay quite enough to enable our Government to make greater and more earnest efforts to make our education, sanitation, etc., what they ought to be. If after ruthlessly cutting down useless, wasteful and, sometimes, dishonest expenditure, and after making a right use of our taxes, it be urged that more or higher taxes must be levied, there would be then time enough to think of saying or not saying what might sound like an argument *ad misericordiam*.

Indonesia After the Insurrection

We have received the following communication from the Hague, Holland:—

"In our last January bulletin we tried to give you from official Dutch sources an idea of the most miserable conditions in which the Indonesian people live, so that they were forced to take up arms, desirous as they were to put an end to their life of slavery. We also told you that the Dutch are accustomed to inform the world falsely about things, and instead of telling the hard truth about the bad conditions of their colony, they designed the most ideal picture of their colonial system as the best in the world.

"But our attempt to shake off the yoke of Dutch domination has been unsuccessful. Does it mean that it is the end of our hope for a better life? To answer this question it would perhaps be useful to examine the conditions in which Indonesia now stands after the revolution.

"According to the lying Dutch press-agency, the 'rebellion' should be of no importance; but if we mention the great number of imprisoned revolutionists, which we derive from Dutch newspapers, we are sure that you will be convinced that indeed the Dutch are talking double Dutch.

"There are about two thousand Indonesian revolutionists imprisoned, 700 at West-Sumatra and 1300 at Java. Most of them do not fall under the terms to be condemned according to the colonial penal law, but yet they do not escape from punishment. This is possible, because, according to the colonial constitution, the Governor-General has the right to banish all persons whom he judges, or, stricter, whom he thinks dangerous for the so-called "public rest and order" to all places in Indonesia he wants. [This is like our Regulation III of 1818 or like the Bengal Ordinance.] Thus a great number of revolutionists (we do not yet know the right number; one says of about 800 persons!) are expelled to the most horrible spot in New Guinea, where the revolutionists are exposed to savage cannibals and malaria fevers.

"Several revolutionists are sent to Nusa Kambangan, where they have to live with imprisoned criminals like murderers and thieves. Others are condemned to death and also to imprisonments of 10 to 20 years.

"Besides these condemnations the colonial government has proclaimed that all "communist" action of the Indonesian people shall be destroyed by its military forces.

"What is the reaction of all these oppressions? Are the Indonesian people, the Indonesian fighters for freedom, conquered? Are they discouraged?

"Far from that!

"This failure of the Indonesian revolution does not form an obstacle in our way to national independence, but it has given us a lot of experiences for better organization and action.

"The Indonesians will not cease fighting for the liberation of the mother-country before they have reached their goal.

"Although so many of them have to offer their life and goods for the sake of that high ideal, they are not discouraged. On the contrary, their action shall be more solid, stronger and stronger.

"All revolutions need time to succeed, but they, as the "new spirit", never fail to conquer the "ancien regime."

"So Indonesia shall succeed in spite of many reverses!"

Government Encourages "Communal" Mentality

The following paragraphs have appeared in *The Guardian*:—

The Government of Bengal, if its ministry is bankrupt in statesmanship, is at least frank. In a Moslem Weekly appears a pretentious advertisement with the following headlines;—

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL
Department of Industries
Minister-in-Charge: The Hon. Hadji
Mr. A. K. Ghuznavi."

The advertisement announces that a scholarship will be awarded annually, for a period of three years, "to enable a student to take up the study of a course on Vegetable Oil and Oil Seeds or Sugar." All this is to the good but the advertisement adds the following:—"The scholarship will be awarded to Mohamedan and Hindu students alternatively." We may well ask, on whose authority was a notice in these terms published? Or what is even more important, has Government gone back on the fundamental principles of religious neutrality? Are all other communities to be disfranchised just because a Hadji is in power? The columns of the *Guardian* have never lent themselves to advocating communal considerations, but the time has come to speak plainly when we are confronted with responsible Government action which results in disfranchising the smaller minorities. We shall continue to oppose any measure which gives the members of any community preference either on the grounds of race or religion. May we suggest to the representatives of both the Indian Christian and the Anglo-Indian communities in the Bengal Legislative Council to raise the matter either by interpellation, or resolution. Apart from these considerations, are matters such as fitness, intellectual and otherwise, mere irrelevancies which can be sacrificed?

Yes, certainly. See the following note.

No Qualifying Test Needed for Some Communities

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is responsible for the following paragraph:—

It appears from the provisional rules just published to regulate the recruitment by examination for the Bengal Civil Service (Executive), the Bengal Excise Service, the Bengal Police Service, the Bengal Junior Excise Service and the Upper Division of the Secretariat Clerical Service, that the qualifying test for all candidates would be passing of Examinations except in the cases of Moslem, European and Anglo-Indian candidates. In services other than the Upper Division of the Secretariat Clerical Service and the Income Tax Department Government has reserved the right to fill as many as 45 per cent of the vacancies by the appointment of Mahomedan candidates, "if there are qualified candidates available." In the Upper Division of the Secretariat Clerical Service the minimum proportion of Mahomedans will be 33 per cent. Already the introduction of the principle of communal representation in the Police Service has led to deplorable results in communal riots, the communal feeling having prevailed over the needs of law and order. Its almost universal introduction in all public services cannot but lead to more communal quarrels and inefficiency.

Were we to say that it would be good in the long run for the Moslem and European and Anglo-Indian communities themselves if their men entered all public services by the door of open competition, they would not believe us but suspect some evil motive. But we hope they will consider the suggestion that they should insist upon a competitive test for Moslems confined only to Moslem candidates and a competitive test for European and Anglo-Indians confined to European and Anglo-Indian candidates alone.

Kindness to Third and Intermediate Class Passengers

From the audit report of railways for 1925-26 *New India* learns that a surprise check in one place revealed no less than fifteen first class, eleven second class, thirty inter and 160 third class passengers travelling without tickets. "Out of these," it further goes on to say, "27 inter and third class passengers were prosecuted under the Railway Act."

As the total number of third and intermediate class passengers is very much larger than those of 1st and 2nd class ones, the figures do not prove greater dishonesty among the former than among the latter. Booking office arrangements for lower class passengers at many stations are so bad and illiterate third class passengers are so often cheated of the fares paid, that, in the case of many of them, travelling without tickets is no ground for presumption of dishonesty. But there can be no reasonable excuse for 1st and 2nd class passengers to travel without tickets. Yet it was only some 3rd and intermediate class passengers who were prosecuted, not a single first or second class one.

The Effects only of Swadeshi ?

Under the caption, "The effects of Swadeshi", our Roman Catholic contemporary *The Week* publishes the following :

Alois Fischer in *Geopolitik* of last December had the following interesting table showing the numerical importance of the various races :

	There were	In 1800	In 1900	In 1925 .
"Whites"	...	23.9 p.c.	33.2 p.c.	35.3 p.c.
Indians	...	21.9 "	17.3 "	17 "
"Orientals"	...	7.7 "	5.8 "	5.4 "

There were	In 1800	In 1900	In 1925.
East-Asiatics ...	37.4 "	32.9 "	30.9 "
Negroes ...	5.2 "	5.9 "	5.8 "
Malays, Americans and others ...	3.9 "	4.9 "	5.6 "

100 p. c. 100 p. c. 100 p. c.
of the total population of the world.

Amongst the "East-Asiatics," the Chinese have dropped from 31.6 per cent to 25.4 per cent and 23.2 per cent, whilst the Japanese have risen from 2.6 per cent, to 2.9 per cent, and 3.3 per cent. The French similarly have gone down, among the Whites, from 3.9 to 2.8 and 2.4 per cent; whilst the Anglo-Saxons have gone up from 1.9 per cent, to 6.4 per cent, and 7.1 per cent. But the Indians *e. g.*, must not be taken as having decreased absolutely: on the contrary, the above figures are based on a population of 17 crores in 1800, of 27 in 1900 and 32 in 1925. They have gone down percentually, simply because others have increased even more rapidly, particularly the Whites, who have gone up from 19 crores in 1800 to 52 in 1900 and 66 crores in 1925.

And the reason for this White increase? Because these people have gone out of their country and colonised the empty spaces of the world. If Indians had not had their wretched *kala pani* theory, Africa would be as Indian to-day, as America is "White," and instead of being half of even the numerical importance of the Whites, Indians would still be their equals. So much for *svadeshi* isolation!

We are as little in love with the *kala pani* theory as Dr. Zacharias, the editor of *The Week*. So in pointing out that the *kala pani* theory alone has not been to blame, we must not be taken to be an apologist for it. The Musalmans of India do not believe in that theory. They can and do emigrate; no socio-religious bar stands in their way. The Sikhs also are not prevented from emigrating by any such obstacle. Nor are the Indian Christians. Many literate and more illiterate Hindus emigrate. A still larger number would have emigrated but for—. But for what? Surely Dr. Zacharias knows. The anti-Asiatic and anti-Indian policy of all the British dominions, of many British Crown Colonies, and of the United States of America stands in our way. Had we been politically independent, as we were when Indians colonised and civilised all South-east Asia, including the islands, and culturally and spiritually influenced Tibet, China, Korea and Japan, we could have gradually found a

way out of the difficulty. For our political subjection, we are to blame, though not we alone. Political subjection demoralises people, makes them timid and kills their adventurous and enterprising spirit. That is one of the reasons why Indians are a home-keeping people.

As for the White increase, the greater vigour, enterprise and freedom from socio-religious taboos of the White races, due in part to their political liberty, must be admitted. But it cannot be denied that their predatory and race-extermimating record has yet to be broken. One of the causes of their great increase is that they have deprived many other peoples of their land and liberty, and exterminated many peoples, thereby increasing empty spaces.

Bank Failures in Japan and in India

The observations of *The Indian Messenger*, occasioned by bank failures in Japan and in India, are quite timely and apposite. It writes:—

Japan is just now passing through a financial crisis of unparalleled magnitude. There have been bank failures on a very large scale, so much so that Government had to come to the rescue. A moratorium had to be declared, and large advances have been made by the state to keep the banks going till the crisis is over. Telegrams to the press declare that the action of the Government has been supplemented by the voluntary sacrifice of bank managers and directors of all their personal property in order to save their respective banks from a catastrophic situation. They have surrendered their private cash, lands, even their houses and have embraced poverty in order to rescue their country from financial and commercial ruin. This is probably unique in the history of finance. It is this spirit that has made Japan so great and powerful. What a contrast have we here between how things are done here and in Japan! There have been bank failures here, but who ever heard of our bank managers and directors being any the worse for them? It is the depositors and shareholders that generally suffer, the big ones that handle other peoples' money somehow manage to remain unscathed—even coming out bigger and fatter than before. Nations become great and powerful by their virtues, not merely by the circumstances in which they are placed. Circumstances do play a part, sometimes a very important part, but the determining factor *par excellence* is national character.

ERRATA

Page 683 Col. 2 after the concluding sentence of f. n. 99 add This article has been translated, from my original Bengali article, by Sj. Nalini K. Gupta.

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THE STUDY OF ZOOLOGY IN INDIA IN THE FUTURE *

BY MAJOR R. B. SEYMOUR SEWELL, I. M. S.,

Director of the Zoological Survey of India

IT is the custom in this Congress that the Presidents of the various Sections should deliver a Presidential address, dealing with some aspect of the subject, with which the Section deals, that is of interest and importance to all those who are members of the Section ; and I have found the choice of a subject for my address to you to-day a matter of some difficulty. In most cases an address such as this consists of a review of the work done or of advances in our knowledge made during the past year or series of years. Some of you, however, may remember that in his Presidential address to this Section in 1921, Dr. Gravelly, of the Madras Museum, gave an admirable review of the history of zoological research in India in the past, and as recently as 1923 Dr. G. Matthai, of Lahore University, chose as the subject of his address that branch of Zoology that for many years has been my particular study, namely, Oceanographic Research in Indian Waters. It is true that he limited his summary to the period prior to the outbreak of war in 1914 and that during the last few years considerable work has been carried out, especially on board the R.I.M.S. "Investigator", that has resulted in, I think I may justly claim, a not insignificant contribution to our knowledge ; but to deal in my Presidential address to you to-day with this branch of research would inevitably result in my address becoming in the main a

summary of my own work, some of the results of which have already been published and the remainder will, I hope, before long appear in print in the "Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal." The results obtained will thus shortly be available to you all *in extenso* ; and a summary and discussion of them now would be merely to anticipate what I shall hope to tell you later. Moreover, an outline or summary of any one branch of Zoological research can, of necessity, only have any very great interest for and appeal to comparatively few, namely, to those who may for one reason or other be interested in that particular branch of learning or who may be engaged in research of a cognate nature ; and I feel that a Presidential address should deal with some aspect of zoological work that has a profound interest for you all. Now there is one topic that is of the very greatest importance to us, whether our interest in Zoology is confined to the research side or to the academic branch, and this is the very vital question of the study of Zoology in India, not in the past, but in the future. To-day I purpose to direct your attention to this most important problem, a problem that is so important and is so vast that it will inevitably affect, not only us trained zoologists or those who in the future may take up the study of Zoology as a profession and as their life's work ; it is a subject that will eventually affect the whole of this great country from end to end, although the application of zoology to the every day needs of the population is at present in its infancy and the importance of

* The greater portion of this article formed the Presidential address to the Zoological Section of the Indian Science Congress, 1927.

a knowledge of zoology has hitherto been but little realized.

Zoology can roughly be divided, like the territory of ancient Gaul, into three parts. The first of these is Taxonomy and Morphology, and along with these goes the study of Zoological physiology, for, as you know, the physiology of an animal is often as specific in its character as is the actual structure. The second branch of Zoology is the study of Embryology and Genetics; and the third great line of study is that of Ecology and Bionomics. In my opinion it is this third branch that is the greatest of the three; but its study can only successfully follow on a correct taxonomy. The first essential then of Zoology is a study of Taxonomy; and in order to form a true estimate of the position of any species in our scheme of classification of the animal kingdom, taxonomy must be combined with the study of embryology and morphology and in certain cases, and possibly far more often than has been the case in the past, with the study of the animal's physiology and bio-chemistry. Now it is in this sphere of taxonomic research that the Zoological Survey of India both can be and is only too willing to be of assistance to every zoologist throughout the whole of India. It has been whispered to me that certain zoologists in this country, though I hope that none such are present among you to-day, hold, or at least held, the opinion that the Zoological Survey of India is jealous of other zoological institutions. I would beg you, if any of you still retain this belief, to rid your minds of it once and for all. We are, and I speak for my colleagues just as much as for myself, not only willing but desirous of doing all that we can to help the *bona fide* students of zoology in this country and to improve, as far as lies within our power, the various institutions that have grown up and, I am glad to see, are still growing up in India. The facilities that we can at the present time offer to research workers in our laboratories in Calcutta are limited; but I have room for at least six research workers, for four Zoologists and two Anthropologists, and I should like to see these places occupied the whole year round. The number of my colleagues in the Survey is but small and it is, therefore, only in certain groups of animals that we are at present able to assist research workers directly by identifying for them specimens that they may have collected; but the Zoological Survey

of India is in a position to be able to arrange with experts, not only in India but all over the world, for the identification of any animal that may be sent to us; and in this way we can honestly claim that we are both able and willing to give very material assistance. The study of taxonomy will, as the fauna of this country becomes more and more known, cease, sooner or later, to have any very great attraction for the research-worker; at the present time most of us have *willy nilly* to become taxonomists, since in almost every group of animals that we may wish to study our knowledge of the various species is still meagre; but I would impress on you that the study of this particular branch should never be considered an end in itself. It should be regarded merely as the necessary preparation for wider, more interesting and frequently more important studies.

The study of Morphology and Comparative Anatomy in this country is in its infancy. As some of you may know, there have from time to time appeared in the "Records of the Indian Museum" papers dealing with this branch of study and I am glad to see that there is in existence in India a movement for the production, by what I may term a Committee of Professors in the various colleges, of a series of monographs dealing with the detailed structure of some of the commoner and most typical animals in the various phyla, though the idea underlying the inception of this series appears to have been the necessity of having standard works for the purpose of teaching rather than any special interest that the members of this Committee took in the subject. In England and Europe, as well as in America, the study of Morphology appears to be at the present time out of fashion, and its place in zoological research has been taken to a great extent by the study of Genetics; a movement that in England can be traced very largely to the influence and enthusiasm of the late Professor Bateson. The study of Genetics is, doubtless, important and it is, apparently, regarded as of particular importance by those who are engaged in such researches; indeed, some enthusiasts go so far as to suggest, if not actually to state in so many words, that they and they only are real zoologists. But it appears to me, though I may be underrating the full importance of the subject, that this branch of research, at any rate as it is conducted at the present time, can only

serve to explain the mechanism of the inheritance of 'discontinuous variation,' and no results, however startling they may appear to be, can explain the mechanism of the inheritance of 'continuous variation,' which, as most, if not all, field naturalists are convinced, is the main line along which the evolution of the animal kingdom has taken and still is taking place.

In India, as I have already remarked, we are still in the stage in which Taxonomy must be our first line of research; but what of the future? Is there any reason why we in this country should adopt the outlook or the fashion, as regards research, of any or every other country? We have in India our own fauna and our own problems, and I would like to see Indians building up their own type of Zoology and of Zoological research-worker. My own outlook has, doubtless, been largely influenced by and is the outcome of my experience as Surgeon-Naturalist on the "Investigator" and I would put before you to-day a very strong plea for the field worker and would impress upon you the paramount importance to this country of the study of Ecology and Bionomics. When once we have succeeded in identifying the various composite factors in the fauna of any given area, the next step in our line of research should take us out of the laboratory into the open country. We must go out and study the animals in their own surroundings; and not only should we do so ourselves but we must encourage our students to do likewise. If we do this, we shall at once find that the interest our students take in their studies will be increased tenfold. Dr. Gravely recently told me of his experience when he took a party of students from the Madras University down to Krusadai Island in the Gulf of Mannar, where there is a small field-laboratory, (it cannot, as yet be said to be a Marine Biological Station, for it has no permanent equipment; but it serves an important purpose as a site where the study of marine animals in their natural surroundings can be carried out); as soon as these students found themselves able to observe the living animals in the open, in contrast to the study of preserved organisms in the laboratory, they exclaimed, "Oh, Sir, we did not know that Zoology could be so interesting." The study of the animal in its natural habitat is more than interesting, it is fascinating; and it is along these lines

that zoologists not only can and will find the most interesting work, it is on these lines that they can help to raise zoology to the ideal position to which it may in the future attain, of being the greatest philanthropic agent in the world. Zoology has up to the present time been all too rarely called upon to assist in the solution of some of the greatest problems that confront us in India, whether we are concerned with the food supply of the millions of inhabitants or with their health and disease. In other countries the absolute necessity of carrying out systematic investigations regarding the Ecology and Bionomics of the marine fauna has resulted in the establishment of numerous Marine Biological Stations and the appointment of a large staff of marine Biologists. Even in the little island of Ceylon this necessity has been recognised, and the work carried out under the Ceylon Government has resulted in the formation of a company to exploit, by means of sea-going trawlers, the fish supply of the Ceylon and of our Indian coasts. In India the maintenance and improvement of our fish supplies, whether from the coast or from inland waters, or even the improvement of our cattle, under the direction of the Veterinary Departments, are all problems in Zoology and can only be solved by the application of Zoological research and Zoological methods. The question of pisciculture is one of very considerable importance, both on the ground of the provision of food-supplies or of extra income for the agriculturists and from the additional standpoint of the question of the health of the cultivators in areas where natural waters, such as tanks and 'Jheels', exist. In areas where pisciculture is carried out or where tanks, suitable for pisciculture, are in existence or can be constructed, it is essential that the agriculturist should have the benefit of expert advice. Pisciculture demands amongst other things (a) the identification of the fish fry and a careful control of fry distribution, in order that only the best kind of fish, for instance, those belonging to the carp tribe, are introduced into the tanks; (b) the eradication from tanks of carnivorous fish, such as the "murrel" (*Ophiocephalus*) in which the flesh is inferior and which are, therefore, of less value, as the price such fish fetch on the market is comparatively small; (c) in order that fish culture in tanks may be a success, it is not sufficient merely to put in a large

number of fry and hope that a corresponding number of good-sized marketable fish will be obtained. Such tanks require careful watching and should be stocked with suitable water-plants in order to maintain a copious food-supply for the fish, the better class of which are herbivorous, and to ensure that there is a proper supply of oxygen maintained in the water. Allied to this is the question of planting round such tanks suitable shrubs or plants which can from time to time be cut and the leaves thrown into the tanks to act as a further food-supply. I understand that investigations with regard to this latter procedure are at the present time being conducted under the direction of the Director of Fisheries, Madras, and that the results obtained are extremely hopeful; and (d) the introduction into such tanks of small fish which will feed on and destroy all mosquito larvae. Mosquito destruction by means of such fish is a line that has been but little practised or attempted in India, though its possibilities were indicated as long ago as 1912. So far as I know, the only area where it has been systematically carried out is in the tea-growing districts of the Wynaad, where it was applied, along with other methods of mosquito eradication and quinine prophylaxis, and where a very considerable improvement in the health of the cultivators was effected. Far more work on these lines has been done in Egypt and the Sudan than in India. The introduction into tanks of mosquito-destroying fish will, however, be futile without corresponding attention to item (b) above, since these small fish would only act as a further food-supply for the larger carnivorous ones, if these latter were allowed to remain in the tank.

In order that pisciculture can be adequately controlled and properly supervised, it is essential that each Province should have a fishery department for research and for advisory purposes.

In Madras there is already a flourishing fishery department, there is also a second in the Punjab and I understand that there is a fishery officer in the United Provinces. Formerly there was also a fishery department attached to the Board of Agriculture in Bengal, but for some reason or other this appears to have been allowed to die and, I believe, is now no longer in existence. In the event of a problem becoming urgent or of such a wide nature that its application extends beyond the bounds of any one pro-

vince, the Zoological Survey of India is willing to assist these fishery departments as far as it lies in our power. With our present staff it is impossible for us to undertake to do anything more than this.

During the mollusc survey, that was conducted in recent years by the Zoological Survey of India in order to discover whether or not certain parasitic worms can live and be transmitted from man to man in India, it became clear that throughout this whole country there are large numbers of such worms that infest sheep, goats, cattle and other animals. In every case these parasitic Trematode worms pass through a part of their life-history in a fresh-water snail. At present in this country the life-history of only a single species, *Schistosomum spindalis*, which infests goats and cattle, has had its life-history thoroughly traced and much research is still necessary in order to trace the life-histories of others and to control and prevent their development. The full investigation of this problem requires the co-operation of a number of experts and a careful study not only of the worms themselves, but also of their mollusc hosts and the chemical composition and physical characters of the streams and other areas of water in the region in which the parasite occurs, since all these factors have a profound influence upon each other and upon the development of the parasite.

The medical research worker may, as a result of his studies in laboratories and hospitals, be able to incriminate certain animals as the carriers of disease; but from that stage on the eradication of the disease from the country becomes a problem in field zoology, and I am convinced that, though we may know that the *Anopheles* mosquito can transmit Malaria and the Sandfly Kala-Azar, it is only by the application of biological methods that we shall ever succeed in controlling and eradicating these pests and in freeing the population of India from two of the great curses under which we at present suffer and the same may be said of many of the diseases of plants that affect the food-supply.

In India research, and particularly research along lines which will be beneficial to agriculture, is in its infancy. The possibilities of such research are almost boundless, and it is only possible here to indicate certain lines along which results of the highest value might be obtained. The eradication of insect pests by means of chemical action such as

by drugs, poisonous gases, etc., is in the long run bound to be unsatisfactory, inasmuch as its effect is only temporary, the cost is very considerable and, though temporarily effective, the final result may even be worse than useless, inasmuch as one is unable to discriminate between harmful or beneficial insects. The control of plant pests in the future will, in my opinion, be by means of biological methods and the application of such methods has already been strongly advocated in New Zealand, and, I believe, also in Australia. With the exception of the work that is being carried out on economic entomology, but little research, so far as I am aware, has been done in this country, with regard to plant pests and plant diseases. Plants are not only infested by insects; they are also attacked by worms and protozoa; and cases of destruction of crops have even been brought to the notice of the Zoological Survey where the agent has been found to be a crab, as, for instance, the case of the destruction of rice crops by crabs in Konkan. Again, so far as I know, no investigation in this country has been carried out regarding, on one hand, the damage done by molluscs, such as slugs and snails, by birds or mammals on either growing crops or crops that have been stacked or stored. In certain parts of the country parrots do an enormous amount of damage to stacked grain and the havoc wrought by rats to the cocoanut crops in certain areas is well known; but no attempt has been made to control these pests by biological methods. On the other hand, the advantage to be derived from the presence of other birds, etc., who feed on insects and therefore might be useful in eradicating an insect pest, has never been investigated.

In other countries a certain amount of work has been done on the influence of the soil on the fauna, but little, if any, work has been done, at any rate in India, on the influence of the fauna on the soil; and yet it is more than probable that the fauna, both macroscopic and microscopic, of the soil has a very profound influence both on the soil itself and on the crop that is grown on it. I do not here mean the bacteriological investigation of soil, but the effect and influence of the unicellular animals (Protozoa) and the larger earth-dwelling forms, such as worms, insect larvae, termites, etc. The pioneer work of Darwin on the influence of earthworms is sufficient to indicate how

great the effect of the fauna may be, and research along similar lines might yield results of the very highest value.

For the correct application of our knowledge of zoology to economic problems it is essential that the animals concerned should be studied, firstly, from a systematic point of view, in order correctly to determine their species and, secondly, a careful study must be made of their ecology and bionomics; and it is only when these studies are completed, that one can usefully apply one's knowledge to economic purposes. There are, I admit, difficulties in the way of carrying out such field researches as I have indicated and the greatest of these is finance—or rather the lack of it. But I believe that if the matter is sufficiently strongly urged by us, one and all, the Authorities of the various Institutions, to which we belong, can and will be ready to meet our requirements in this line, as far as they are able; and here we have another line of assistance that we in the Zoological Survey of India, can render. The officers of the Survey can and I am sure, will be willing to take with them, when they go out on tour, one or two selected students from the Colleges and Universities; in this way these students would, at a comparatively small cost, be able to study the fauna of this country in its natural surroundings and would further have the benefit of the experience of a trained field-worker.

Now the moment that we commence our studies of the Ecology and Bionomics of the fauna of this country we discover that we need a far wider knowledge than that of zoology alone. To quote from the late Dr. Annandale,

"Zoology is so closely connected with other branches of biology and so dependent in the last resort on Geology, Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics that in my own work I find it frequently necessary to apply to members of other departments for special information. My experience has been that such information is always given in a most ungrudging and generous spirit, when applied for personally."

I can most emphatically corroborate this statement; but are we zoologists justified in continually demanding from others that they should undertake on our behalf researches that we ought to be in a position to carry out for ourselves? We must remember that they have their own interests and their own studies, and that every time they so kindly undertake to assist us, they have

to give up time, which they value every bit as much as we do, in order to carry out some piece of research work that for them has little or no interest. To the field-zoologist or naturalist it is of the greatest importance that he should be able to investigate, not only the fauna, but the associate flora, the chemical composition, the hydrogen-ion concentration and the amount of oxygen and carbon dioxide present in the soil or water, in which the animals that he is studying live; for every one of these factors has a most profound bearing on the animal life and, furthermore, every one of these factors is continually changing with the change of the seasons. In certain cases we do undoubtedly require a knowledge that we ourselves are not in a position to obtain. The late Dr. Annandale, in one of the last papers that he published, showed to how great an extent the character of the Mollusc inhabitants of any given area of water depends on the amount of lime-salts present; it is, therefore, of the utmost importance to us that we should know the chemical composition of the water, and here we certainly require the services of a trained chemist, for it is beyond the scope of work of a zoologist to carry out elaborate analyses of a highly technical character, and, moreover, these analyses must be conducted repeatedly throughout the different seasons of the year, for it has clearly been shown that in such large rivers as the Nile in Egypt and the Ganges in this country, there is an actual chemical change in the composition of the water, following and dependent on the change from the dry to the rainy season. Dr. Hora's studies of the inhabitants of the hill streams of India has equally shown the manner in which the surroundings can mechanically influence the structure of the various animal inhabitants, whether they be Fish, Amphibia or Insects. For those of us whose researches lie in the sea the problem will, I have no doubt, prove to be just as complicated. In European and Temperate seas there is undoubtedly a very considerable seasonal variation in the chemical composition of the water, that affects the amount of Silicates and Phosphates present in solution; and this variation can be traced directly to the activity of the Fauna and Flora, and, *vice versa*, changes in the Fauna and Flora are due to the alteration in the chemical composition. Almost certainly similar changes are going on in the waters of the Indian seas and sooner or later we

must attempt to elucidate these changes. At first sight then it appears to be essential that we should, at the least, have the assistance of both a botanist and a chemist to help us; and here I may take the opportunity of impressing on you the great advantage that can be derived from team work. Such collaboration should be particularly easy to attain in your Colleges and Universities, where Zoology and Botany, as well as Chemistry, are being taught side by side. But, failing such collaboration, there is a very great deal that a zoologist can do and should be able to do for himself. The study of the hydrogen-ion concentration, the amount of dissolved gases and the salinity of the sea water require but little technical knowledge, for the methods of estimation have now-a-days been so simplified and standardised that we can with very little experience carry out our own investigations, provided that we possess the necessary apparatus. Every student should be taught in your advanced classes to estimate the hydrogen-ion concentration of both soil and water and every student of our marine fauna should be able to carry out titration with silver nitrate solution and so estimate for himself the degree of salinity of the sea; this latter process has been most carefully standardised by the "Conseil Permanent pour l'Exploration de la Mer" and the technique is one that is easily learned: every observation on our marine fauna should, therefore, be accompanied by observations on the temperature and salinity of the sea water itself.

As one gains wider experience one finds, however that our researches must be carried even further afield. Let me cite a couple of examples. During the past year I have had occasion to investigate an epidemic of mortality among the fauna of the tank in the compound of the Indian Museum. On the morning of the 17th of February last it was discovered that many of the fish in the tank were dying with all the symptoms of asphyxia, nor were the fish the only inhabitants that were affected. In varying degrees it was found that both the Molluscs and the Crustacea were also suffering from the same condition. It is probably well-known to you that at about this season of the year, that is to say from March to June, there is annually a very heavy mortality in the tank fauna throughout India. Annandale noticed the occurrence of this phenomenon, and called attention to it, particularly among the Sponges

and Polyzoa, and I have myself called attention to it in the Mollusca. Annandale put forward the view that this mortality was due to imperfect acclimatisation, the animals being unable to withstand the high temperatures that prevail during the dry season of the year. In view, however, of the wide distribution and the continued survival of the fauna in spite of this mortality, this conclusion can, I think, hardly be justified and we must look for some other cause of it. One of the problems that I had to consider when dealing with the mortality in the Museum tank was, whether this mortality was merely a part of this annual phase or was it due to a local specific cause? An examination of the water, that was carried out for me by the Chemical Examiner to the Government of Bengal, showed that no known poison had been introduced into the tank. Further examination showed that there was no reason to think that the hydrogen-ion concentration was abnormal, though it must be owned that our knowledge of the changes in this feature during the course of the year is practically nil. An examination of the dissolved gases revealed that the amount of oxygen in the water was, although somewhat less than that usually present in other countries, not so greatly diminished as to be actually harmful; the carbon dioxide present in solution was, however, abnormally great in amount and it seemed certain that this was the actual cause of death. I was then faced with another problem, namely, what was the cause of this great increase in the amount of the carbon dioxide? A careful study of all the known data revealed that it was almost certainly attributable to the meteorological conditions that were at the time and had been for some days previously, prevailing over Calcutta. During a short period prior to the outbreak the air temperature had been steadily rising; and not only was the maximum temperature some degrees above normal, but so also was the minimum temperature, and this condition of affairs reached its climax on the day prior to the epidemic. At the same time there had been no rain-fall; there had been a steady rise in the humidity of the atmosphere, and an almost complete absence of wind. The result of these combined meteorological conditions had been to completely inhibit the normal circulation in the tank, on which the oxy-

genation of the water and the removal from it of the excess carbon dioxide very largely depends; there was no "change over" between the surface and the bottom waters, since all surface currents due to wind had ceased, nor was there any change due to convection currents, since the raised temperature of the water combined with the increased humidity of the air and the consequent decrease in the rate of evaporation, had prevented the surface layer becoming more dense than the underlying stratum. There had thus been a complete stagnation of the water in the tank, and a consequent increase in the amount of carbon dioxide, especially in the lower levels, till it had reached a lethal concentration and so had poisoned the inhabitants. It is clear then that, at any rate in this instance, the ultimate cause of the mortality of the fauna of the tank must be laid at the door of the meteorological conditions and it seems not improbable that the annual mortality, to which I have referred above, is to be attributed to the same cause.

I have found that a study of the meteorological conditions is equally essential in any investigation into the conditions under which the marine fauna lives in Indian seas. As a result of several years' work regarding the conditions of the surface water throughout the whole width of Indian seas from the Maldive Islands on the West to the coast of Burma on the East I have found that continual changes are taking place, especially as regards the salinity. In addition to the seasonal changes, that are due to the alternation of the wet and dry seasons and the effects of the two monsoons, there is evidence that long period oscillations, of the nature of "seiches", the time-period depending on the size and shape of the sea basin and the salinity of the sea water, are, at any rate at certain seasons of the year, present in the deeper layers of the ocean and that these are continually bringing up, from considerable depths to near the surface, masses of water that have a higher salinity than the normal surface water. These long period oscillations in the surface salinity have time periods of approximately 28 days in the Arabian Sea, 10 days in the Laccadive Sea, 15 to 16 days in the Bay of Bengal, in which the type of "seiche" appears to be a bi-nodal one, 18 to 19 days in the Andaman Sea and $2\frac{1}{2}$ days in the Gulf

of Mannar. These are almost certainly due to seiches, and in addition, there is evidence of a transverse "seiche", also binodal in character, across the Bay of Bengal, having a time period of $5\frac{1}{2}$ days. At the culminating phase of each swing there is a mixture of surface water with deeper and more saline water and this causes a rise in the salinity of the surface-water itself that has a profound effect on the fauna. Corresponding to the rise and fall of salinity we get the appearance on the surface of shoals of organisms, sometimes of the one kind and sometimes of another; in some instances the shoals consists almost entirely of Salps, in others of small crustacea, such as *Lucifer*, while in yet others we get enormous numbers of a large Rhizostomous Medusa. Superposed on these long period oscillations of salinity we get a double diurnal oscillation in the salinity, that also appears to be brought about by an upwelling from some depth below the surface, probably from as great a depth as 50 to 100 fathoms, of water that is usually more saline than the surface water itself; and, accompanying this double oscillation in the salinity during the course of the day, I find that there is evidence pointing to very definite changes in the Plankton of the surface levels. Many of you are doubtless familiar with the so-called "vertical migration" of the Plankton, that has been shown to occur in European waters and in other Temperate seas, a migration that is usually attributed to the activity of these minute animals themselves. Personally I am profoundly sceptical regarding the possibility of these small organisms being able to make their way, in the time available, through the immense columns of water between the levels from and to which they are said to migrate, in some cases as much as 200 fathoms. In Indian waters, so far as my experience goes, this alteration of level at which the planctonic organisms occur appears to take place, not as in temperate waters at periods corresponding to day and night, but twice a day at times that correspond roughly to the changes in the barometric pressure. In the case of the small Crustacea and especially the Copepoda, small crustacean larvae, *Sagitta* and similar small animals, we get their appearance on the surface in large numbers at about 10 a.m. and again at 5 to 6 in the evening, while there is a marked diminution

in their numbers or even a complete absence at 1 to 2 p.m. This appearance and disappearance of these organisms shows little or no relationship to the rise and fall of the tide but appears to agree with the times of upwelling of the water from the deeper strata. Now, the ultimate causation of this oscillation in the sea water, in both the case of the long-period seiche and the diurnal upwelling, is to be found in the meteorological conditions that prevail over the open waters. With each succeeding monsoon there is an alteration in the direction of the wind; during the south-west monsoon the wind blows steadily towards the north-east and during the north-east monsoon it blows in exactly the opposite direction; in consequence of this alternation the surface waters are piled up first on one side of the various basins and then on the other, and as soon as the wind ceases the water tends to flow back to its proper level and thus the to-and-fro swing of the deeper stratum is set in motion. Similarly, during each twenty-four hours the rise and fall of the barometer is accompanied by a fall and rise of the strength of the wind, in consequence of which the surface water at the times of low barometric pressure is blown away and water from below wells up to the surface to take its place. We thus have large masses of water constantly in a state of movement and with each period of upwelling, planctonic organisms from below make their appearance on the surface, only to disappear again as the wind drops and the water again sinks back to its normal level. In Indian waters it seems highly probable, then, that the "migration" of the plankton is in reality at any rate in the main a "translation" and is not an active process.

I think I need go no further in emphasising the extreme importance, therefore, of carrying our researches far beyond the hard and fast limits of strict zoology; and it is clear that, in order to complete our investigations regarding the Indian Fauna, we must, each one of us, take a wide view and carry on researches simultaneously into the fauna and the general conditions under which it lives, even to the extent of taking observations on meteorology. Whether in the future such researches will be carried out, and it is only such researches that should be considered adequate, will depend

on you who are listening to me to-day. It behoves us, therefore, to pause for a moment and consider what is to come in the future ; and I ask you the age-long question "Quo vadis ?" for, it is to you, the Professors, Lecturers, Demonstrators and Advanced Students of Zoology in our Universities and Colleges throughout India, that we must look for an answer. The teaching of Zoology throughout this country now rests absolutely in the hands of you Indians yourselves ; in most, if not in all, the numerous colleges there is a department of Zoology, more or less well-equipped and with an ever increasing number of students ; and I ask you "what type of trained zoologist are you

turning out?" Are your students being trained by you in the broadest principles of Zoology such as I have indicated ? As the late Dr. Annandale remarked before this session of the Indian Science Congress in 1922, "Applied Zoology should be and perhaps some day may become the great philanthropic agent of the world"; but this great ideal will never be attained in this country unless your students are learning at your hands an enthusiasm for their subject that will enable them throughout their whole life to devote themselves whole-heartedly to its study. Only by so doing can you and they hope to raise Zoology to the high level at which we all wish to see it.

SOME CELEBRITIES

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

RAMKRISHNA PARAMHANSA

IN 1881 Keshub Chandra Sen, accompanied by a fairly large party, went on board a steam yacht belonging to his son-in-law, Maharaja Nripendra Narayan Bhup of Kuch Behar, to Dakshineswar to meet Ramkrishna Paramhansa. I had the good fortune to be included in that party. We did not land, but the Paramhansa, accompanied by his nephew Hriday, who brought a basket of parched rice (ফুড়ি) and some *sandesh* for us, boarded the steamer which steamed up the river towards Somra. The Paramhansa was wearing a red bordered *dhoti* and a shirt which was not buttoned. We all stood up as he came on board and Keshub took the Paramhansa by the hand and made him sit close to him. Keshub then beckoned to me to come and sit near them and I sat down almost touching their feet. The Paramhansa was dark-complexioned, kept a beard, and his eyes never opened very wide and were introspective. He was of medium height, slender almost to leanness and very frail-looking. As a matter of fact, he had an exceptionally nervous temperament, and was extremely sensitive to the slightest physical pain. He spoke with a very slight but

charming stammer in very plain Bengali, mixing the two "yous" (আপনি and তুমি frequently. All the talking was practically done by the Paramhansa, and the rest, including Keshub himself, were respectful and eager listeners. It is now more than forty-five years ago that this happened and yet almost everything that the Paramhansa said is indelibly impressed on my memory. I have never heard any other man speak as he did. It was an unbroken flow of profound spiritual truths and experiences welling up from the perennial spring of his own devotion and wisdom. The similes and metaphors, the apt illustrations, were as striking as they were original. At times as he spoke he would draw a little closer to Keshub until part of his body was unconsciously resting in Keshub's lap, but Keshub sat perfectly still and made no movement to withdraw himself.

After he had sat down the Paramhansa glanced round him and expressed his approval of the company sitting around by saying, "বেশ বেশ ! বেশ সব পটলচোখা চোখ (Good, good : They have all good large eyes)." Then he peered at a young man wearing English clothes and sitting at a distance

a capstan. "উনি কে ? ঠেকে সাহেব সাহেব দেখছি" ! (Who is that ? He looks like a Saheb)." Keshub smilingly explained that it was a young Bengali who had just returned from England. The Paramhansa laughed, "তাই বল মশাই, সাহেব দেখলে ভয় করে কি না ! (That's right One feels afraid of a Saheb)." The young man was Kumar Gajendra Narayan of Kuch Behar, who shortly afterwards married Keshub's second daughter. The next moment he lost all interest in the people present and began to speak of the various ways in which he used to perform his *sadhana*. "Sometimes I would fancy myself the Brahminy duck calling for its mate (আমি ডাক্তুম চক। নব অমনি আমার ভিতর থেকে রা আনত চকি) !"

There is a poetic tradition in Sanscrit that the male and female of a brace of Brahminy ducks spend the night on the opposite shores of a river and keep calling to each other. Again, "I would be the kitten calling for the mother cat and there would be the response of the mother (আমি বলতুম মিউ আর যেন খাড়ি বেরাল বলত মাও)." After speaking in this strain for some time he suddenly pulled himself up and said with the smile of a child, "জান মশাই, গোপন নাথনার সব কথা বলতে নেই ! (Everything about secret *sadhana* should not be told)." He explained that it was impossible to express in language the ecstasy of divine communion when the human soul loses itself in the contemplation of the deity. Then he looked at some of the faces around him and spoke at length on the indications of character by physiognomy. Every feature of the human face was expressive of some particular trait of character. The eyes were the most important but all other features, the forehead, the ears, the nose, the lips and the teeth were helpful in the reading of character. And so the marvellous monologue went on until the Paramhansa began to speak of the Nirakara (formless) Brahman. "এই যে নিরাকার রূপ তাইই ধারণ। চাই (the manifestation of the Formless has to be realised)." He repeated the word Nirakara two or three times and then quietly passed into *samadhi* as the diver slips into the fathomless deep. While the Paramhansa remained unconscious Keshub Chunder Sen explained that recently there

had been some conversation between himself and the Paramhansa about the Nirakara Brahman and the Paramhansa appeared to be profoundly moved.

We intently watched Ramkrishna Paramhansa in *samadhi*. The whole body relaxed and then became slightly rigid. There was no twitching of the muscles or nerves, no movement of any limb. Both his hands lay in his lap with the fingers lightly interlooked. The sitting posture of the body (আসন) was easy, but absolutely motionless. The face was slightly tilted up and in repose. The eyes were nearly but not wholly closed. The eyeballs were not turned up or other-wise deflected, but they were fixed and conveyed no message of outer objects to the brain. The lips were parted in a beatific and indescribable smile, disclosing the gleam of the white teeth. There was something in that wonderful smile which no photograph was ever able to reproduce.

We gazed in silence for several minutes at the motionless form of the Paramhansa and then Trailokya Nath Sanyal, the singing apostle of Keshub Chunder Sen's church, sang a hymn to the accompaniment of a drum and cymbals (ধোল কর্তাল). As the music swelled in volume the Paramhansa opened his eyes and looked around him as if he were in a strange place. The music stopped. The Paramhansa looking at us said, "এরা সব কারা ? (Who are these people) ?" And then he vigorously slapped the top of his head several times, and cried out, "নেবে যা ! নেবে যা ! (Go down, go down) !" No one made any mention of the trance. The Paramhansa became fully conscious and sang in a pleasant voice, শ্রীমা মা কি কল করেছে, কালী মা কি কল করেছে ! (What a wonderful machine Kali the Mother has made) !" After the song the Paramhansa gave a luminous exposition as to how the voice should be trained to singing and the characteristics of a good voice.

It was fairly late in the evening when we returned to Calcutta after landing the Paramhansa at Dakshineswar. No carriages could be had at Abiritola Ghat and Keshub had to walk all the way to Masjidbari Street to the house of Kali Charan Banerji, who had invited him to dinner.

It has to be mentioned that some time

after this incident I went to see "M", a devout disciple and follower of Ramkishna Paramhansa and the well-known compiler of the sayings and teachings of the Paramhansa. I am related to "M" and I urged him to go and see the remarkable holy man at Dakshineswar. "M" first saw the Paramhansa in 1882, and he reminded me the other day in Calcutta how this came about at my suggestion.

The Paramhansa died in 1886. That was the third year of my stay at Karachi, but just about that time I happened to be in Calcutta. I followed the bier of the Paramhansa to the burning-ghat. All the disciples, including Vivekananda, were there and Trailokya Nath Sanyal was also present.

THE KUCH BEHAR MARRIAGE

Keshub Chander Sen's eldest daughter was married to the Maharaja of Kuch Behar in 1878, and I well remember the ferment that the event created in Calcutta among the members of the Brahmo Samaj. Some of the leading members of the Samaj and the majority of the members of the Brahmo Samaj of India protested against the marriage on the ground that Keshub's daughter had not attained the age of fourteen, the minimum marriageable age for Brahmo girls. The Bengal Government, which had arranged the marriage, would not agree to the ceremony being deferred, and Keshub in spite of all protests, agreed to the proposal of the Government. In justification of the step he was taking Keshub declared that he had received an *adesh*, or an express commandment from God. Between the oppositionists and the remnant of the followers, of Keshub there was a keen struggle for the possession of the *Mandir* on Mechuabazar Street.

Keshub's followers retained possession of the building by calling in the police to their assistance, and shortly afterwards the Sadharan Brahma Samaj house of prayer was erected on Cornwallis Street. I remember quite well the building of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Mandir after the split in the Indian Brahmo Samaj following the Kuch Behar marriage. Nearly fifty years have gone by since the Kuch Behar Marriage, and the world may judge for itself whether the marriage with its harvest and aftermath had direct divine sanction.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN

Of Keshub Chunder Sen's greatness, of his graciousness and charm of manner, all who

had the privilege of coming in contact with him had only one opinion. He was a strikingly handsome man with a fairly tall and full figure, and he could never be mistaken for an ordinary man. As an orator I have never met his peer, and I have heard many Indian, English and American orators. The characteristic feature of his oratory was that he held himself always in easy command: there was hardly any gesticulation and he would sometimes thrill his audience by lifting a finger. His voice was of such power and compass, albeit smooth and silvery in its flow, that it filled the Town Hall of Calcutta almost without an effort. He rarely gave way to emotion, but on one occasion tears streamed from his eyes while delivering one of his annual addresses at the Town Hall. The subject was "Am I an inspired Prophet?" As an orator in Bengali I have heard no one else sway his hearers as he did. In the last Bengali address that he delivered in the Beadon Garden in Calcutta I noticed a hostile element, consisting of a number of Vaishnavas, who were scoffing at him loudly before he began to speak, and yet those very men were so carried away by the orator's appeal that they shouted "Hari Bol" and rolled on the grass in an ecstasy of emotion and admiration.

Keshub had a fine sense of humour. For some time he used to hold a theological class in the Albert Hall on Saturdays, and the audience was composed of advanced college students, professors, and others, with a sprinkling of Europeans. A glass of water was usually placed before the speaker. One day a young man who had been sitting in front of Keshub close to the table and had been looking up with rapt admiration at the speaker quietly raised the glass of water and drank it off as soon as Keshub had finished his lecture and resumed his seat. Keshub quietly smiled and said in Bengali, "I thought speaking for a long time made a man rather thirsty, but I now see that listening to a speech is also thirsty work."

Whether Keshub Chunder Sen will take high and permanent rank among the religious reformers of India time alone will determine. In spite of his great powers he was considerably hampered by the cares and burden of a large family. After his death I wrote a booklet in English which attracted the favourable attention of some men of note and was considered worthy of notice by the Bengal Government, but a volume

man's enthusiasm is not always worth much and time is the truest appraiser. As regards the eclectic church founded by Keshub Chunder Sen and known as the New Dispensation, it has not made much headway in the forty odd years that have passed after the death of the founder. Still the country will always cherish the memory of Keshub Chunder Sen as that of a great man endowed with high gifts and who upheld the truth as he saw it.

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJI

Bankim Chandra Chatterji, who was a Deputy Magistrate and one of the first two graduates of the Calcutta University, was staying, in 1882, on leave in a house on Bowbazar Street. Afterwards, when he was appointed assistant secretary to the Government of Bengal, he lived in another house on the same street. The first time I saw him was in the company of Devendranath Sen, my brother-in-law and a well-known Bengali poet, and afterwards I used to accompany Sris Chandra Majumdar, the Bengali novelist, to Bankim's house. Rakhal Chandra Banerji, Bankim's son-in-law, was also a great friend of mine, and he used to take me some times to see his father-in-law. Among others, I saw Bankim's brother Sanjiva Chandra Chatterji, Chandra Nath Bose and Rajkrishna Mukerji. Bankim was usually a reticent and reserved man, and though we heard that he discussed literature and other important subjects with his intimate friends we heard him usually in light conversation, or chaffing one of his friends. But the earnestness of his nature was apparent even to young observers like us. Every young aspirant in Bengali literature had easy access to him and he had a kind word of encouragement for all, though during the four years that he edited the famous *Bangadarshan* he was a terror to writers of indifferent books. His face and head were of the finest Brahminical type. The head was beautifully moulded with a broad, but not high forehead, with greying hair curling uncared for on the head. The eyes were keen and light brown, the nose prominent and aquiline, the lips thin and close pressed over small teeth, while the chin and the lower jaw were firm and distinctly combative. There are few likenesses of this great writer and in these few the head is covered with a Moghul turban. He be-

longed to a bare-headed race, but there is hardly one good portrait in Bengali costume. Jyotirindranath Tagore, who made a great hobby of phrenology for several years and who had as great skill with the pencil as with the pen, once made pencil sketches of the heads of Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara and Bankim Chandra Chatterji, and published them side by side in the *Balak* magazine, with comments on indications of character as disclosed by the heads of these two great men. I think it would be well worth while to rescue this study of Bankim's head from the files of the extinct periodical, to enlarge it and to place it in some prominent place. Quite apart from Bankim's place in Bengali literature, every Indian would like to view a likeness of the head of the man who composed the "Bande Mataram" song. When India will become a nation in her own right these words will be found blazoned on the entrance of the national Parliament.

There was a very remarkable controversy in the columns of the *Statesman* newspaper between Bankim Chandra Chatterji and the Rev. Dr. W. Hastie, Principal of the General Assembly's Institution, about certain features of the Hindu religion. Bankim, who wrote under the name of "Ram Sarma", was a master of dialectics and English prose, and had the better of the argument. So impressed was Dr. Hastie by the vigour of Bankim's language and his scholarship that he offered to introduce his name to European savants if he would disclose his identity. Bankim proudly replied that Dr. Hastie had mistaken his man. "Ram Sarma" was not anxious for an honour which he did not deserve and might not prize, and that he was perfectly content with the approbation of a whole people. This was a clear clue to the writer's identity. Bankim himself made no secret of the authorship of the letters and Dr. Hastie learned very soon that he had to deal with a man who needed no introduction at his hands.

Up to the last Bankim took the keenest interest in Bengali literature and new writers, and I had my share of his generous appreciation of some of my Bengali writings, though I had no opportunity of expressing to him my gratitude. When he died in 1894 in his house in Calcutta opposite the Medical College I was in Calcutta, but he was unconscious when I called to see him. He did not suffer long and the end came

mercifully and swiftly. At Nimtola Ghat I saw the tranquil and serene features of Bankim Chandra Chatterji in the final peace of death. There was no change of any kind and it looked so much like natural sleep that it was difficult to realise that the Great Change had come over this gifted son of India. As I stood looking for the last time at the departed Master the reality of the lines of the poet was borne in upon me :—

"How wonderful is Death
Death and his brother Sleep!"

Three personalities of exceptional strength appeared in Bengal in the nineteenth century, Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara, Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Swami Vivekananda. The first two passed away in the closing years of the century, while Swami Vivekananda had barely crossed the threshold of the twentieth century when he was called away to his rest.

DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE

Dwijendranath Tagore was the eldest son of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and lived to the great age of 87. I first saw him at the ancestral house in Jorasanko, Calcutta. He was just a little over forty years of age, tall, bearded, with a full habit of body, earnest, clear eyes and a wonderful charm of manner. It is rarely that we find such an intellect as his, acute, versatile and original. Omar Khayyam was a great poet as well as an astronomer, but after all star-gazing is not far removed from poesy, but who would believe Euclid capable of composing the *Iliad*? And yet Dwijendranath Tagore was as much at home in the forbidding domain of abstruse mathematics as in the perplexing maze of philosophy, or in the ethereal empyrean of poesy. As if this was not sufficient to prove the lavishness of the gifts of nature, Dwijendranath had genius even in his fingers, in the intricate and artistic folding of a missive, in making note books without the help of thread or needle, in making magical boxes out of common paper! His great poetical work *Swarnapravan* (স্বর্ণপ্রবণ) has never been properly appreciated, but that is the loss of the reading public. Serious students who have read the book carefully find that the memory is haunted by the melody of many verses while the grandeur of others is indisputable. His jilting metrical translation of *Meghaduta* is a

work of fine art. Not less notable is his contribution to philosophical literature. He felt a simple pleasure in reading out to his visitors the latest work on which he happened to be engaged and of course many of them were flabbergasted. Once his youngest brother Rabindranath and myself were passing his room and I expressed a desire to see Dwijendranath. Rabindranath with a look of mock horror on his face said, "If Bara Dada gets hold of you now, you will be done for!" Dwijendranath was then absorbed in working out a new geometry distinct from that of Euclid, and if I had entered his room he would have at once commenced to explain his new discovery to my very unmathematic intelligence. Needless to say, I took his brother's warning at once!

Dwijendranath Tagore's nature had the transparency and simplicity of a child, and while nature had endowed him prodigally with her gifts, the world left him severely alone and gave him no share of its wisdom. On one occasion he was sent to his father's landed estate, and when the ryots approached him with tales of distress he granted remissions of revenue with both hands with the result that the rent-roll was considerably reduced that year. That experiment was not tried again. He was so generous that on one occasion when some one came to him for help he gave away the silver *pandan* (পান্ডা) lying in front of him, saying he had nothing else to give at that time. His Homeric laughter, his heartiness, and the utter absence of self-consciousness endeared him to all who knew him. With advancing age physical frailty supervened, but his remarkable intellect remained as bright as ever and his interest in affairs never flagged. In the closing years of his life he was keenly interested in Mahatma Gandhi's movement and frequently corresponded with him. Mahatma Gandhi called him "Bara Dada" and wrote about him publicly in terms of high appreciation and regard.

SATYENDRANATH TAGORE

I had seen Satyendranath Tagore, the second son of Maharshi Devendranath, in Bombay, but I came to know him personally in Calcutta and met him frequently while he was President of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. He was the first Indian to enter

the Indian Civil Service by the partially open door of limited competition in England, but unlike other Bengali Civilians he never took to the English costume and always put on the headdress known as the *Pirally pugree*. At the Parishad I found him always wearing the usual Bengali dress. He was very modest and unassuming. His hymns and his book on Bombay bear evidence of his literary gifts.

JYOTIRINDRANATH TAGORE

The fifth brother, Jyotirindranath Tagore, was one of the handsomest men of his time. Jyotirindranath was a man of many accomplishments. He was a linguist of a high order and was deeply versed in French literature. He was a fine musician and could play admirably upon several instruments. As a dramatist he takes high rank in Bengali literature and there was a time when his classical and historical plays attracted crowded houses in Bengali theatres in Calcutta and his songs were sung everywhere. As mentioned already, he was greatly interested in phrenology at the time when I first knew him and it was not long before I had personal experience of his skill. My cousin Jnanendranath and myself were at the Jorasanko house one morning when Jyotirindranath invited us to give him a sitting. He first made a rapid and accurate pencil sketch of our heads and then proceeded to feel our bumps, jotting down the result of his examination in a note book. His reading of the propensities of our minds by the help of the protuberances on our skulls was exceedingly gratifying to ourselves, though the philosophic vein that he detected in my cousin's cranium must have had reference to his equableness of temper and simplicity of character. Latterly, Jyotirindranath used to live at Ranchi where one of my sons interviewed him and was received with great cordiality. Jyotirindranath retained his literary activities up to the end of his life.

SWARNA KUMARI DEVI

Along with her gifted brothers Swarna Kumari Devi has achieved considerable distinction as a writer of fiction and poetry. She edited the *Bharati* magazine for a number of years and her output of literary work has been considerable. I sometimes visited her and her husband J. Ghosal at the Kashiabagan garden house and she came to

us when I was staying with my people in Calcutta in 1894. I have seen her recently, and though well advanced in years she still keeps a bright outlook on life. Her daughter Sarala Devi, who was married to the late Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhuri of Lahore, is well known both in literature and politics, and is intimately known to us and we have met frequently in Calcutta, Lahore and Bombay.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Rabindranath Tagore was just twenty years old when I first met him and we have been friends ever since. It was the beautiful bond of literature that cemented our friendship. His figure and features are now familiar to the whole world. At that time he was a tall, slender young man with finely chiselled features. He wore his hair long, curled down his back and had a short beard. He had been to England and had read for some time with Henry Morley, who formed a high opinion of his English prose, but on his return to India Rabindranath occupied himself entirely with literary work in Bengali and, as he himself has said, he wrote nothing in English for many years afterwards. But his reading of English literature covered a wide range. Two of his early lyrical works, *Sandhya Sangit* and *Prabhat Sangit*, had just been published. He was doing all the editorial work of the Bengali magazine *Bharati*, though the name of his eldest brother, Dwijendranath Tagore, appeared as Editor. I met Rabindranath frequently at the house of Preo Nath Sen, at his own house in Jorasanko and at our house in Grey Street. When Surendranath Banerjea came out of jail a meeting to welcome him was held in the grounds of Free Church College as it was then called, on Nimtola Ghat Street. One of the speakers was Asutosh Mukerji, at that time a student in the Presidency College and afterwards famous as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. With the enthusiasm which is becoming in a student, Asutosh spoke of Surendranath as "our illustrious leader." Rabindranath was also present by invitation and after the speech-making was over had to sing a song in response to persistent calls. Who in that gathering of students and others could have then dreamed that the young singer of that afternoon would in

the years to come make more than a royal progress through the world and every capital in Asia and Europe would listen to his spoken word with the reverence due a prophet ?

Rabindranath frequently read out his freshly composed poems to me. Once he brought one of his best known dramas, which he had just written, and we read it together. The final incident in the play did not seem to me to be in keeping with the spirit of the drama and I told him so. He said his Bara Dada was of the same opinion and he changed the concluding part before sending the book to the press. We had a sort of a friendly Literary Society which met occasionally at the houses of friends. We met once at Akrur Dutt Street in the house in which the Savitri Library was located and there was another meeting at Rabindranath's house. We used to have animated discussions on literary subjects, but the inner man was not neglected and ample refreshments were always provided.

Rabindranath was very generous, though at this time he had no independent income of his own and only received an allowance from his father. One evening while we were sitting together in his house a visitor was announced. Rabindranath was greatly put out and explained to me that the visitor was related to a collateral branch of the family. He was in the habit of pestering Rabindranath for help and had been helped with money on various occasions. The man was a wastrel and Rabindranath was unwilling to meet him. He made a movement as if to leave the room, but I told him that the best way to meet the situation was to tell the importunate visitor that he could not expect any further help. Rabindranath accepted my suggestion and the visitor was shown in. Finding a third person present in the room he did not venture to ask for money and left after a few minutes.

Men of genius have their eccentricities, but Rabindranath, brought up in an atmosphere of an admirable discipline, was free from all vagaries. His abstemiousness was almost Spartan. He has been all his life a very small eater and has never smoked. The ways of Bohemia had no attractions for him. For some months he would not wear a shirt and came several times to my house wearing only adhuti and covering himself with a *chadar* of long cloth. He wore shoes very rarely and mostly went

about in slippers, which he liked the better the quainter they were. I remember having sent him some Sindhi slippers from Karachi, but these proved to be so attractive that some one else deprived him of them.

Only once Bohemia tugged at him fiercely. Rabindranath conceived an idea of walking all the way from Calcutta to Peshwar by the Grand Trunk Road. He was quite excited and earnest about it. He said two or three friends would join him, they would travel very light, carry very little money with them and would march all day and take their chance for a resting place at night. The idea never actually materialised and gradually fizzled out, and the proposed great hike remained an unwritten epic.

Rabindranath's fine humour is frequently apparent in his writings, but I remember one incident which he used to relate as a young man. Rabindranath had criticised some book or some writer and shortly afterwards some one came and told him with portentous gravity that another man, who was a B. A. of the Calcutta University, was preparing a crushing rejoinder to Rabindranath. As the poet himself was neither a graduate nor even an undergraduate, this tremendous announcement was calculated to overwhelm him, and it certainly did, but not quite in the manner his informant had expected. I once took Rabindranath to the house of Babu Ramtanu Lahiri in Calcutta. Rabindranath sang a few songs and Ramtanu Babu was highly delighted and thanked the young poet earnestly.

I was present at Rabindranath's marriage. He sent me a characteristic invitation in which he wrote that his intimate relative Rabindranath Tagore was to be married—
“আমার পবন আত্মীয় শ্রীমান্ রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুরের শুভ বিবাহ হইবে।” The marriage took place in Rabindranath's own house and was a very quiet affair, only a few friends being present.

BEHARI LAL CHAKRAVARTI

Behari Lal Chakravarti, the well-known Bengali poet, never had a large circle of admirers, though his verse was mellifluous and the language was finely chiselled. When I first met him I had just passed my teens and he was well advanced in middle age. Behari Lal did not know much of English but he had read a good deal of Sanskrit

literature and poetry. His *Saradamangal* will find a permanent place in Bengali literature, and the lyrical cry and the lilt of his verse will appeal to cultured readers. We became very intimate and met frequently. With the eccentricity characteristic of genius Behari Lal would sometimes come to our house at a late hour at night and remain chatting till nearly midnight. His interests were not wide and he did not concern himself with public affairs, but he was a genial, open-hearted man, hearty and bluff of manner, and full of an old-world courtesy.

PREO NATH SEN

Preo Nath Sen was some years older than myself, but he strongly attracted young people interested in literature. I met him first in 1881 and retained his valued friendship to the end of his life. He should have become a solicitor, but he was so deeply absorbed in literature that he never passed the examination necessary to qualify him for that profession. He did not do much creative work and has left no literary works behind him, but literature was to him the very breath of life. He was a bibliophile in the best sense of the word and his literary judgment was wonderfully keen and accurate. He had one of the finest libraries I have seen and not a week passed in which he did not add to his collection of books. And he read every book that he bought. As a linguist I have not met his equal, not because of the number of languages he knew but the ease with which he acquired a new language. A biglot dictionary, a grammar of the new language, and in a few months Preo Nath would be reading books in a new language. Of course, the correct enunciation of the words of a new language cannot be learned in this manner but this is a small detail when the object is to read books and not to speak the language. When I first saw him Preo Nath could read French and Italian in the original and subsequently learned other European languages. Persian he learned last and I borrowed from him a splendid edition of Hafiz's poems with an English translation. His books had encroached upon every available space in his house. Besides the almirahs and shelves in the inner portion of the house his sitting room, which contained no furniture, was full of books, which were stacked under the windows and over-

flowed into the verandah. With all his great love for books, he readily lent them not only to his friends but even to slight acquaintances. I must have read hundreds of books from his library and this gave him great pleasure. Among his constant visitors were Rabindranath Tagore, Behari Lal Chakravarti, Devendranath Sen and many others. It was in deference to his unfavorable opinion that Rabindranath Tagore withdrew one of his early works from circulation and it has never been reprinted. In almost every case Preo Nath's literary judgment was sound and he was invariably candid and outspoken. His favourite author was Swinburne and he carefully collected every line of prose and verse that the English poet ever wrote.

Most of the men who used to meet at the house of Preo Nath Sen to discuss literature have passed away. Rabindranath Tagore and myself are still left to cherish his memory and recall his fine character.

A SHAKESPEARE PLAY

It was some time in the early eighties that Herr Bandmann, a well-known actor, visited Calcutta, accompanied by a troupe of artists. As the name indicates, Bandmann was a German naturalised in England and spoke English without an accent. He had the reputation of being a clever Shakespeare actor and though not an interpreter of the rank of Sir Henry Irving, he drew crowded houses in Calcutta by staging some Shakespeare plays at the Corinthian Theatre on Dhurrumtolah Street. I went to see *Macbeth* performed by his company. The cream of Calcutta society was there and I saw Keshub Chunder Sen and Bankim Chandra Chatterji in the audience keenly following the play. Herr Bandmann himself appeared in the role of *Macbeth*. He was a splendid looking man, big and blond as a Viking, with a finely modulated voice and a consummate power of producing stage effect. In the murder scene in which *Macbeth* appears, trembling and shrinking, holding in his shaking hand the poniard red with the life-blood of King Duncan, and Lady *Macbeth* reproaches him for his fearfulness, the whole house was thrilled by the realism of the acting and the intensity of the horror. The footlights had been turned down, leaving the stage in comparative darkness, but a

stream of light from the wings was skilfully turned upon the two figures on the stage, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, and played upon their features with a startling effect. The poniard in the hand of Macbeth had a hollow handle filled with a few metal pellets and tinkled faintly as the hand of the actor shook. The eyes, wide and wild with terror, were roving in every direction, while the hands and the whole body quivered as an aspen leaf.

Lady Macbeth stood at a little distance, cool and cynical, flashing contempt from her magnificent eyes at her husband, unmanned by the bloody deed he had done. We realised to the full the penetrative power of a stage whisper when Macbeth said:—

"Glamis hath murder'd sleep, and therefore
Cawdor
Shall sleep no more, Macbeth shall sleep no
more!"

The voice was no louder than a quaking whisper, but it ran like a long-drawn sibilant hiss through the remotest parts of the theatre and every word was as distinctly heard as if it had been shouted out. Again, when the actor cried,

"Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will
rather

The multitudinous seas incarnadine
Making the green one red."

and spread out his palm with utter hopelessness stamped on his face, it was a great gesture of tragic despair.

In the sleep-walking scene Lady Macbeth, lighted taper in hand, somnambulist, with her eyes wide open, glassy, and without a flicker of the eyelids, was very dramatic. As she put down the light and rubbed her hands as if washing them, she declaimed,

"Here's the smell of the blood still :
All the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten
this little hand.

Oh ! Oh ! Oh !"

The opening words were uttered in the colourless monotone of a person talking in

sleep, but when the final exclamation was reached and repeated three times, the voice of the actress rose to a crescendo of agonised despair and brought down the house in repeated rounds of tempestuous applause.

AMATEUR THEATRICALS

A few months later some of us decided to stage the Merchant of Venice. Among the young enthusiasts who took part in the play were Karuna, the eldest son of Keshub Chunder Sen, Sarat, the youngest son of Tarak Chandra Sircar, the well-known leading partner of the firm of Messrs. Kerr Tarruck & Co, a son of Peary Charan Sircar, and several others. The double parts of Shylock and Lancelot Gobbo were assigned to me. We zealously memorised our parts and vigorously rehearsed and attitudinized at home before our astonished and scandalised young relations. One evening we were having a rehearsal at the house of Tarak Chandra Sircar in Beadon Street in Sarat's room. Some one was declaiming his part with appropriate gesticulation when the door was quietly opened and in came Bankim Chandra Chatterji accompanied by the master of the house ! The actor's voice and hand were arrested abruptly at full speed, and the rest of us stood promptly at attention looking sheepish and scared. Bankim smiled and said,

"তোমাদের কি হচ্ছে আমরা কি একটু শুনতে পাইনে ?
(Cannot we hear a little of what you are doing)?" We stammered and became apologetic and tongue-tied. Bankim passed out of the room with a word of encouragement. We produced the play at Lily Cottage, Keshub Chunder Sen's house on the Upper Circular Road, on a stage which had been prepared for নব ব্রন্দাবন (Nava Brindavan), a play written in connection with the New Dispensation and in which Keshub himself had played a leading part. There was a fairly large audience and our presentation of the play was well received.

WHY MODERN CHRISTIANITY IS ABANDONING MIRACLES

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

WHEN Christianity came into the world, and for sixteen or seventeen hundred years thereafter, that is until the birth of modern science, there seemed nothing essentially unreasonable about a miracle, because it

was not known that the world was governed by orderly processes. With the discovery of Kepler's laws of planetary motion, however, and Newton's law of gravity, and all the other revelations of modern science which

the miracle of turning Aaron's rod into a serpent, hoping thus to influence the monarch to let the children of Israel go, we read that Pharaoh called in his wise men and magicians, and they did exactly the same miracle: they threw down their rods as Aaron had thrown down his, and their rods, too, became every one a serpent. Our theological friends would hardly claim this to have proved that these Egyptian miracle-workers were good and truthful men, to whose religious teachings God gave sanction or indorsement by thus empowering them to work their miracles.

Balaam was not a very good or truthful person, or one on whose utterance it would be safe to put much dependence, though he is represented as uttering one of the most miraculous predictions in the Bible. Both in the Old Testament and in the New we have accounts of miracles wrought by men who are anything but good or truthful. Jesus himself says (Matt., xxiv., 24): "There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and they shall show great signs and wonders" to deceive men. Again he says (Matt., vii., 22): "Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name have cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you. Depart from me, ye that work iniquity." The Apocalypse, or Book of Revelation, contains many accounts of miracles, some of them very great and startling, wrought by the enemies of God on the earth (Rev., xiii., 13, 14; xvi., 13, 14; xix., 20) for the express purpose of deceiving men and making them believe falsehood. Thus you see that by the teaching of the Bible itself the power to work miracles does not prove that the one who possesses it is good or truthful, or from God, or is necessarily in any way commissioned or sent or indorsed by God. The miracles may be wrought for the express purpose of making the people believe that he is from God when he is not, and that he is speaking the truth when in fact he is speaking falsehood.

It is very suggestive to notice the attitude of Jesus toward miracles. We read again and again of his drawing the attention of the people away from the things done by him which had a miraculous look. He refuses to work miracles to convince persons of the divine character of his mission. He even

shows positive distress sometimes because the people care for these things so much instead of for the things of real importance; for we read, "Jesus groaned in his spirit, and said, why doth this generation ask for a sign (a miracle)?"

Thus it is that he chides, over and over again, the desire of his followers for miracles as a proof of his teaching, and insists that the teaching is its own proof. Truth is truth, and falsehood is falsehood, all the same whether it be associated with miracles or not. The Old Testament books of Job, Isaiah, and the Psalms, and the New Testament Gospels and Epistles, do not owe their beauty and truth and helpfulness to the fact that they are bound in a volume that contains records of miracles. These books would be just as full of beauty and moral power and inspiration if no man on the earth had ever dreamed of a miracle. The Twenty-third Psalm, the Sermon on the Mount, Paul's matchless chapter on charity, need no proof of miracles. Trying to prop them up or to prove them true by miracles is about as reasonable as trying to prop up the Rocky Mountains with sticks or to prove their existence by syllogisms.

So that I say, even if we granted the genuineness and historic character of all the miracles of the Bible or of a thousand times as many, we should not thus furnish any proof whatever of the truth of Christianity. The great life-giving moral and spiritual teachings of Jesus and Paul lie in a different continent, nay, a different world, from that of prodigies and miracles, and rely upon a wholly different kind of evidence. This our modern age is coming to see. Thus we need not be alarmed at the tendency of thinking persons to reject the miraculous. It does not necessarily mean that they are losing their belief in religion or their sense of its value, but only that they are finding their evidence of its truth and worth in a direction which seem to them more reliable than the old. The question of the miraculous presents itself to-day to scientists and men imbued with the modern spirit somewhat as follows:—

1. If miracles have ever happened, in Bible times or any other, why do they not happen to-day? But can any one point to a miracle within our generation which has been established by so carefully guarded scientific tests that there is no room for doubt about it? For example, the raising to life of a body which had been so long dead that a

commission of scientific experts examining it had found it to have entered upon the process of decomposition, or the restoring of a new sound arm to a man whose arm had been amputated? Is there any case on record as occurring within our day, of a miracle such as one of these?—or any other equally well authenticated, so that the scientific men would have no doubt about it? If not, why not? If veritable miracles—miracles which would have stood the test of the light of our modern civilization and science—actually occurred in the old times of two thousand or three thousand years ago, why do not miracles capable of standing the same test occur now?

It is true that we do have reports of miracles occurring to-day. Such reports come to us in great numbers, from Roman Catholic shrines in different parts of the world, from faith-healers, from prayer-healers, from men and women who, with one theory or another and under one name or another, claim to cure human bodies of their many infirmities by some sort of supernatural agency. But under a very little careful examination by unprejudiced men and by scientific methods, the miraculous element always takes wing.

Doubtless there are things occurring now-days that are not fully explained,—things which to us with our present degree of knowledge are shrouded in mystery. But mystery is not necessarily miracle. To say that anything really miraculous—that is, anything contrary to well-established laws of nature—occurs to-day is what at least our scientists and men best qualified to judge, ninety-nine in a hundred of them, deny.

And now is it any wonder if this absence of present-time miracles, or at least their doubtful character, throws doubt upon those of the past? If what is supposed to be miraculous to-day fades away in the light of scientific examination, is it strange that multitudes of minds find themselves compelled to believe that the so-called miracles of the old time continue to keep their places as miracles only because we are unable to reach and test them, but that, if we could get to them and examine them carefully and scientifically, as we do the so-called miracles of the present, we should find them, too, quickly losing their miraculous character?

II. Another thing which with many persons casts suspicion upon miracles is the fact that as we look over the history of the world, we find them always seeming to have a sort

of affinity for superstitious ages and low states of civilization. Almost invariably in those ages in the history of any people in which civilization and popular intelligence rise highest, we find not only the fewest miracles reported, but the least belief in those which are reported. Why is this? If miracles are facts, capable of verification, why do they not flourish as much in light as in darkness, in ages of intelligence and science as in ages of credulity, and among the intelligent as among the ignorant?

III. A third thing that stands in the way of belief in miracles is the fact that the very classes of persons who contend most stoutly for their own miracles usually deny most vehemently the truth of all miracles outside of their own. Miracles are not peculiar to Christianity: nearly all religions have them in great numbers. Yet the followers of each religion deny the miracles of all religions except their own. They examine the proofs of the miracles of other faiths and pronounce them weak and inconclusive. It is only the proofs of the miracles of their own faith, in favor of which we may reasonably suppose them to be prejudiced, that they conceive to be adequate. This being the case, what wonder if men who, occupying the position simply of scientists and scholars, and not caring to bolster up any, but simply to judge impartially of all alike, conclude that the proofs of miracles of all the religions of the world are equally inadequate? In other words, what wonder if with the Christians they conclude that the proofs of the Mahomedan miracles are inconclusive, and with the Muhomedans that the proofs of the Brahman miracles are inconclusive, and with the Brahmans and Mohammedans that the proofs of the Christian miracles are equally inconclusive?

IV. Again, another objection to miracles lies in the fact that the moment we have accepted any of them there seems to be absolutely no place to stop. We have entered upon a road that has no end and leads into all sorts of superstitions and credulities. Suppose we say we will accept a few miracles, but not many. What shall these few be? And what shall be the test by which to decide what to accept and what to reject? If we determine to cast out all except those which are corroborated by strong proofs, certainly we shall have to cast out more or less of those found in the Bible. How strong proofs do you think we

have, for instance, that Eve was made out of a rib of Adam ; or that the ass of the prophet Balaam spoke in human language ; or that Jonah lived three days in the great fish, and then was cast up alive and well on the shore of the sea ; or that the sun stood still at the command of Joshua ; or that the walls of the city of Jericho fell down as the result of the blowing of the rams' horns of the children of Israel ? If, however, we do not cast out any of the Bible miracles, but accept them all, surely we ought to be consistent, and accept also the multitudes of miracles outside of the Bible, which present themselves to us based on quite as good evidence. As a result, there would seem to be no end to the miracles which we should find ourselves called upon to accept. The moment we begin to believe miraculous stories, or anything else, without good evidence,—evidence that will stand the test of the most thorough investigation,—we are lost, we are in a path that finds no stopping-place this side of the credulity, superstition, and fanaticism which have ever been the curse of all unenlightened religion.

V. It is felt by many that to admit miracles is to degrade the character of God. It makes him changeable and arbitrary. His government is no longer a perfect government, conducted according to a wise method and a regular order set in operation in the beginning ; but it is a government that requires to be interfered with, mended, supplemented from time to time. At best a miracle seems to be a patch. Does God's plan of things need perpetual patching ?

VI. Still farther, it seems impossible to reconcile the idea of miracle with belief in the goodness of God. If God's plan of governing the world admits of miracles wherever and whenever he may choose, why is it that he does not work them oftener ? We read in the Bible about God working miracles from time to time for the benefit of this person and that. But why so few ? If he was good, why did he not work them for the benefit of everybody ? And to-day, if God is at liberty to set aside his laws and work miracles at any time, why does he allow any pain or suffering in the world ? Why does he not cure all the sick instead of letting them linger on in misery ? Why does he not furnish food to all the starving ? A great steamer goes down at sea with all on board ; a great river overflows its banks and destroys millions of property and

hundreds of lives ; a fire in a great city renders thousands of persons homeless. Why does not God interfere and prevent these awful calamities ? If he is at liberty to interfere, is he kind when he does not ? Thus it seems impossible to see how we can keep any ground for belief in the goodness of God on the theory that he can work miracles when he pleases. But if he rules the world by law, and if law is good, then is God good, in spite of calamities and pains that come to men as the result of their violations of law. The science of our time has learned that "all is law." The religion of our time is beginning to learn that "all is love," because law itself is love. We had feared to admit that we are environed by law lest that might mean that God does not care for us. But we are learning that it is through his laws that he manifests his care. His laws are his encompassing arms, and in those arms of care, of love, of eternal security, he bears us as a mother her child.

VII. A difficulty in the way of believing in miracles, which is serious, is the famous objection of Hume, that miracles are a contradiction of human experience. Human experience is, that nature's laws are uniform, constant, not subject to suspensions. If we accept the miracles of the Bible or of any past time, it must be upon the testimony of others. Which is the more credible, that human testimony should sometimes err, or that nature at times should forget her uniformity and become irregular ? We have experience every day of human testimony being fallible, but none that nature's laws are fickle. When therefore the Bible, or the Vedas, or the Koran, or any other book of the past, comes to us with accounts of miracles, we are bound to test it by this principle. For example, we read in the New Testament that on a certain occasion Jesus turned water into wine. Our experience is (and so far as we can learn, the experience of the world is the same) that water cannot be changed to wine except through the slow summer-long processes of nature in the grape-vine. Therefore, we can more easily believe that those who reported this miracle were in some way mistaken than we can believe that what was said to have occurred actually did occur. Or, to take an Old Testament illustration, we read that the three Hebrews, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, in Babylon, were cast into a

burning furnace, walked in the midst of the fierce flames, and at the end came out unharmed. Now we know that it is the nature of flame to consume organized bodies placed in the midst of it. When, therefore, we read that, when kindled to its very hottest, it did not burn these men, we find ourselves obliged by the very laws of our mind to conclude that there is a mistake somewhere. When it comes to the alternative either to believe that fire did not consume where it is its nature to consume, and what since the world began it always has consumed, or that somebody has erred,—observing improperly, or reporting incorrectly, or mistaking a legend for a true story, or something of the kind,—there is no room left us for choice: we are simply obliged to believe the latter, and cannot believe the former. This is a way of looking at the subject of miracles that prevails widely to-day, and that tends to prevail more and more, especially among scientists.

Such, then, are some of the modern difficulties in the way of the acceptance of miracles.

Some persons say to me: If we do not accept the miracles of the Bible as historic, what shall we say about them? Are we not compelled to declare them falsehoods, written and palmed off on a credulous humanity for the purpose of deceiving?

I answer: There seems no ground for setting up any such alternative. For one to suppose that such an alternative exists is to show either that he knows little about the origin of the Bible, or else that he only very superficially understands human nature.

The true explanation of the miracles of the Bible clearly is, that they are a natural and an inevitable product of a period in the world's history before the birth of science, and before men had found out that they lived in a universe governed by law. Given a devout people living in such an age, and you will as certainly have belief in miracles as you will have any other necessary form of activity of the human mind.

To the child everything is miracle: to the unscientific mind everything is miracle. Up to the point where the scientific conception of the uniformity of nature's operation arises, men believe in miracles as inevitably as in the rising of the sun; and because they believe in miracles and expect them to occur, and none have learned to apply accurate tests, of course, they find them; and,

when they write books, of course, the books will contain accounts of them. This is the explanation of the miracles of the Bible. Coming from the times and the people it did, it was impossible but that the Bible should have contained records of miracles, and records made in all honesty and good faith.

We all know how great is the power of the human imagination to invent,—to convince us that things are external realities which really have no existence except in the mind. We know, too, on how slight foundations stories spring up, even in our age of incredulosity and open eyes. So also we understand how stories grow by repetition, until often they can scarcely be recognized as the same things they were when they started on their rounds.

We must not forget that these so-called miraculous events of the Bible were very few, if any, of them written down at the time of their occurrence. Instead of being recorded then, as it was indispensable that they should be if accuracy were to be ensured, they were carried in men's minds for years, or handed down from father to son for generations, before being committed to writing. Even the best-authenticated of the miracles of Jesus seem not to have been written down for well-nigh a generation after his death, while some bear evidence of a much later date. Now is it credible that stories of any kind, but particularly stories supposed to involve an element of the supernatural, and above all, stories which the persons telling them were interested to make appear as marvellous as possible, could thus continue to be told orally for a quarter or a half century or more without change, without material growth and embellishment?

That the narrators and recorders of these stories were interested to make them out as marvellous as possible, becomes evident as soon as we remember that in the popular mind, at that time, the working of miracles on the part of a religious teacher was regarded as the great proof that he was from God. The legends of Elijah and Elisha were full of miracles. It was the received opinion that the Messiah, when he came, would perform many miracles. Hence, naturally, the disciples of Jesus after his death would emphasize everything in his life, which had in it any look at all of the miraculous. They would go forth telling the story of his life out of minds filled with belief in marvels, to other minds equally ready to believe in

marvels, and themselves interested in the deepest way to make the most possible out of everything in his life that had the least look of miracle or marvel about it. It would be easy to take up many of the individual miracles of both the New Testament and the Old, and trace the successive steps through which we may suppose them to have passed, from the first small germs of fact that probably in most cases lay at their beginning, up and on through growth and accretion and transformation, until at last we have the full-grown, out-and-out miracles, as they stand recorded in the Bible.

From all that I have been saying it is clear that the time has gone by when everybody can accept miracles. If a belief in miracles is essential to Christianity, then Christianity has already begun to wane; and from this time forward the best minds of the world in greater and greater numbers are certain to take their place outside of it. But is belief in miracles essential to Christianity? We have already found our answer in the teaching of Jesus himself. Miracles may be necessary to certain theological systems which have long called themselves Christianity. They are not necessary to that moral and spiritual Christianity whose soul is found in the Sermon on the Mount and the other teachings of Jesus.

The best religious thought of our time is coming to see that miracles instead of being a help are actually hindrance to religion: they are about the heaviest weight that religion in our day has to carry.

Wrote John Quincy Adams: "The miracles in the Bible furnish the most powerful of all the objections against its authenticity, both historical and doctrinal, and were it possible to take its sublime morals, its unparalleled conceptions of the nature of God, and its irresistible power over the heart, with the simple narrative of the life and death of Jesus, stripped of all the supernatural agency and all the marvellous incidents connected with it, I should receive it without any of those misgivings of unwilling incredulity as to the miracles which I find it impossible altogether to cast off."

John Quincy Adams voices the feeling and judgment of thousands of the most intelligent and devout minds of our age. Sooner or later it must come to what he suggests, the better part of the Christian world will yet take "the sublime morals of the New Testament, its unparalleled concep-

tions of the nature of God, and its irresistible power over the heart, with the simple narrative of the life and death of Jesus," these and these alone, as the essentials of Christianity, leaving all questions as to interferences with the laws of nature, and the credibility or incredibility of wonder stories found in the Bible or elsewhere, to be settled by each man for himself, as being things purely speculative and not touching at all the real heart of religion. If a man thinks he has grounds for believing these things, let him believe them: that is his affair. On the other hand, if a man cannot believe them, because the evidence seems to him to be against them, it is not for me or for anybody else to say that he must believe them, or that he is irreligious or not a Christian because he does not. If Jesus treated all such things as non-essentials, it is not for me to treat them as essentials. To love God and man, and to do to others as I would have them do to me, that is true Christianity. To reverence God and work righteousness, that is true religion. Compared with these, all questions of belief or non-belief in miracles are of weight as light as the mote that floats in the sunbeam.

It is strange and sad that the religious teachings of the past have so largely been such as to make us look for God only in events which are extraordinary and out of the usual course of nature. Our best modern religious thinkers are coming to see that this is not the direction at all in which to look for God. The place where God really reveals himself is not in a sun which stands still a little while on a particular afternoon in Palestine, but in that sun which never stands still in any land,—which moves on eternally in tireless strength and in obedience to law, carrying day and night and summer and winter for ever round the earth. The place where God really reveals himself is not in a miracle wrought through any single man or on any single occasion, to multiply loaves of bread so as to feed a company gathered on the shore of a Galilean lake. God's true revelation of himself, were our eyes only not too blind to see it, is in that ceaseless multiplying of loaves in the cornfields of a thousand valleys which gives the whole world its food.

It is a mistake, it is all wrong, to think that miracles, even granting their reality, can reveal God better than what is not a miracle,—the abnormal better than.

that which is natural, the occasional better than that which is constant. The new and larger thought of God and religion which is coming to the world has a truer and deeper vision. If we would see the glory of God, we must teach ourselves to look for him not in

interferences with his own beneficent plan of things, but in law, in order, in the cosmos, in the mighty and harmonious on-goings of nature. Here, not in the trivialities of signs and wonders, God stands full-revealed, in power, in wisdom, in majesty, in goodness.

WHAT CHINA ASKS OF NATIONS OF THE WORLD

ADDRESS BY MR. SAO-KE ALFRED SZE,

Chinese Minister to U. S. A.

I shall attempt to answer the often-asked question: "What China asks of the Nations of the World?"

My answer can be summed up in one word—"Justice".

The idea of justice is contained in the precept of Confucius: "Do not to others what you would not wish them to do to yourself". China wishes to live in peace with the other Powers and to maintain with them relations of friendship, goodwill and cooperation. But this desired and desirable regime cannot be secured and maintained until the Chinese people feel that their legitimate interests are being recognized and their sovereign rights respected by the other powers.

It was largely out of China's efforts to exclude the introduction of British Indian opium—that most pernicious drug—from her borders that the first war with Great Britain arose. As a result of her defeat in this war by Great Britain, onerous terms were imposed upon China, embodied in the treaty of Nan-king of 1842, which marked the beginning of the inroads upon China's autonomy and territorial integrity, and which culminated seventy-three years later, in 1915, in the infamous Twenty-one Demands of Japan.

These treaty limitations upon China's freedom of action within her own territories have seriously interfered with her growth as a nation and as a sovereign united people. The most serious of these restrictions have been the denial to China of the right to hold foreigners within her borders amenable to her own laws and courts, and the requirement that China shall not levy more than

five per centum ad valorem duty upon exports and imports.

The jurisdictional immunity of foreigners from Chinese authority has been carried far beyond what was contemplated by China when she was constrained to agree to it, and indeed, far beyond what the treaty stipulations themselves provide. As this system of extraterritoriality, as it is called, actually operates, foreigners, in many cases, are able to commit offences with impunity either because of the lack of foreign courts to punish them or because of the unfairness or laxity with which the foreign laws are applied by the consular courts. In fact, however, the system itself has much inherent and ineradicable defects. It cannot operate satisfactorily or fail to impede China's effort to establish a strong and efficient public administration.

The commercial advantages derived by foreigners from their extraterritorial status are scarcely less irksome and irritating to the Chinese. Foreign business firms and business men, being freed from Chinese control or supervision, are enabled to do things which the Chinese firms and individuals are forbidden to do. For example, the foreign banks in China are at liberty, without consulting the Chinese Government, to establish branches in any of the Chinese treaty ports, and to issue their circulating notes without reference to Chinese laws. And, it may be here interjected, it is not long ago that a large foreign bank failed, leaving a large amount of notes in circulation which, of course, thus became irredeemable. Foreign insurance firms have also sprung up in China

and are exempt from Chinese supervision or examination by the local authorities as regards their operations and investments.

An economic advantage which, to a considerable extent, foreigners have claimed, according to themselves, by reason of their extraterritorial status, has been exemption from the local and excise taxes which the Chinese themselves have to pay.

The injustice to China, and the detrimental economic and financial effects upon China of the limitation upon her right to levy export and import dues, I do not need to dwell upon, for they are obvious. In fact, I have never heard this limitation defended—if indeed it can be called a defence—except upon the ground that it is advantageous to the foreigners dealing with China. No one has ever been so bold as to assert that China does not suffer seriously from the limitation thus imposed upon her. Not only is she denied the opportunity to obtain a reasonable income from her customs dues, but she is prevented from protecting her own industries from foreign competition, or discouraging by high duties the use of articles the consumption of which by her own people she may wish to discourage. Thus not only is China's treasury denied an income which it should receive, but the normal and proper development of the economic life of her people is prevented.

I have spoken of but two of the impediments imposed upon China by the foreign Powers and provided for in the unequal treaties which they have exacted of China. There are other and serious treaty restraints upon China's freedom of sovereign action which I have not time to mention. That, in the aggregate, these restraints operate powerfully to increase the difficulty of China's effort to place her new republican form of government upon a firm and unified and administratively efficient basis, there can be no doubt. Even those who may be disposed to minimize this effect must realize that when a task of great difficulty has to be performed, a small additional impediment may be the final factor which causes failure. This is the truth which is contained in the familiar statement that it is the last straw which breaks the camel's back.

In truth, however, the foreign-imposed limitations upon China's freedom of action do more than add the last straw which renders too heavy to be successfully borne the burden of the governmental task which

China is striving to accomplish. They constitute a substantially important part of that burden. As long as these limitations exist not only will the government of China be unable to secure an income adequate for its essential needs, but it will be unable to command from its own people that respect and support which is indispensable for the maintenance of any popular form of political rule. An autocratic government may do without the respect and loyalty of its subjects, but a republican government, such as that which China is endeavoring to maintain, cannot operate efficiently, if, indeed, it can maintain its very existence, without this esteem and allegiance. And how can one expect the Chinese people to have a high regard for their own government when they see it impotent to compel obedience to its laws on the part of thousands of foreigners living within the territories over which that government claims jurisdiction, and unable to exercise rights the enjoyment of which by other national states are deemed inherent in their sovereignty?

The Chinese, then, in the demands which they are now making of the other Powers, are asking for nothing more than simple justice,—for the respect due them as a sovereign and civilized people.

At the twenty-first meeting of the Second International Opium Conference held at Geneva two years ago I urged upon the delegates of the other powers the necessity of taking steps at once to execute pledges made to China and to the world with reference to the control of the abuses of opium and other drugs, etc.,—pledges solemnly made as long ago as 1912 at the International Conference at The Hague. I solemnly warned them of the serious effects that would result should they fail to do so. Unfortunately, they turned a deaf ear to my earnest appeal. What I then predicted would result in the Far East, should the Opium Conference fail in its task, has already become true.

I now urge that the powers should consider taking immediate steps to negotiate with China new treaties based on the recognised principle of equality and reciprocity; to take the place of the antiquated and unequal treaties which should be immediately terminated, thus surrendering forever the superior position over the native Chinese they claim now for their nationals in China. To that basic principle, all the patriotic Chinese have aspired. The Chinese are a

reasonable people and will appreciate and properly treasure such reciprocity. If this action is delayed it should not cause surprise if the Chinese nation, following the recent example of Turkey, should, by their own unilateral act, declare those treaties at an end, and justify this action by referring to the inherent and inalienable right under international law, of every sovereign State to release itself from obligations which, whatever may have been their operation at the time they were assumed or imposed, have come to endanger its existence or the attainment of its essential and legitimate national interests. Should the powers anticipate this action by themselves surrendering their special and unequal treaty rights, they could be assured that it would benefit both the powers and China.

The Chinese people have that same desire and determination to establish and preserve their national existence that the other peoples of the world have, and when they deem the occasion appropriate they will take the necessary action to that end. The experience of the last eighty-five years convinces them that they cannot secure for themselves that combination of order and progress to which they are justly entitled so long as they are restrained and humiliated by the conditions which the existing unequal treaties impose.

They are farther convinced that it is entirely a futile attempt to procure for themselves the new and just order of relationship by patiently acquiescing in the old order of diplomacy—that is, the powers' insistence in the necessity of their unanimity of consent before any change in the treaties can be put into effect. To secure the unanimous consent of a dozen and more sovereign and independent nations at the same time is an extremely difficult if not entirely impossible task; some of the powers at some time are bound to feel that the best course for their own interest is the course of procrastination. The Chinese people are firmly convinced of the essential justice of the demands they are making, and they are ready to make such sacrifices as may be required in order that the satisfaction of these demands may be secured. As is well known to all, during recent years and especially during the last two years, the feelings of the Chinese in these respects have become more articulate and more emphatic in their manifestations. It is a matter of portentous moment that a nation which includes within its members nearly a

quarter of the entire human race, should be convinced with practical unanimity, that the treaties which determine its obligations as vis-a-vis the other powers, are essentially unequal in character, and offensive in their operation; and that they must be at once terminated. The handwriting is on the wall and should be read.

The world does not realize the seriousness of the limitations the foreign powers have imposed upon China's sovereignty which greatly militate against the success of the efforts of the Chinese Nation to establish a strong and united government. The experience of Turkey has proved conclusively that so long as these limitations remained, the problem of domestic reconstruction would be very difficult.

Great Britain allows full tariff autonomy to Ireland and her Dominions, but the powers deprive China of tariff autonomy; thus she has a status even inferior to that of the British Dominions.

As to extra-territoriality, the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen said that as it now is, the Chinese in China, though in their own country, are less favoured than are the natives of an autocratically governed British Crown Colony. In the Crown Colony, though governed by an official sent by the British Colonial Office, the native has the same rights as those enjoyed by every one else in the Colony; whereas in China, the Chinese because of the possession of extra-territorial rights by the foreigners, are discriminated against.

How would the Americans feel if the foreign nations should impose upon them a fiscal regime, inferior even to Britain's Dominions, depriving them of the right of raising revenues according to their own judgment and needs? Furthermore, how would the Americans feel if the various foreign settlements in their big cities, for example say Chinatown, should claim an almost independent status, with their own laws, courts, and police? What would the Americans say if, as a result of extra-territorial rights held by foreigners in this country, the Americans in their own country were thus discriminated against?

Ramsay Macdonald has shown the way to a right solution of placing the relations of China and the other powers on a firm and friendly basis when he said recently before a British Labour Party meeting:

"We must also turn to our own government

"That is the position the Labour Party occupies to-day, and it is only on these lines and with those considerations that we can hope to solve the Chinese problem, and,

The world may rest assured that the Chinese Nation will not rest until her independence and territorial and administrative integrity shall become realities. She will not be satisfied with mere assurances in the form of high-sounding and pious declarations as the powers have been doing since the beginning of this century
U. S. A., February 1927.

BY BAKAR ALI MIRZA

Considering the short time the Congress took for its preparations and the wholehearted response it met with from all parts of the world, we are struck by the intensity of unity that exists all the world over for the basic purpose of freedom, and we are left with no doubts about the urgent need or the future of the League. The Congress had been called with the active support and sympathy of such personalities as Bertrand Russell,

DER DEUTSCHE SAHNDT IM HERSTE
DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS
FÜR DIE ENTWICKELUNG DER KOLONIAL-
POLITIK UND IN VERGLEICH
MIT DER VERGLEICHUNG DER KOLONIAL-
POLITIK DER ANDEREN LÄNDER
ZUR REDUKTION DER PROBLEME DER KOLONIAL-
POLITIK

Because of its value to India and Indians, I shall quote only the message of Mahatma Gandhi, although it was but one of the many received.

"Dear Friends, I thank you very cordially for your invitation to the Brussels International

Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism. I regret that my work here in India prevents my taking part in the Congress. I wish you, however, from the depths of my heart, every success in your deliberations."

There were 174 mandated delegates, representing 31 different countries, and a number of interested guests, not mandated, present in the Congress. What this means cannot be expressed in figures alone, for most of these had come under great difficulties from vast distances. Many had come on money that had been collected from organisations and individuals. And there were still many other delegates who had informed the Congress they would be coming, but could not because of lack of funds or the refusal of passports. But despite this delegates came from Africa and Mexico, Indonesia and Indo-China, Egypt and India, Korea and the Philippines, China and Persia,

their spokesmen. Among them were many members of Parliament of the various Euro-



M. Baktri, the Arabic delegate from Syria.

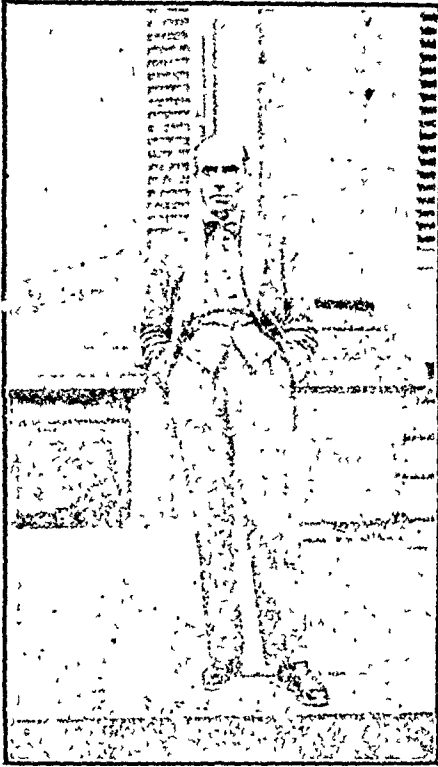


Lu Tsung Lin, Chinese General, representing the Canton Army

Algeria, Tunis, Morocco and Arabia. Besides, the workers' organisations of England, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, the United States and Japan had

pean countries, England alone having sent some twenty delegates—from the British Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, the London Trade Union Council, and so on. China had sent thirty delegates, representing the Kuo Min Tang (the National People's Party), the Canton Government, the Canton Army, various labour, students', and women's organisations. India was represented by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the official delegate of the Indian National Congress, and also delegates from the Hindustan Association of Central Europe, the Oxford Majlis, the Hindustan Gadar Party of America, as well as journalists from the Association of Indian Journalists of Europe, "The Hindu" of Madras, "the Kesari" of Poona, and the Indian Bureau of the Independent Labour Party in London. The Indian Students' Union of Edinburgh, the Indian Majlis of London, the Ceylon Trade Union Council, and two or three other Indian organisations

had appointed delegates to attend also, but for one reason or another had been unable to send them. The delegate from Ceylon had been refused a passport. There were,



Jawaharlal Nehru, representative of the All-India National Congress

among the delegates, representatives from 17 different trade union organisations, representing over 7½ million organised workers. And if we should estimate the number of people represented by all the delegates, the number would amount to more than a billion souls.

The agenda of the Congress had been arranged under five different headings. Space does not permit a full survey of all of them or of the Congress proceedings. I shall confine myself to a general description, dealing with points of particular interest to India from the Indian point of view.

1. *Introductory Addresses.* In the introductory addresses, Henri Barbusse, the noted French writer and socialist, in his rhythmic French, as well as other speakers following him, dealt chiefly with the conditions under which we live, and the need

of a Congress and a League of all oppressed peoples. All stressed the fact that the nations of the world are realizing more and more that they are one people and that any system of society which has parasitism of one group of people on another group as its life principle, carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. They showed that the majority of peoples today are either living under slavish subjection at the point of the bayonet of a foreign power, or are slaves of a system whose two corollaries are unemployment and low wages. The moment these people realize the wrong of the system under which they exist, and recognize their power as a united people, that moment will be one of victory. It was for the cause of humanity and for the realisation of a common ideal, as well as the recognition of our



Mohamed Hatta,
delegate from Indonesia

ability to achieve our freedom as a united people that the Brussels Congress was held.

2. *The Consequences of Imperialist Exploitation.* We, Indians, do not need much enlightenment on this subject. The universality of

the theme was significant. Whether the voices raised were those of Negroes from Africa or



G. Ledebour, the heroic veteran labour leader of Germany, 76 years of age and still young; he says he wants to be in the forefront of the fight for the destruction of Imperialism

America, or from struggling China, whether the cry was from Mexico or the plains of Korea, it had the same bitterness, the same pain and pathos, and with modifications, had the same sad tale to tell. All had had their 1857's and their Amritsars—many times over. All had their Ordinance Laws and Penal Codes, their suppression of speech, press and assembly; their 300% dividends and forced labour, the exploitation of little children, child mortality, the 16 hour day, the subjection and exploitation of woman and famine. All had their untouchables—as Coloured Bills or as reserved subjects; their exiles, and their mercenaries. All had been forced into the "war for the emancipation of weaker nations", and afterwards all had begged for food and freedom—but had received stones labelled "Reforms". All had their opium and their "law and order." In short—symptoms and results of the same

disease—slavery enforced by Imperialism—everywhere. Had the delegates not come from the ends of the earth and met for the first time, a stranger from the outside would have really concluded that they had some way or other all met before and agreed to say the same thing; in the stories told in a dozen different languages, in the reports or facts and conditions, we saw that Imperialism is the most deadly enemy of human life. Is there any wonder, then, that at palace Egmont, peoples with different languages and culture, different shades of opinion, found themselves amongst men and women who instinctively understood, and that they could work in such harmony? And work they certainly did, unsparingly. The sessions lasted practically day and night, many of them closing only at three in the morning. The Right press had tried during the first two days to laugh at the gathering;



V. Chattopadhyaya, one of the organizers of the Congress, and representative Assn. of Indian Journalists in Europe but after that a new note crept in all reports; there was close observance, full reports, respect not unmixed with fear at times, and the Congress was called variously the

"League of the Oppressed", the "Coloured International", the "League of Asiatic Peoples", and so on. Leading Continental dailies, both left and right, gave long first page accounts of the proceedings, and some gave full pages to it.

As said before, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was the representative of the All-India National Congress. The Indian delegation was so organised that all reports, resolutions, or discussions were placed before the Congress through him. The appreciation of Nehru's work at Brussels, as well as his broad national and international vision, must be here recorded. In his speech he pointed out the significance and necessity of the freedom of India if mankind is to be emancipated. Great Britain, by keeping India in subjection, keeps the whole of the East in chains. Not only has Great Britain waged wars to keep India in subjection, but she has exploited India's men and money to subdue other countries like Egypt, Tibet, Burma, Africa, etc.—not to speak of the recent dispatch of Indian troops to China, an action deeply resented by India. The freedom of India is a world problem. Freedom, he said, is the first essential demand of every country; nationalism, after all, is a first and a necessary step to internationalism. Extracts from his speech follow.

Having disarmed us, they tell us that we are not capable of defending our country. Having brought in a system of education which killed all our old education and substituted something which was ridiculously small and ridiculously inadequate, having taught us false history and attempted to teach us to despise our own country and to glorify England, they now tell us we are not sufficiently educated to be a free country!

You all know of the way Indian troops have been sent against China. They were sent in spite of the fact that the National Congress of India expressed its strongest opposition. I shall read to you the names of a number of countries where Indian troops have been utilised by the British for the purposes of imperialism—in China they first went in 1840; in 1927 they are still going and they have been actively engaged there innumerable times during these 87 years. They have been to Egypt, to Abyssinia, in the Persian Gulf, to Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, Georgia, Tibet, Afghanistan and Burma.

"We in India cannot go on, merely because freedom is good and slavery bad, but because it is a matter of life and death for us and our country...The exploitation of India by the British is a barrier for other countries that are being exploited and oppressed. It is an urgent necessity for you that we gain our freedom...We desire the fullest freedom for our country, not only internally, but the freedom to develop such relations with our neighbours and other countries as we may desire.

It is because we think that this International Congress affords us a chance of this co-operation that we welcome and greet it.

Mr. Fenner Brockway then made a speech full of noble words. He said that the Independent Labour Party of England believes in the equality of races and workers. He added:



H. Liao (left), delegate from the Kuo Min Tang Party of Canton. Chen Chuen (right), delegate from Canton Labour Federation and Canton-Hong-kong Strike Committee.

"I would tell my Indian comrades that we are at one with them in their struggle against Imperialism. The spirit of Keir Hardie is our spirit. We admit with shame that the Labour Government spoke to India as a capitalist Government, and it was responsible for the Ordinance Laws. The I. L. P. then opposed, and still opposes that policy. In the future we will do the utmost to wipe out that shame. To my Chinese comrades I would add that if hostilities ensue between England and China, our sympathies will be with the latter."

After his speech, Mr. Brockway and Mr. H. Liao (Executive Member of the Kuo Min Tang) shook hands amidst a scene of great

enthusiasm. But, as for ourselves, we can only say as regards the I. L. P.'s good will to India, we shall await deeds before we express the full measure of our gratitude. If we had always honoured deeds more and beautiful words, spoken by our own countrymen and by Englishmen, less, we should be nearer Swaraj than we are today.

3. *The Dangers of War.* China was repeatedly mentioned by speakers. In fact, throughout the Congress proceedings, China was the focus of all attention, for it was recognised by everyone that it is China that is today fighting the great historic fight for the freedom, not only of herself, but of all

a peasant's son, will emerge triumphant in the present struggle, and this in spite of all Imperialist interventions and designs of war. The Chinese delegates spoke in their own language; throughout they were noticeable for their earnestness, their simplicity, their few but significant words, and what may be called an unspoken passion for any kind of work to forward the cause of the Congress.

The speakers that followed the Chinese delegates showed how the rivalry for colonization and markets amongst the Imperialist Powers is the cause of War; and how the schemes of colonization and of buying up virgin lands such as those of Central and South America—to be exploited 100 years hence by American trusts—has produced a state of hostility between the different countries. The policy of Imperialism today by which a whole people may be bought up or crushed, so long as the Imperialist Power has the arms and money, cannot, in face of the opposition of the masses, continue endlessly. The masses are beginning to realize that they are human beings and not commodities. The Wars urged by Imperialist Powers leave the workers not one iota better off than they were before,—it matters not if they belong to the victorious or to the vanquished nation. The exploitation and oppression go on more vigorously than ever.

We cannot give more than this of a subject so vast as this. We recognize its great importance, but our own struggle is so urgent that we can do little else than mention it. It was the viewpoint of Central and South American and Mexican delegates that the centre of the world conflict is not in Asia. "You must remember," the Mexican delegate (Minister of Education, Mexico City) said, "that Asia is already full. Imperialist countries seek actual profit for the future. The most important efforts of Imperialism are at present directed towards South America."

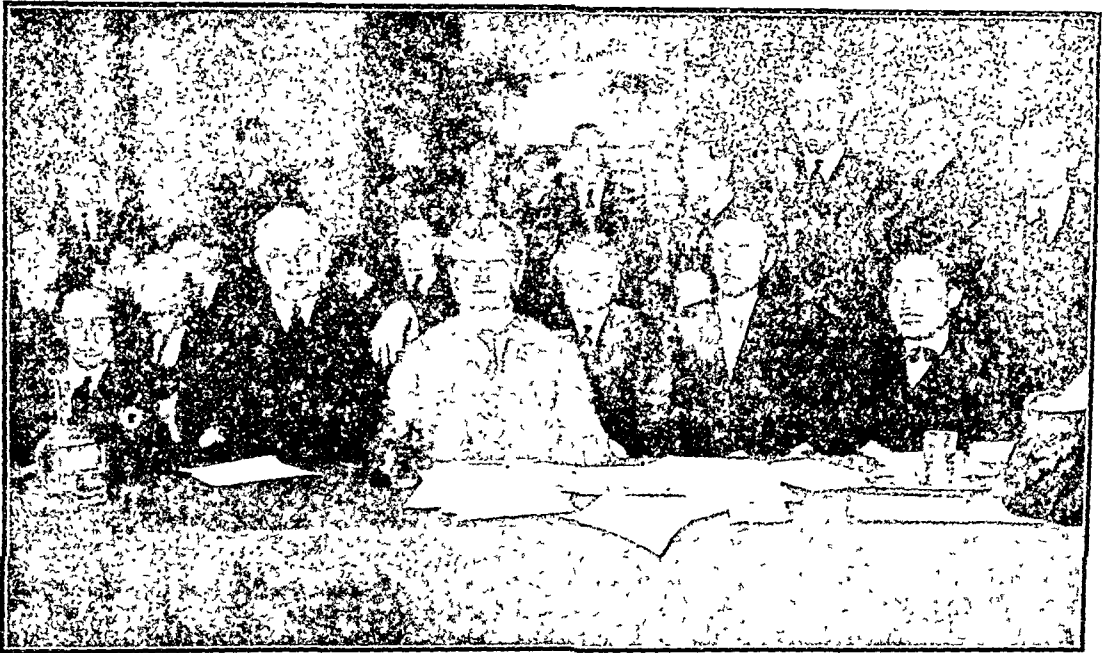
Mr. George Lansbury, member of the British Parliament and Vice-President of the British Labour Party, spoke on the same subject. He said:

"...Those who say to us that British troops are going to China to defend British lives lie, and they know they lie. They are going there to defend capitalist interests, only for the purpose of safeguarding money-making, and for my part I say to those who want to raise the standard of life of the workers, the world over, there is no way of doing it but by getting rid of capitalism and substituting for it Socialism. There is no other way. We



Hansien Liao, representative of the Kuo Min Tang, and George Lansbury, M. P. of England

Asia. A Chinese General from Canton, and member of the Kuo Min Tang, spoke with great feeling, telling how the Imperialist Powers had forced several wars on an unwilling and badly armed China. Indian readers too well know the history of the opium wars against China, and we need not repeat any facts here. The General spoke with confidence, saying that the Kuo Min Tang, which stood for the "triple principles" of the people, as laid down by Dr. Sun Yat Sen,



Presidium of the Brussels Congress. Reading left to right: Jawaharlal Nehru, (India), George Lansbury, (England), Edo Fimmen, (Holland) Lu Tsung Lin, (Canton National Army) and H. Liao, (Canton, Kua Min Tang.)

think of China today because she is in the forefront of the picture, but I think also of my African comrades, the men and women in Africa who are just the same brothers and sisters as those in India and Japan—they are all exposed to the same sort of attack as those in China. Friends, we freed many people from the bonds of chattel slavery. We have now got to free them all from the bonds of economic servitude. You will win this fight, but I believe this week while you have been meeting here you have been doing one of those things that come only occasionally in the history of our race: that is, you are proclaiming the union of the black, yellow, brown and white. Therefore, comrades, I will go back to Britain and do what one man can do to carry out the resolutions we have carried here. I do not mind who stands with me or who apart. I shall still hold up the banner—the right of the Indian, the right of the Chinese, the right of every single human being to equal treatment throughout the world. If the white races have anything to give to the other races, let them give it. I am sure the other races have given much to them already.

“Finally, I would like to bid my comrades from Africa and Asia to be of good cheer. Neither British, American, nor Japanese Imperialism have the power to hold the workers in thralldom forever. It is as certain as the sun shines that Imperialism is doomed: it is doomed because, with the rising of working-class intelligence, this Imperialism with all its poison gas and its disciplined armies, cannot overcome the boycott which it is within the power of the workers to enforce. The millions in China and India need not buy any British goods. A few

of them may be killed or injured in the coming struggle, but this will avail the imperialistic capitalists nothing at all. They want trade, they want markets, and these they will never obtain by the measures they are adopting at the present moment. Greater empires than any of those which rule the world today have gone down in blood and ruin because they were founded on robbery and spoliation and plunder. And the empires which boast their military and naval strength, which create their great air forces, these too will go down in a welter of confusion unless the workers of all countries unite and put an end to war. Every war is a capitalist war: we must teach the workers not to enlist in National armies, not to manufacture armaments. Teach them that wars are the means for keeping the workers in subjection, and when this is done I for one am certain that we shall establish a true International.”

The subjects of the danger of war in the Pacific, and of war against Mexico, were also dealt with, and in view of this danger, especially in view of the very probable rupture between the Imperialist Power and Soviet Russia, Mr. Lansbury's speech was a timely warning. Since the Congress met, more and darker clouds have gathered, and the spectre of war is growing more and more sinister and real. At the request of Great Britain, Mussolini has sent a cruiser to China to “defend” a couple of dozen precious

[Italian souls ! Great Britain is concentrating her forces in the Pacific, and has sent a warship, full of sympathy for the United States, to the Mexican waters, evidently in the hope that America will co-operate in a possible war against China. England is trying by every means to induce European nations to take active steps against China, and yet at the same time she is attempting to break off diplomatic relations with Russia because Russia sympathizes with China. For years the public has been fed on the poison of a "Russian menace". The year 1927 is blacker than the year 1914. The badly concealed warships of Mars are displaying themselves in full procession, carrying the image of their god.



Lamine Senghor, Negro delegate from Senegal, Africa. A brilliant speaker, whose address was filled with ironic humour

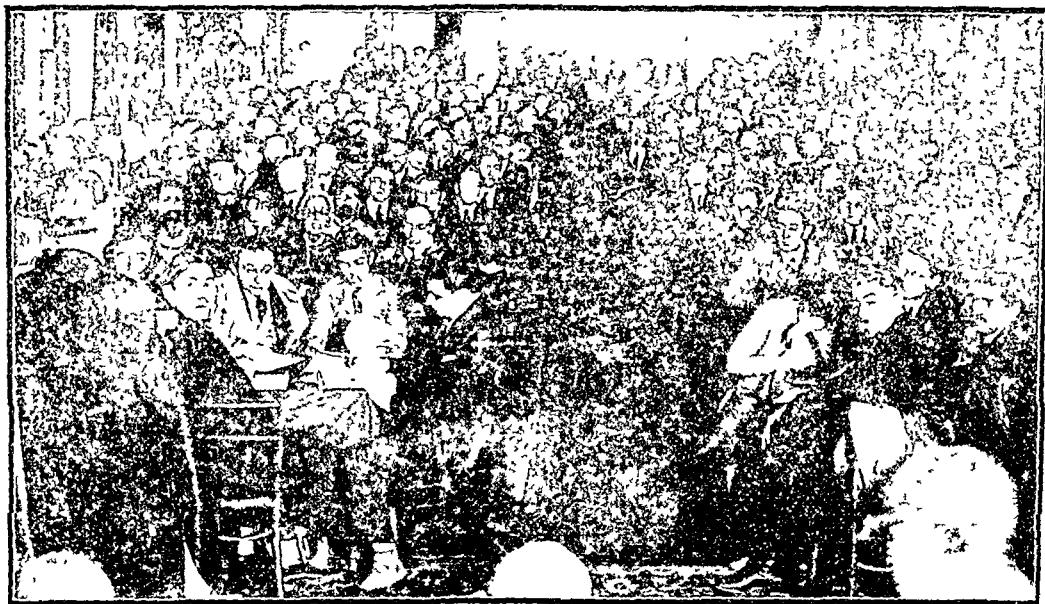
the world, but also between the nationalist and workers' movements in all countries. Nobility of sentiment alone is not sufficient, he said ; what is needed is to give that sentiment a realistic shape, and this requires organisation and the creation of a united front.

In the Imperialist countries—the so-called "Mother countries"—competition is set up among the different organisations of the working class, and this to the great disadvantage of the whole movement. A casual and temporary gain by the workers of one country is used as a handle in breaking up a struggle of the working class in another. A united working class would have produced a different result during the English coal strike. While this division amongst the workers exists, the machine of Imperialism and exploitation grinds on.

The consequences of the aloofness of the working class from the nationalist struggles of the oppressed nations are graver still. There was a time when land and cheap labour in the Colonies served to produce commodities which the "Mother Countries" did not produce. This is no longer so. Competition has set in between the Colonies and the "Mother Countries"—to the advantage of the capitalists and to the disadvantage of the workers in the "Mother Countries." Textile industries, for example, are shifting from England to India. Unemployment in the "Mother Countries" was not the only consequence, but over and above that the workers are taxed to keep a colossal army of occupation in the Colonies, and this army is able to enforce labour conditions upon the workers there, conditions that are a disgrace to civilization.

To illustrate his thesis, Mr. Fimmen took the examples of China and India, and showed the dominant nature of foreign capital and also the inhuman conditions of work. Dividends in the jute industry, for example, went as high as 365 per cent. In China, workers in some industries had to work 52 weeks a year, with hardly a holiday. In India, men, women and children were working 60 hours a week, on starvation wages. In the mines of India, women took their children with them underground, deposited them on a piece of coal, and drugged them with opium to keep them quiet while they worked. Many hardly saw the light of day. These conditions are not human. The workers of the world must realize that they must cooperate with

4. *The Need of Co-operation and Co-ordination of the Nationalist and Workers' Movements.* Mr. Edo Fimmen (Hollander, and General Secretary of the International Transport Workers) made a very valuable contribution to the Congress when, in his clear, concise speech, he showed the great necessity for co-operation among, not only the workers of



General view of the Brussels Congress against Imperialism. The Indian delegation is in the 2nd row left. Reading right to left they are: Jawaharlal Nehru, (Indian National Congress); J. Naidu, (Hindusthan Assn. of Central Europe); M. Barkatullah (Hindusthan Gadar Party); A. C. N. Nambiar, (representative of "The Hindu", of Madras, and the Assn. of Indian Journalists in Europe); Bakar Ali Mirza, (representative of the Oxford Majlis, "The Bharat", and the Assn. of Indian Journalists in Europe); V. Chattopadhyaya (representative, Assn. of Indian Journalists in Europe—first standing figure against wall to the left.) J. N. Sinha, (from Indian Information Bureau, London), and G. Hinlekar, (from "The Kesari", Poona) are standing in the back.

all the workers of the world—whether black, white, yellow or brown.

It had been suggested that a general strike should be proclaimed in sympathy with China, he continued. The sentiment was noble, but he found it necessary to admit that the machinery for such a strike was not ready. The good-will was there, but it was necessary to create amongst the workers a consciousness that united they stand, but divided they fall.

Ledebour, veteran German leader of the trade union movement in Germany, Member of the Reichstag and an Independent Socialist, made a remarkable speech urging the general strike. In part, he said:

"I support the resolution for a general strike of all working men in the imperialist countries against the suppression of movements for freedom in oppressed countries and colonies. This general strike should begin with a strike of the transport workers

"Comrades, when we here call upon the peoples of oppressed countries to throw off their slavery, then we, as Europeans, as guilty parties in the suppression of these countries, are bound to use every power within us, and if necessary, offer our lives, to help them....."

He then gave example after example of the use of the partial or the general strike in Germany that finally began the break-down of old monarchist Germany in 1918 and led to the establishment of the German Republic. He called upon all workers to organize for the general strike to help China and India in their struggle for freedom.

"I call upon you," he said, "if you are Europeans, Americans, Asiatics or Africans, to unite and to grasp this opportunity to carry the fight against imperialism to an end. Only if we are determined can we be victorious. I am in a hurry; I am now 76 years old, but I am going to be in the midst of that fight, I am going to be in the front and offer my life in the struggle. (Violent applause)."

Harry Pollitt, M. P. of England, leader of the revolutionary minority in the British trade unions, delivered a remarkable speech, a few words of which follow.

"In my opinion the reason why the Indian troops were sent to China was not because they were necessary there, but because it was a test to see how much India was at the hands of the British Government."

of the strength of the Nationalist movement in India..."

5. *Establishment of the Permanent League* For the purpose of linking up all forces against Imperialism and colonial oppression into a world-wide organisation, and to further friendship and co-operation among all workers of liberation, a permanent League was established at the Congress. The Honorary Presidents of the League are Mrs. Sun Yat Sen, Jawaharlal Nehru, George Lansbury, and Professor Albert Einstein. An executive was elected, and Nehru, representing India, was elected a member.



Henri Barbusse, the noted French writer who, despite illness, travelled to Brussels to deliver the opening address.

It was suggested that the organisation should have its head-quarters in Paris. Up to the present time the head-quarters are at Wilhelmstr. 48, Berlin, Germany.

India and the Congress The Presidential speech in the All-India National Congress in December last indicated that the Congress had a tendency to broaden its outlook and to co-operate with other countries engaged in the fight for freedom. The unanimous

election of Jawaharlal Nehru to represent the Congress at Brussels confirmed the realistic nature of that trend toward internationalism. Jawaharlalji was a happy choice, for he is devoid of that narrow and criminal sectarianism which is an obsession with some of our leaders. He made a deep impression upon the delegates at Brussels, because he is not an eloquent speaker, but instead, an organizer and a man of action.

The Brussels Congress showed a profound sympathy with India's aspirations. As Mr. Sriwivasa Iyengar's cable to the Congress, conveying India's greetings and condemnation of the use of Indian troops in China, was read, a thrill and a cheer went through the hall. Happily, the cable arrived soon after Jawaharlalji had moved a similar resolution.

The Chinese, British and Indian delegations passed a common resolution by which they bound themselves to make every effort to accomplish the tasks laid down by the Congress. The Chinese, appointed to sign for the Chinese delegation, were General Lei Tsung Lin and Hansin Liao of the Kuo Min Tang, and Hsing Kwang Sen of the People's Government of Canton; for the British delegation, Mr. Lansbury, Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., Mr. Beckett, M.P., S.O. Davies of the Miners Federation, R. Bridgman, M.P., and Fenner Brockway, I.L.P. Jawaharlal Nehru signed for India. The resolution in full reads:

We, the undersigned, British, Indian, and Chinese delegations, consider that the task of all working-class forces in Imperialist countries is:

(1) To fight for full emancipation side by side with the national forces in oppressed countries, in order to secure complete independence wherever such national forces so desire.

(2) To oppose all forms of coercion against colonial peoples.

(3) To vote against all credits, naval, military and air, for the maintenance of armed force to be used against oppressed nations.

(4) To expose the horrors of Imperialism to the civil and military populations.

(5) To expose imperialistic policy, in the light of the working-class struggle for freedom.

IN RELATION TO THE IMMEDIATE SITUATION IN CHINA

(1) We demand the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces from Chinese territory and waters.

(2) We urge the need of direct action, including strikes and the imposition of the embargo to prevent movements of munitions and troops either to India or China and from India to China.

(3) That estimates relating either to war-like preparations or to war shall be voted against.

(4) That in the event of armed intervention or open war every weapon and effort shall be made within the labour movement to use every weapon possible in the working-class struggle to be used to prevent hostilities.

(5) We demand the unconditional recognition of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of the unequal treaties and of extraterritorial rights, and the surrender of foreign concessions.

(6) Finally, in the interests of Trade Union and Labour Movements in Britain, India, and China, we pledge ourselves to work for their immediate, close and active co-operation.

Although the above resolution was signed by the English delegates present, we as Indians must remember that only the *individual* Englishmen present signed it, and it cannot be said that their organisations are bound to approve of it. In fact, before even the individuals would sign it, there were long and heated debates with the Indians. Since the Congress ended and the delegates returned to their various homes, we learn—but it is so far an unconfirmed rumour—that there are serious quarrels within the British Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party of England about this very resolution, and that there is a likelihood that some of the signatories will either have to retract, or withdraw from their parties, or that their parties may split on the issue. In any case, we as Indians have to go our own way, taking it for granted that we will get little or no help from British labour, or if we do get any, it will be from the extreme left wing of the labour movement—and even then we should not depend upon it.

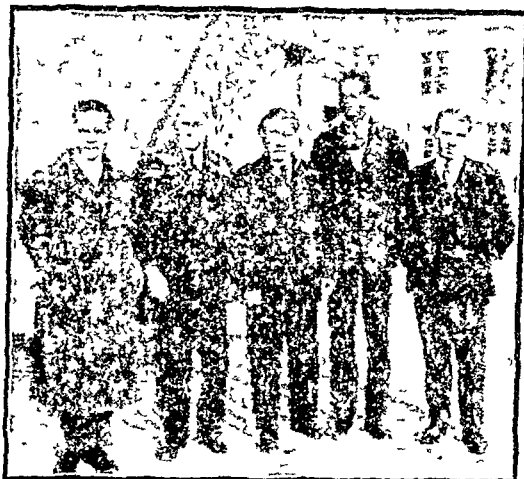
The Indian and Chinese delegations also drew up a joint resolution to renew the old ties of culture, friendship and co-operation that existed as a tradition before the British period. The resolution reads:

For more than three thousand years the people of India and China were united by the most intimate cultural ties. From the days of Buddha to the end of the Mughal period and the beginning of British domination in India this friendly intercourse continued uninterrupted.

After the East India Company had, by intrigue and force, secured its firm hold on the greater part of India, the English began looking for new sources of revenue and new markets. They not only introduced poppy cultivation into areas where food had previously been grown, but also thrust Indian opium on the unwilling Chinese people by force of arms. Since that infamous Opium War, of 1840-41, Indian mercenary troops have been sent again and again to China in support of British capitalist big game in that country. For 87 years Indian troops have been permanently stationed as policemen in Hongkong, Shanghai, etc. Time and again they have been used to shoot down Chinese workers and have

thus created ill will in China against the people of India. Even as we make this declaration, Indian troops are again on their way to China in an attempt to crush the Chinese revolution.

With the strengthening of British imperialism, India was cut off more and more from intercourse with China, and in their cultural and intellectual isolation the Indian people have now become completely ignorant of the condition of China.



A group of delegates: M. Yussuf, (Persia); Mohamed Barkatullah, (Hindusthan Gardar Party); Sen Katavama (Japan); L. Senghor, (Africa); Harry Pollitt, (England)

It is this extreme ignorance that makes it difficult today to organise effective means to prevent India's men and man-power from being used for the enslavement of the Chinese people. We think it urgent and essential that active propaganda should be carried on in India to educate the people regarding China and to arouse them to the necessity of immediate action. We must now resume the ancient personal, cultural and political relations between the two peoples. British imperialism, which in the past has kept us apart and done us so much injury, is now the very force that is uniting us in a common endeavour to overthrow it.

We trust that the leaders of the Indian movement will do all in their power to co-ordinate their struggle with that of the Chinese people so that by simultaneously engaging British Imperialism on two of its most vital fronts, China may receive active support in her present struggle, and the final victory of both people may be secured.

As this is being written I learn that, as the British delegation has invited the Chinese delegation to tour England and speak to the people, so has the Indian National Congress extended an invitation to the Chinese delegation to visit India, and it is to be hoped that the British Government in India will not put any impediments in the way.

CONCLUSION

Resolutions dealing with almost all the oppressed countries were passed, but space does not permit me to deal with them all. In passing I can but mention the very capable delegation of four men from Indonesia—the "Dutch East Indies"; also the very fine speech made by the Arabic delegate; the intelligence and the ironic humour of the Negro, Lamine Senghor, from Central Africa; the clear and uncompromising address of Professor Guio Mighioni, Member of the Italian Parliament and opponent of Mussolini—and consequently an exile; the untiring activity of the Korean nationalist delegation; the South African delegation, consisting among others of a delegate from the South African Trade Union Congress, and a Negro delegate (a Communist)

who did not believe in the professions of his white colleagues. There were also Negro delegates from many different sections of Africa.

The student organisations represented in the Congress submitted to the Executive a request to have a student representative in the Executive and to aim at the unification of the youth and workers' movements of the world.

It is difficult to end this review without mentioning the silent and intense work of Messrs. A. Gibati and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, whose organisational work had been responsible for the success of the Congress. Especially the latter, our own countryman, who, an exile from India for over 25 years, is untiring in his work for India and unflinching in his optimism.

DR. HELENA LANGE

BY AGNES SMEDLEY

TO do justice to the long and creative life of Dr. Helena Lange would necessitate writing a social history of Germany for the past three-quarters of a century. For not only is she a product of that period, but she is one of the forces that gave it colouring and tendency. That social history, if written, would reach down to the present and find her, a woman of 78, sitting at her desk editing 'Die Frau' which she founded over thirty years ago, reading and reviewing books, receiving callers, granting interviews, and carrying on a large correspondence dealing with the woman's movement and with the education of women. In that three-quarters of a century we would find her, one of the truest representatives of the German spirit, standing in her secure, uncompromising strength, scanning the horizon for the oncoming generations of free educated women; a woman who, as she today says, stands at the sunset of her life; and yet who is filled with a surging energy and idealism, and with a marvellous, permeating humour seldom to be found in age.

Who and what she is may best be expressed in the words of the University of Tübingen when, after the War, it conferred upon her the honorary degree of Doctor of Political Economy "in honour of her services as leader and pioneer of woman's work in national economy."

She is further the woman who, as Dr. Gertrude Baumer, her biographer, has said, "stepped out fearlessly upon land that had not been trod before, and cried into the emptiness, not knowing if even an echo would answer."

The courage it took to do this cannot be conceived by us today, with higher schools of learning and all professions open to us. But in the last quarter of the last century such a step called for not only courage, but also scientific knowledge and training that could compete with and defeat men on their own grounds. All this Helena Lange possessed. Just how and why it happened we do not know, for we never know what causes one woman to break through all bonds and impediments and rise to be a power while

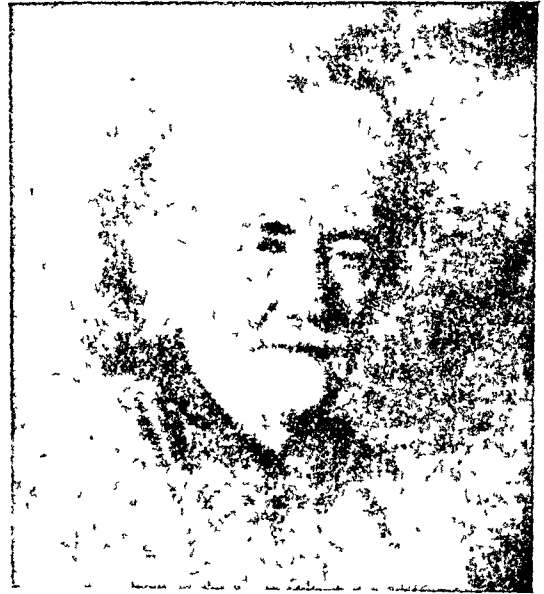
girls brought up by her side and with the same opportunities blend with the generality and remain mediocre. It may be that a part of her elemental energy may be traced back to her peasant ancestry. We see her in her childhood in north-eastern Germany, growing up and studying in the elementary schools with girls and boys alike, living a life somewhat freer than that of most German girls of the time. At the age of fourteen we see her reading voraciously, with the photographs of Garibaldi, Korner and Schiller over her study table. The atmosphere about her was vigorous, for she had been born in the historic year of the German Revolution, in 1848.

When she was fourteen her father sent her to Tübingen to the south to study for a year in the home of a pastor who was a Professor of Theology in the University there. In that home she learned a lesson which, she says, was the beginning of her life's work on behalf of women. She saw a home in which men had their afternoon coffee in the dining hall, the women waiting tables and then drinking their coffee in the kitchen; in which no woman was permitted to participate in the conversations of the men; in which no woman was entitled to study, converse, or make any pretention to independent thought. The wife of the pastor even warned her young girl guest against letting it be known that she had read so much or that she held independent ideas. Such girls never found a husband! That was, says Helena Lange in her "Memoirs", a picture of German home life of that period, and one that forced her, at that young age, to ask the women "but why do you permit it?"

Within a year after this experience in Tübingen she was left an orphan and forced to stand almost entirely on her own feet—no easy thing in those days, especially for a girl. We find her coaching little girls in their studies, and at the age of eighteen studying to be a teacher in an Alsatian Pension. The teachers' course lasted six months—such was the superficial training for women teachers in those days.

After teaching in southern Germany for five years Helena Lange came to Berlin and began the life that was eventually to place her at the head of the woman's movement. That was in 1871, when she was a young, energetic woman with the future before her. Academic study was impossible for a woman in those days, but she studied alone and with private teachers Kant and Schopenhauer

were her guides in philosophy; Lotze and Wundt in psychology, and Lessing and Schiller were as friends to her mind. Goethe was for her, as for most Germans, the Bible. With an apple and a sandwich she stood for hours in a line before the Imperial Opera, waiting her turn to buy a fifty pfennig seat to hear good music. From her hard-earned money she paid for lessons in Greek, Latin and Mathematics. Self-discipline in her intellectual life, precision and fundamental thought and work were rules of life to her, and the time came later when Latin and Greek were as familiar to her as her mother-tongue, and when she was a master of mathematics.



Dr. Helena Lange

The position of women of Germany at that period is best summarized in her "Memoirs", a book which is a marvellous study of social forces from 1848 to the present day. She shows us a society in which the old home activities and industries of women were being destroyed by a new industrial civilization; girls were forced to make their own living, and yet they did not know how. She shows us, also, a large class of wealthier middle class girls, sick of the emptiness of their lives, seeking relief in dilettantism in music and art, in the conversation of the tea room or the salon; women who, by rigid social custom, were prevented from doing any work

outside the home, from seeking any creative outlet for their energies, or from earning any money. As in India today with so many women, for a woman to earn her own living was regarded as a thing of shame, although it is almost impossible to understand from what perverted psychological source such an attitude comes.

In any case, it was upon this emptiness, this distress, and this superficiality in women's lives that the woman's movement had declared relentless war. The General Association of German Women had been founded in 1865 and when Helena Lange came to Berlin she came into intimate contact with some of its leaders. By coincidence she also came into touch with a small group of liberal thinking men and women and their association was a food to a hungry soul. They not only had liberal educators and writers among themselves, but they were further fortified in their position by the appearance of John Stuart Mill's book, "The Subjection of Women", which had just been translated into German. Mill held, as is well known, that the subjection of woman was not only an injustice in itself, but a serious handicap in the development of our race. Margaret Sanger, a more modern writer, has expressed it more fundamentally in the phrase: "A woman enslaved cannot but help give a measure of bondage to her children." Mill demanded that all economic, legal, and political restrictions upon woman be removed, and that all schools, universities and professions be opened to them.

Helena Lange was deeply impressed, but she took a position that has run like a red thread through the years of her rich and varied life and without which it is impossible to think of her or of the German woman's movement. It was that not only is there certain public work that woman is quite as capable of doing as is man; but that there is much work that women and women alone are best able to do; for instance, social welfare, certain educational activities, health work, and so on. In other words, all work in which the spiritualized and sublimated mother instinct may be creatively expressed.

We can almost see her in those fresh early years of her life: tall, blonde, blue-eyed, Teutonic; restless with energy; teaching for hours to make enough money to live and study; studying ceaselessly to prepare herself for better service; questioning all things

from philosophy and religion, to the social order of society—qualities that remain with her on her up-grade to a Century.

She became a teacher in a Teachers' Seminar of a girls' school in Berlin, and later she became the director of the entire school. She remained there for fifteen years, and this period of the school was marked by a lengthening of the course of study for both girls and for the teachers' seminar; to giving the instruction a sound, scientific basis, and the lives of the students a goal and a purpose.

During this same period she was active in the woman's movement, was one of its leaders, and was executive of the Berlin Association of Women Teachers. The thing that brought her directly into the open battle field, however, was a brochure known as the "Yellow Pamphlet" which she wrote and addressed to the Ministry of Education. This was in 1887, when she was 39 years of age, a woman ripe in knowledge and experience. With this pamphlet began the public fight that lasted for many years, and that made her name identical with a program and a central point of struggle in the woman's movement. In this pamphlet she demanded, among a number of other important reforms, that Gymnasiums for women, the same as those existing for men, be created. And that the direction of girls' schools be placed in the hands of women teachers. Furthermore, she demanded that the teaching of German and of religion be placed in the hands of women, because men pervert the teaching of these subjects in so far as women are concerned.

Such a shock! The German men teachers especially, were horrified at such demands; Helena Lange was challenging the will of God (so many men get God and themselves confused) and was striking at the very foundations of morality, religion, the home and the purity of women; Volumes could be collected of the articles they wrote against her, and they formed an association for fighting the emancipation of women. One has to smile—for the Germans were so like so many Indian men of this year of our Lord, 1926. The Neanderthal mind is the same in all ages and under all suns.

Once having laid down a scientific program, Helena Lange, with characteristic, scientific thoroughness, began to support it by facts and figures. With the help of the German Empress Viktoria she went to England and

studied at Newnham and Girton Colleges, both of which were being conducted most successfully and under Woman management. Her book "The Education of women" appeared in the same year.

When she returned from her trip abroad she with a few other German women, addressed a petition to the Humboldt Academy in Berlin asking that women be admitted to scientific courses. The Academy, under the direction of professors sympathetic to the woman's movement, granted the request, and Helena Lange was given the responsibility of building and directing the courses for women. This she did, and for the first time scientific courses of a higher nature were opened to German women. She carried on the work for five years. But there were no examinations at the end, and women who wished to get a university training had to go to Switzerland where they studied, took their degrees, and then returned to Germany to practise their professions.

Helena Lange never rested. In 1890 she founded and was president of the German Women Teachers' Association, an organisation whose purpose was to carry the fight further. Its foundation heralded the awakening of women teachers to their duties as educators and as leaders of women. Its demands covered; reform in elementary girls' schools; the founding of Gymnasiums (high schools) for women; an increasing influence of women in girls' schools and in school management; the placing of German and of religion in the hands of women; the admission of women to the universities; the establishment of institutions for the professional or trade training of women; the establishment of teachers' training schools on a sound educational basis instead of the two years then existing.

Apart from her intense activity in placing and supporting this program before the public, her next step of importance was to found "Die Frau" (The Woman), a monthly magazine which she, in cooperation with Dr. Gertrude Baumer, still edits. It was then as now a magazine that embraces every phase of woman's activities in all lands, and is the most important source of information concerning women's activities that exists.

Although the point of attack for a large body of men, she was yet a personality who was respected by many influential professors and officials. The Ministry of Education had held a number of conferences with her, and

her educational program was discussed at length. In the end she succeeded, and in the same year that she founded "Die Frau," the Ministry of Education sanctioned the founding of the first girls' gymnasium in Germany. She was made director of it, as well as the instructor of Greek. She transformed her courses in the Humboldt Academy into Gymnasium courses, and began work—with thirteen pupils. Of these few girls, six came from the Humboldt Academy and were advanced students prepared to study for the university matriculation examinations at the end of their course.

The propaganda against the Gymnasium was very great and few parents would permit their daughters to attend. Men teachers wrote that they "bent double with laughter" at the grotesque idea of the Gymnasium. But Helena Lange was clear-visioned enough to expect this, and with the full burden of the historic experiment resting upon her shoulders, spared neither her body nor her mind. It was three years later—in 1896—that the first six girls, formerly from the Humboldt Academy—appeared for the university examinations. When the results were known, each one had passed with honours, the examiners exclaiming that their work was superior to that of most of the men students. Whether the men teachers bent double with laughter again we do not know, but we do know that groups of men students from other universities telegraphed their congratulations to those first six girl pioneers. The Berlin university was opened to women, but it was not until 1899 that the medical profession was opened to them, and only in 1906 that they were permitted to appear for the State's Examinations for teaching the highest subjects.

One would think she had enough to do with her educational work. Yet in those days the education of women was a problem intimately connected with women's advancement on the whole. To really place it upon a secure foundation, meant tireless and never-ceasing work in the women's movement. The year after the first Gymnasium for girls was founded, the Council of German Woman Associations came into being, and shortly after that Helena Lange became, and for many years, remained its president. At the same time she was on the Executive Committee of the International Association of Women Suffrage, attending their meetings in

Paris, The Hague, Geneva, Stockholm and Dresden. In 1904 in Berlin, and in 1914 in Rome. She headed the German delegations to the international congresses.

The German woman's movement on the whole has from the very beginning been characterized by its strong social tendency, in contrast to the strong political tendency of the woman's movement in such countries as England and America. It concerned itself chiefly with inner problems, such as social welfare, youth welfare, working mothers, unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, divorce, marriage and sexual ethics, and the education of women. Many of these problems were not even touched upon by American or English women until very recently as for example unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, marriage and sexual ethics. But even in the days when respectable women were not supposed to discuss such matters, German women had frankly and honestly faced them. It was their propaganda that spread over to the Scandinavian countries and caused the latter to pass the first legislation protecting illegitimate children and the unmarried mother.

Helena Lange's chief interest was always education, but as President of the Council of German Women's Associations her activities were broad. One of her books is entitled "The Woman and her Modern Problems," a work dealing with social problems such as mentioned above. And it was her philosophy, her Weltanschauung, that coloured the entire German woman's movement and distinguished it from the movements in other lands. It is because of this philosophy that she has become known as the theoretician of the woman's movement. This philosophy may be very briefly and incompletely summarized as follows:

There is a spiritual, as well as a physical, difference between the sexes, and although women may do many different kinds of public work as well as men, yet they are especially fitted and destined for different spheres of activity. The very essence of woman is motherhood and all that woman does in her cultural development or activities works through her as a woman and as a mother. This does not mean that every woman must be a mother, physically, to possess this quality. Instead, there is a *psychic* motherhood which in the cultured woman finds expression in all she does. A woman may express her mother instinct in

her own child or in work for the children of other women or in both. In fact, it is often the motherless woman who is the best mother, the best teacher. This mother instinct always lies in readiness in the being of woman, and all culture means its spiritualization. It is this power which gives such tremendous driving force to the social activities of women today, and it is this force that must be awakened and used in all branches of our life if our civilization is to be more than a mere brutalized machine in which hatred and war are ruling features.

FURTHER :

Woman's "place" is, therefore, not an external, but an inner and spiritual experience, she says. Die Baumer, her biographer, says that "God may be worshipped not only in Jerusalem, but in all places and at all times." Or, we may say, God may be worshipped not only in Mecca or in Benares. So it is with woman—her "place" is not just in the home, not just here or there, but wherever she can do good and use her powers and abilities best. Where that is, is for the woman herself to decide. There are many women who may wish to reach the same goal as men; for such the road lies through the Gymnasium and the University. There are others who will wish to pass through the women's schools, or the trade or special professional schools and enter work that is in the external form "woman's work." But wherever woman is, the *effect* of her work is and must be different from the work of men.

FURTHER STILL :

In all this there is no place for antagonism between men and women when once women are free to choose their way of life. The bond between man and women must not only be that existing between husband and wife; but it lies also in their broader cooperation in the building of our cultural life and our civilization upon other foundations than they stand today. This civilization, as it is developing, is going to draw woman more and more into social life, for the old home activities of woman are being replaced, or have already been replaced, by modern inventions. Woman's life, as a consequence, is becoming narrower and emptier, and the only way of meeting and equalizing the situation is for them to

take part in all activities—in the professions, in social works, in education, and in politics. This new development is not evil just because it is new; on the contrary, it is a valuable addition to our human history and marks the entrance of a new force in our external life that is capable of transforming the face of society.

Writing in her "Memoirs," Dr. Lange says:

"Each spiritual movement has been called at one time a stupidity. So with the woman's movement. But whoever has known this movement that has become a force in modern life, a force that has spread over all cultured lands, cannot belittle it. Its foundations are those that will be deepened by time; they rest on the instinct that lies at the heart of woman—the instinct for the protection and care of the human race. It is this force that will make this movement endure and triumph over ambition and the hunger for power, over hate and materialism. It is this merciful mother instinct, in which lies buried the physical and spiritual being of mankind and which nourishes mankind with its blood that can build a new world. When we begin to build a new world upon this foundation—a foundation upon which all our historical development must rest—when our civilization, in other words, 'comes from God', it cannot be destroyed."

So it is that she, at the sunset of her life, works today, with this deep and unshakable conviction as the starting point from which she approaches all problems.

It is said by many today that her work is finished, that the day of feminism is passed. They say that the pre-War period in Europe was the period of the emancipation of woman, with Ibsen as its dramatic prophet; and that the woman's movement in those days coloured even the Socialist movement. They believe, however, that this problem is at an end because the chief problem since the War is the struggle of the working class for emancipation; that this is the period of the class struggle, and not the sex struggle. They further hold that the working woman has nothing in common with the middle or upper class woman, who only exploit her, and that the problem of the higher education of woman never applied to the working woman.

All this the writer believes—in part. The philosophy of Socialism—whether Anarchism, Communism, or Socialism—recognizes class solidarity, and not sex solidarity.

This is the outstanding problem of this period and it will not be stilled until it is solved, whether it be within ten or within fifty years.

But granting all this, it cannot be forgotten that right within the revolutionary working class there is a woman's problem. All is not economics. Combined with the fundamental problem of the fight for food there are instincts, as old as the first amoeba, to be dealt with. Men, whether of the working or upper classes, have inherited the master and ownership psychology regarding woman. Working-class women do not have much better treatment at the hands of their husbands than do middle and upper class women, neither in the intellectual or sexual meaning of the term. There are working class women who also wait on their husbands and his guests and then have their coffee in the kitchen. Or generally do without coffee because there is not enough to go round. They do not share in the conversations, go to meetings, nor do they study. They, as are middle and upper class women, are regarded as convenient pieces of household furniture and they are often treated with as little respect.

Here it is that the philosophy of Helena Lange enters within the heart of the working class movement. Although not a Socialist, her philosophy is so deep and universal that it applies to all classes at all times. And even with actual practical modern day problems she is not a force to be shoved aside just because she happened to have been born 78 years ago. Through her magazine "Die Frau," she is today stepping out upon the open battle-field for a problem that touches women, it matters not what their class. She has but recently written that the sore spot of woman's freedom is not with the professional woman, but, instead, with married women and the mother, in the home. She has many women friends who are physicians, and she has documentary proof for the statement that much illness of women, nervous and otherwise, is due to the sex treatment of the wife by the husband. The married woman is a sex slave, without autonomy over her own body; her husband takes it for granted that she is there for his personal use when he and he alone wishes it. If the woman resists, violence is used. The old emotion of ownership enters, and it is not only intensified by marriage laws and by social custom, but by woman's

economic dependence upon man and by the sanctity that society gives this dependence.

Thus we find Helena Lange at her age, a woman whose life has been marked by a rigid sex morality, tearing down the curtains before a problem that many people consider "too sacred" to discuss. It is not "sacred" at all, but is a secret shame that must be exposed. Not only in Germany, be it understood. India may turn its eyes inwards.

Helena Lange says the object of her life's work has by no means been achieved. She did what was before her to do. But the direction of girl's schools today does not yet lie in women's hands, as it should. And there are many, many problems affecting the external and personal lives of women that must be solved. The woman's movement, she says, is in the beginning, not at the end. She continues to wield her pen with unrelenting clarity. This keeps her very busy, keeps her working, travelling when necessary, keeping in touch with the woman's movement. She has resigned as President of the woman's movement—and she has a touch of

that incomparable humour when she says: "Yes, I thought it best to get out early and have them say, 'Oh isn't it too bad', instead of waiting and having them say, 'Well at last she's resigned!'"

As this is being written a fight is in progress in the Hamburg Senate because of the plan to call a girls' Gymnasium the "Helena Lange Gymnasium." Certain Neanderthal gentlemen say that the name "Helena Lange" means a program that they are opposed to. But the replies given by the defenders of the plan, and by the press show that the plan will materialize, for the Germans to-day realize, at least in part, what Dr. Helena Lange has meant in the cultural development of women. As one newspaper stated:

"She was a woman who filled the empty lives of countless women with meaning and a high professional ethics. Her work was positive and constructive in the best meaning of the word. She belongs to those Germans who have represented Germany in the deepest and most scientific meaning of the word."

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE EARLY HISTORY OF CHANDERNAGORE AND THE PROBLEM OF THE LOCATION OF THE FIRST FRENCH SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL

THE small town on the left bank of the Bhagirathi that goes by the name of Chandernagore has been known as such for the last two hundred and fifty years at the most. As regards its previous history or its possible antiquity no definite information is available. The name of the place began to be mentioned only after the advent of the French; and even then for the first fifty years or more its history is almost a blank.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE PLACE AND THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME.

There is no record from which we can clearly ascertain how old the name is; nor do we know of any reference to it that may carry us beyond the time of the arrival of the French. So far as it is known, the very first mention of the name occurs in a letter, dated the 21 November 1696, written by Martin Deslandes and Pellé to the then Director⁽¹⁾. There is also a map prepared by Brouck somewhere previous to 1664 and published in 1726 which bears a flagmark indicating the place and also shows the Factory there. But

this is supposed to be a later interpolation⁽²⁾. Certain old mss. and printed books speaking of the locality mention other villages such as *Boro*, *Khalsani*, *Gondolpara* and, adjoining the latter, *Paikpara*, but not Chandernagore.

Thus, *Manasa Mangal* written about 1495 A.D. by Vipradas, speaks of *Boro* and *Paikpara* (3); and *Kavikankan Chandi*, a work now almost three hundred years old, in describing the places on either side of the Bhagirathi mentions *Gondolpara* (4). From the description it can be easily understood that *Boro* is the same place which goes by that name even today and is included within Chandernagore and which used to be called formerly Borokishanpur or Krishnapur; and that *Gondolpara* is the locality of the same name that is now on the southern side of the town. Another work, *Digvijaya Pralasa*, narrates that in very ancient times a fisherman king lived at *Khalsani* (5). This *Khalsani* also can be no other than the village which bears the same name today and lies on the western outskirts of Chandernagore; for the book mentions also in the same connexion names of other contiguous villages such as

Jagaddal, Singur and Haripal. The story of a fisherman being king may not be altogether a myth. For from prehistoric times the region covered by the modern district of Hugli has been mostly inhabited by fishermen (6). I have heard that there is an old ms. dealing with the story of Srimanta and Chandi which contains the line, "He installed Boraichandi at Boro" (7).

I enquired of Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri and also of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, but neither of them could tell me of any work, either in print or in ms., anterior to the 17th century which mentioned Chandernagore by name. From all this it is natural to conclude that at the time of the composition of the works which speak of Boro, Gondolpara and Khalisani and yet do not mention Chandernagore, those villages were not grouped together under the common name of Chandernagore and possibly there was no place at all called as such. Otherwise we would expect the poets to have included that name also in their description of the locality.

In 1676 Streymsam Master, Agent of the British East India Company, who later on became Governor of Madras, came to see the settlements in Hugli and in referring to the French settlement there he speaks of it as covering a large tract of land (8).

So we see that at the time when the locality was not yet called Chandernagore, even then there existed the villages known as *Khalisani*, *Gondolpara*, *Boro*, and such others. The name *Boro* is said to, have come from a variety of paddy, called *Boro* that used to grow there formerly. This may or may not be true. However, *Boro* was the chief station of the Pargana of the same name which formed part of Satgaon (9). The Pargana of Boro was itself a big Pargana in the Hugli district. Even now the name is used in legal transactions. *Gondolpara* was the property of the Nawab Khan Jehan Khan; it was given to the French Company on lease (10). Several other villages of the locality, such as, *Sabaniera Chack*, *Nasirabad*, *Ganj Sukrabad* seem also to be old enough. At least the antiquity of *Khalisani* is beyond doubt, since, as I have already pointed out, it is mentioned in a work a thousand years old. The few other villages that we speak of now do not figure in that book; this is because, it may justly be advanced, the book was concerned with the description of places only on either bank of the river and therefore those that were not exactly on the coast but lay somewhat in the interior did not naturally come within the poets purview. Furthermore it is to be noted that the entire country was under one government and there was no special need to select some particular villages and group them under a common name.

From these facts we can safely conclude that the name Chandernagore was given to the group of villages consisting principally of Boro-kishanpur, Khalisani and Gondolpara when these came all together and at the same time into the possession of the French; just as modern Calcutta was formed out of the villages Sutanati, Kalkata and Gobindapur when they passed into the hands of the British. Besides those villages, Chandernagore might have included two or three other villages also, such as, *Sabinara*, *Chaknasirabad*. However there is sufficient reason to believe that the entire country covered by these villages and their neighbourhood on the left bank of the Bhagirathi was generally called Hugli (11).

It is difficult to determine how and by whom the name Chandernagore was first given. There are three legends current on the point. Firstly many have stated that Chandernagore comes either from "chandra" (moon) or from "chandan" (sandal wood); in the previous case, the name is properly "Chandra-nagar" and in the latter case, *Chandan-nagar* (12). But as for the reasons why *chandra* or *chandan* was chosen as the designation of the place, no definite statement is found anywhere. Only a local news-paper, "Prajabandhu", says that the name *chandia* was given because of the contour of the place which is similar to the bow like crescent moon on the forehead of the Lord Shiva (13). A French work names the place as "Ville de la Lune" and, in fact, a look at the map of Chandernagore viewed from the Bhagirathi would seem to justify the epithet. But most of the writers favour the idea that Chandernagore was so named, as it was a land of Sandal-wood—"ville du bois de Santal." Indeed, a considerable trade in sandal-wood was once carried on in this place and there is evidence to show that the article was even exported to foreign lands from here (14). We also find it mentioned that in later days a certain kind of red-coloured wood used to be exported in large quantities from this place; and this may be either *Bikam* or red sandal (15). Further more, it is known that Rudra, the saintly King of Nadia, procured sandal-wood from the vicinity of Hugli (16). Sambhu Chandra De states authoritatively that once sandal-wood used to grow plentifully in this locality (17). So we see that either of the reasons adduced to explain the origin of the name of Chandernagore may be valid; but it seems more probable that the second one, that is to say, the place having in it a sandal forest or its being a trade centre in sandal was what gave the name. This view gathers confirmation from yet another source. Sir William Jones, who was often invited to the festivities held in the palace at Garuti, says in one place of his diary that the French used to decorate the town after the fashion of "Chandan so lipoe dham" and hence the name (18). If this be a fact then it agrees with the view which holds the name, Chandernagore, to come from sandal or *chandan*.

As to who first gave the name, no record expressly says anything. Some opine that the name was given by Deslande. The only proof I have been able to find in support of this opinion is that the name is mentioned by Deslande in 1696. However, if the proposition that the name Chandernagore came into existence only with the French occupation happens to be true, then on that basis it is reasonable to conclude that the name was first given by a Frenchman, be it Deslande or somebody else.

Chandernagore is otherwise called *Farashdanga*. The origin and the age of this name also is no less uncertain. The locality was bounded on the East by the Bhagirathi and on the other sides mostly by marshes and low-lands (19); so the name *danga* (upland) is quite appropriate and as the French were occupying the place, it was naturally *Farashi-danga* (the Bengali word for French is *Farashi*) which later on corrupted into *Farash-danga*. This is all that can be said in the matter. I have seen a document in Bengali of the year 1175 (B.S.) with an indistinct Persian seal on it and with the signature in Persian of Muhammad Wazid Hossain which contains the word *Farash-*

danga (20). Clive used the word *France-dongy* in a letter to the Nawab, dated the 30th. March, 1757 (21). This is also a corrupted form of *Farash-danga*, which name thus seems to be as old as the beginning of the French settlement.

WHEN AND WHY THE FACTORY WAS ESTABLISHED

AT CHANDERNAGORE

There is a difference of opinion as regards the time when the French established their first Factory in India for the purpose of commerce and also as regards the original place, whether it was Chandernagore or not. The reasons for establishing a business centre in Bengal are not less variously interpreted. It is, however, quite natural to suppose that the same reasons, that is to say, the same advantages which prompted other European nations to choose the banks of the river Hugli or places in and about the town of Hugli as trade centres made the French also establish a colony in the same locality. There can be no doubt that what tempted these foreigners to come and establish themselves here was the abundance of Bengal's natural and industrial products.

It was Caron, the first director of the French Company, who saw the possibility of exporting from this place valuable commodities and therefore send Deslande to establish a centre (22). We know from another source that samples of various articles had already been sent, perhaps for the first time, from Bengal to Pondichery in 1685; and in the following year Martin had despatched a ship and a man, named Deltor, with 40,000 ecus (23). Another year passed and Deslande arrived with the commission to establish and organise a factory, which was first started at Hugli. (24) Historian Keplin says that Deslande in the beginning chose his place at Bandel, near the Portuguese Factory (25).

One of the reasons for locating the Factory here was without doubt, to procure the beautiful Muslin of the place which was so much prized by the luxury-loving French people. In old times Chandernagore produced Muslin in abundance and this article as well as many other varieties of cotton fabrics were exported in large quantities (26). Later records show that Chandernagore cloths could be sold at a greater profit than the cloths of other places (27).

According to English records, the establishment of a Factory in Bengal by the French East India Company was a matter of sheer accident. It is said that in 1673 a fleet despatched by de la Haye, while returning to San Thome, was overtaken by a severe storm and one ship, Flemen, by name, instead of heading towards the Comorandul was driven astray towards Baleswar. This vessel was then attacked and captured by three dutch vessels and brought to Hugli. It is the crew of this ship who built a small house near the Dutch Factory at Hugli and started the first business (28).

This bit of history is not found in French record; and it does not explain the real reason for an organised effort at trade by the French Company. The story, however, may not be false on that account. For, about 15 years before the Company definitely established itself in Bengal, that is to say in 1673 or 1674 Du Plessis had secured a plot of land in Chandernagore, about 1½ leagues (29) to the South of Hugli. We also know that in 1673 the French had bought for Rs. 401 a village with an area of 20 arpents (30) which is situated now

in Chandernagore and to the South of Chinsura (31). A different record says, however, that the plot of land was not more than 20 arpents and was a part of Boro-quichempour (Borokishanpur) (32). The Factory Records of Hugli state that the French built a small house near the Dutch Factory and that they were driven out from the place through the machinations of the Dutch who, by presents and petitions, won over the Mussalman Nawab. This was, however, the excuse the French gave in quitting the place; but the real reason was that they could not raise there any more loan. They departed with a debt of Rs. 8,000 (33).

Streynsham Master who represented the British Company came to visit the Hugli Factory in 1676. On his way back he is said to have crossed a garden belonging to the Dutch (called, Dutch Garden) about 2 miles away from Hugli; a little farther on he saw a large plot of land where, he himself says, the French had formerly built a factory, the gates of which were even then existent. The land was at that time occupied by the Dutch. On the way he passed by a few thatched houses (34). C. R. Wilson says that the Dutch Garden was within what is now called Chandernagore (35).

L.S.S. O'Malley identifies the factory described by Streynsham Master with the small house near the Dutch Factory at Hugli, referred to in the Hugli Factory Records. He says furthermore that this house was situated just to the South of Chinsura, along the northernmost boundary of Chandernagore (36). Mr. Bradley Birt also supports the view and thinks this to be the original place occupied by the French on the bank of the Bhagirathi (37).

Thus two of the older writers agree in stating that the French Factory or house was near the Dutch Factory or Garden. But one of them places it at a distance of two miles from Hugli while the other includes it within Hugli. It is difficult at the first view to regard both the statement as one. But there can be no doubt that the statements of the two later writers, O'Malley and Bradley are one and the same. The relation of Chandernagore to Hugli is a matter which often raises considerable amount of uncertainty in the minds of the enquirers into the early history of Chandernagore.

As a matter of fact, before they permanently settled in Chandernagore the French had a Factory for some time at Bandel (38). Also it is true they had already commenced their trading business from there. But I have gone through many historical records, both in English and in French, and I have nowhere come across anything to show that that concern lasted long. Some old French records use, however, the name Hugli instead of Chandernagore but the place referred to is evidently what is now-a-days designated as Chandernagore when they speak of Chandernagore as a dependency of Hugli—"ce lieu de Chandernagore de la dependance d'Ougly" or "ce lieu de Chandernagore dependance de cette ville et Gouvernement d'Ougly"—they do not mean that Chandernagore was within the jurisdiction of the Factory at Hugli. Boro Kishanpur, which belongs to Chandernagore and is within the Pargana of Boro, is similarly described as being a dependency of Satgaon—"Borquichempour, capitale du paragonate du Boro, dependant de Satgaon" (39). Paul Kaepplin, a French historian, says on this matter that for a very long time people used to call the French

colony by the name of the neighbouring place, Hugli (40). Laurent Garcin also writes in support of this view in his journal that the entire region lying on the western bank of the Hugli and even Chinsura was called Hugli (41). H. Weber also says that in all legal documents of that time Chandernagore was mentioned as Hugli, as it was contiguous to the latter place (42).

The second time that the French came and established a Factory in Chandernagore was in 1688 A. D. Many historians assert that this was the time when the French founded their colony and town and received the grant from the Mogul Emperor (43). It is true that it was in 1688 that the French bought from Aurangzeb a plot of land measuring 942 hectares (44) for the sum of Rs 40,000 and with the permission of the Emperor began their trade in a systematic manner (45).

This book mentions only the purchase of the plot but nothing about its extent. So far as I have been able to find out, the plot had not this area. Yet there can be no doubt also as to the fact that in 1673 or 1674 a man named Du Plessis had bought a plot of land and set up a factory and that this was the earliest and the first attempt (46). The name of this Du Plessis is not however, found in any record; but that the French first came to Chandernagore in 1673 or 1674 may be gathered from many historical sources (47). Thus S. C. Hill,

Niccolas Manucci, James Grant, Charles Stuart and others fix the time of their arrival as 1676; while G. B. Maleson gives one to understand that this first batch came and did not at all return (48).

Streysham Masters' observations, however, lend support to the view that they came in 1673 or 1674. The year 1688 is usually taken as the time when the French got the Farman from the Mogul Emperor. But in reality this was not the final Farman, but only a permit to set up a Factory. The real Farman was obtained only in January, 1693 after a good deal of struggle involving much correspondence and much expenditure extending years since 1689 (49). Cordiers note, however, puts the year as 1695 (50).

The man who came on the second occasion as the chief representative of the Company was the reputed founder of the Factory at Baleswar, Deslande, by name. Although he was not the pioneer, yet he it is who has appropriated till now all the glory of having laid the foundation of Chandernagore. The most curious thing here is that it was also the same Du Plessis who got on lease a plot of land at Baleswar from Ibrahim Khan, Nawab of Bengal, and established a Factory there; none the less many historians consider Deslande as the founder of the Baleswar Factory (51). Deslande was born at Tours sometime between 1640 and 1650 as the scion of a family of nobles. He came out to India in the reign of Louis XIV as a member of the French East India Company. He married subsequently a daughter of Francis Martin, the founder of Pondicherry (52).

The story of the French settlement in Chandernagore, that is to say, in Bengal, told in brief stands thus. In 1673-1674 Du Plessis secured, with the permission of the Nawab Ibrahim Khan a plot of land lying on the northern side of what is now known as Chandernagore and about four miles to the South of Hugli and erected a Factory there, which was fortified subsequently, perhaps in 1676, for protection against enemies (53). Then

the Dutch managed to win over the Nawab by presents and petitions and drive out the French or perhaps the French left the place of their own accord for reasons of convenience. In 1687 Deslande created a small centre at Bandel and started trade business. Later on as he had dissensions with the missionaries of the Augustan sect (54) or perhaps owing to some other inconvenience (55) he left the place and tried to remove to Hugli (56) But he could not secure a suitable plot here and so petitioned to the Nawab asking permission to erect a separate Factory in the same plot in Chandernagore which Du Plessis had bought. The Dutch came to know of this and once more wrote to the Governor of Hugli and the Nawab. As a result the Company was at first refused permission. Finally, however, through the intercession of Gregory Boulet the Company got the permission to trade, free of duty, on paying a sum of Rs 40,000 to the Mogul govt. and on the same terms as accorded to the Dutch. A merchant named Maccarah rendered great help in this matter. It was settled that of the Rs 40,000 a quarter should be paid immediately and the rest in instalments of Rs 5,000 a year on an interest of 3½ p.c. The interest, however, was subsequently reduced to 2½ p.c. The petition for the Farman was submitted in the beginning of 1689, the acknowledgement of receipt came in November 1691 and it reached the Nawab through the Dewan in Jan. 1693 (57). It was from this time that the French East India Company possessed a large proprietary right in Chandernagore; and this was, as all historians agree, how the first foundation was laid of the French rule in Chandernagore.

(To be concluded.)

(1) La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

(2) Diary of William Hedges Esq; Vol. III. Wilson in his "Early annals of the English in Bengal", Vol. I, gives a map of the Hugli river in the 16th century which shows Chandernagore. But it seems certain that the place was not known as such at that time.

3. "On the right was Hugli and on the left Bhatpara, to the west was Boro and to the east Kankinada. Mulajode and Garulia were also soon passed; and to the west lay now Paikpara and Bhadreswar." *Manasa-Mangal* by Vipradas.

4. "Sadhu carried fresh water on to the boat. The chief shouted, 'Row on, row on.' Sadhu rowed past Garifa and then Gondolpara; he rowed past Jagaddal and reached Na-para." *Kavikankan chandi* edited by Akshaya Ch. Sirkar.

5. "Khalasani mahagrame yatra raja cha dhivarah." *Banglar puravritta* Part I.

6. Bengal District Gazetteer—Hoogly, Vol. XXIX.

7. I had not the opportunity to see the work myself. Sreejot Jogendra Kumar Chattopadhyaya, asst. Editor of Hitabadi, informed me of the ms. which he had seen at the house of the late Pandit Raghunath Vidyabhusan of the village, *Dhanyakheru*, near *Satgachhi*, in the district of Burdwan.

8. Diary of William Hedges Vols. II & III. The author mentions Hugli, Baranagore and other places and would certainly have mentioned Chandernagore had he come across the name.

9. *Patta* of Raja Ram Choudhuri, found among the unpublished records at Pondicherry.

10. A sketch of the Administration of Hooghly District.

11. 'Gracin's Journal' and 'La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.'

(12) (a) The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. II.

(b) Les Colonies Francaises.

(c) Statistical account of Hugli.

(d) L'Inde Francaise.

(e) Bengal District Gazetteers—Hooghly.

(f) Histoire des Missions de l'Inde, Vol. I.

(g) Carey's Tour in the Hugli and Howrah Dist.

(h) Prajabandhu, 27 Kartik, 1289 B.S.

(i) Hooghly, Past and Present.

(13) Prajabandhu, 27 Kartik, 1289 B.S.

(14) In 1700 A.D. the ship "Phelypeaux" carried from this place sandal-wood among other things.—La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

(15) La Compagnie Francaise des Indes (1604-1875).

16. Kshitish Granthavali.

17. Hooghly, Past and Present.

18. Basantaka. An old Periodical, published from 336 Chitpore. I have not been able to decipher the entire phrase.

19. Map of 1767-1769.

20. Deed of grant endowing Sri Sri Radhakanta, the house-hold deity of Sreejut Jogesh Chandra Bandyopadhyaya.

21. ".....to destroy the fortifications of France-dongy....."

Bengal in 1756-1757.

22. La Compagnie Francaise des Indes (1604-1875).

23. The value of one ecu was at that time one English half-crown.

24. (a) Historie de la Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales.

(b) Bengal District Gazetteer—Hooghly

25. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales

26. In 1700, the ship "Phelypeaux" embarked with 150 bales of cloth and the ship "Perle de orient" with a large quantity of Muslin. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

27. The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, vol. I.

28. Bengal District Gazetteer—Hooghly vol XXIX.

29. One league is about 3 miles

30. A measure for land current formerly in France.

31. La Mission du Bengale Occidental, vol. I.

32. "L'Inde Francaise". This work says that the plot of land was bought by Bourean Deslande. The statement cannot be true. For Deslande did not come to Bengal before 1687. M. Cordier's unpublished note fixes 1691 as the year of Deslande's arrival. This is also not correct. For certain

records at Pondichery show that orders were received by him in Chandernagore even in 1690 from the Nawab of Dacca.

Pundicherry Records.

33. Bengal District Gazetteer, Hooghly. vol I. XXIX.

34. Hedge's Diary, vol II.

35. The Early Annals of the English in Bengal

36. Bengal District Gazetteer—Hooghly. vol. XXIX.

37. Chandernagore—The Calcutta Review, 1918.

38. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

39. Documents relating to the sale of Boro Kishanpur—Pondicherry Records.

40. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

41. A Brief History of the Hugli District.

42. La Compagnie Francaise des Indes (1604-1875)

43. (a) Histoire des Missions de L'Inde.

(b) La Mission du Bengale Occidental, Vol. I.

(c) Three Frenchmen in Bengal.

(d) History of the French in India.

(e) A sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District.

(f) Imperial Gazetteer.

(g) Early Annals of the English in Bengal.

44. One hectare equals 8 Bighas and 13 Kathas.

45. La Mission du Bengale Occidental Vol. I.

46. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales and La Mission du Bengale Occidental, Tome I.

47. (a) The Travels of a Hindoo. (b) L'Inde Francaise.

(c) La Compagnie Francaise des Indes (1604-1785)

(d) Bengal District Gazetteer Hooghly.

(e) La Compagnie des Indes Orientales;

(f) Hedges Diary Vol III.

(g) Statistical Accounts of Hugli.

(h) Calcutta Review 1918, Chandernagore.

(i) Imperial Gazetteer

These works have the year as 1672 or 1676. But in the Pondicherry records I have found no reference anterior to 1690 nor have I met there the name of Du Plessis. But that the French had a plot of land measuring atleast 61 Bighas, previous to 1690 can be known from the Parwana of Ibrahim Khan, issued in 1690.

48. History of the French in India.

49. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

50. Unpublished records of Pondicherry.

51. L'Inde Francaise "and" La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

52. Storia do Mogor, Vol. I Introduction.

53. La Mission du Bengale Occidental, Vol. I.

54. Storia do Mogor, Vol. I.

55. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

56. La Mission du Bengale Occidental, Vol I.

This work gives 1691 as the year of the quarrel.

57. La Compagnie des Indes Orientales.

A PRAYER FOR FREEDOM

By SISTER NIVEDITA

Bethink thee how the world did wait,
And search for thee, through time and clime.
Some gave up home and love of friends,
And went in quest of thee self-banished,
'O'er dreary oceans, through primeval forests
Each step a struggle for the life or death.
Then came the day when work bore fruit
And worship, love and sacrifice.
'Fulfilled, accepted and complete.
'Then Thou, propitious, rose to shed
'The light of FREEDOM' on mankind.

Move on, Oh Lord, in thy resistless path
Till thy high morn overspreads the world,
Till every land reflects thy light,
Till men and women, with uplifted head,
Behold their shackles broken, and
Know, in springing joy, their life renewed !

KASHINATH NARAYAN SANE (1851-1927.)

By JADUNATH SARKAR

I

IT is said that when the old Emperor Wilhelm I and Prince Bismarck were standing bare-headed as mourners beside the unfilled grave of Von Moltke, one thought passed through the minds of both,—“Which of us will be the next ?” Similarly, when the news of Rajwade's death on the last day of 1926 followed that of Parasnīs in the preceding March, the thoughts of all who care for Maratha history turned instinctively and silently to the venerable scholar whose tall taciturn and lonely figure until recently used to be seen walking the streets of Kālian every morning, though in his 76th year. The present writer made frequent inquiries about Sane's health from mutual friends in Bombay and was quite unprepared for the news that he had passed away on the 17th March last.

II

Kashinath Narayan Sane was born in a Chitpavan Brahman family in a village near Bassein in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency, in 1851. After receiving his early education in that locality, he entered the Deccan College, Puna, from which he graduated in 1873. Soon afterwards he entered the Government education service, where his strenuous habits of work and love of strict discipline found favour with his superiors and led, in a few years, to his appointment as Principal of the Puna Training College, which he organised and developed with great energy and success. Then, for several years, he was Headmaster of the Government High Schools at Puna and Belgaum in succession. While he was at Belgaum the post of Educational Inspector, Southern Division, fell vacant and was given

to Raoji Balaji Karandikar. Sane felt that his claims to this high office had been unjustly superseded; but his appeal was rejected by the authorities*, and Sane showed his sense of the injustice done to him by retiring on pension before his time.

Thereafter, he devoted himself entirely to the promotion of Marathi literature, especially history. A knowledge of the Marathi language was not demanded by the Bombay University in those days, and Hari Narayan Apte (the novelist) started a scheme for encouraging the study of their mother tongue among College students by granting some scholarships as the result of an examination in Marathi prose and poetry. Sane helped Apte in this good work by acting as honorary examiner for some years. He was on the executive committee of the Historical Society (*Mandal*) of Puna from its foundation (1910) and latterly its President. Government conferred on him the title of Rao Bahadur.

III

Sane was at College with N. J. Kirtane (who was afterwards to print the *Chitnis Bakhar* of Shivaji) and Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar, and imbibed a strong love of history which continued all his life. After leaving College he found that the only materials for Maratha history till then published were four or five instalments of the *Chitnis Bakhar* which had appeared in a general literary magazine named *Vividhajnana-vistar*. He then began to think of bringing out a monthly paper to be specially devoted to the publication of old historical letters. Chiplunkar heard of the idea and urged that in the projected magazine, in addition to historical letters, old unpublished Sanskrit and Marathi poems ought to be included. After some discussion, the idea materialised; a monthly magazine named *Kavyetihas-Sangraha* came out in January 1878, the editors being Sane, Chiplunkar and Janardan Balaji Modak, who took charge respectively of the three sections, Marathi historical letters, Sanskrit poems and Marathi mss. The size was super-royal octavo, 16 pages a month,—sixteen pages being devoted to each section concurrently from month to month.

* A writer in the *Kesari* suggests that Government had got an inkling of Sane's strength of character and silent but blazing patriotism, and helped him in that atmosphere of official excitement and suspicion.

The magazine continued for eleven years. Chiplunkar retired at the end of the fourth year, but Modak carried it on to the end.

At the close of the first year the editors wrote: "Our undertaking has been greatly liked by those who read Marathi from Goa to Karachi and from Hubli-Dharwar to Gwalior and the Nizam's Dominions. We have received unexpected support from men of all classes,—from school masters on Rs. 10 a month to Rao Sahibs and Rao Bahadurs and rich merchants. True, the support has not been sufficiently liberal to enable us to conduct this work regularly and without anxiety. But it has filled us with the hope that it would increase."

Among the important helpers were 26 gentlemen at different centres, who secured old materials or carried on local investigations, sent old manuscripts or copied and annotated them for publication in the *Kavyetihas-Sangraha*. But delay in the payment of subscriptions led to delay in publication, till the number for December 1888 came out exactly twelve months later. Then the paper ceased.

But the *Kavyetihas-Sangraha* could be proud of its achievement. In eleven years it had given to the world 6300 pages, consisting of 22 historical works (great and small), 501 historical letters, petitions etc., 19 large Sanskrit books and 10 collections of Marathi poems. As the editor rightly boasts, "This work marked the revival of the national spirit in Maharashtra after the set back and despair following the disaster of 1817.... A feeling of national pride was kindled. Everywhere there was awakened the desire to publish old historical works and letters".

Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, a very sober and fastidious critic, gave it high praise, saying that this magazine had been a revelation to him of how vast an amount of historical material lay unknown in Maharashtra. So also Dadoba. "The *Kavyetihas-Sangraha* has died, but its spirit liveth. As Ramdas said—True my body is gone away but I still exist in the world!" Its best title to fame was the long array of its children, e.g., the *Kavya-mala* series of Bombay (which printed Sanskrit mss. only), the *Bharatvarasha* magazine of Parasnis (two years 1896-1897), Khare's *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha* (1896-1926, 13 vols) Rajwade's *Marathanchhya Itihasanchin Sadhnen* (1898-1926, 22 vols.), Vad's *Peshwa's Diaries* (11 vols.), Parasnis's *Itihas Sangraha* (6 years), *Ramdas ani Ramdasi*, and

Itihas ani Aitihasik, besides the publications of the Puna Mandal. *

IV

Besides the collection of Marathi historical letters (*Patren Yadi vaghaire*) which he published by instalments in the *Karyetihas Sangraha*, Sane separately printed the *Sabhasad Bakhar* of Shivaji (which went into six editions in his life time), the *Chitnis Bakhar* (of which the volumes dealing with Shivaji's successors were issued by him for the first time, while of the Shivaji volume he brought out a richly annotated second edition in 1924), *Bhan Sahib's Bakhar* (three editions), the *Panipat Bakhar*, and Kamechandra Pant Amatya's *Rajniti*. While his editions of the *Sabhasad* and *Chitnis bakhars* are marked by minute accuracy in giving variations of reading and scrupulous fidelity to the original he spoiled the *Bhan Sahib's Bakhar* by modernising and simplifying the text for the benefit of schoolboy readers! This is opposed to the canons of scholarship. A diary which kept in his service days, describing the topography and remains of many old places all over Maharashtra, has been published anonymously in the *Vividha-jnan-vistar*.

V

In his character, he was an example of the best type of Chitpavan Brahmans,—as G. K. Gokhale was. A stern disciplinarian, with a strong and independent nature, he was very tidy and punctual in his habits, and gave in his own life a fine illustration

* Pancham Sammelan Britta, pp. 113 et seq.

of that orderliness, method and minute accuracy which he insisted on in others. In reading his works, as in conversation with him, one was impressed not by the depth of his scholarship, but by his admirable precision, methodical habit and strength of mind. Indeed, Sane's sanity was a pleasing surprise among modern Marathi writers on history.

His private life was what one would expect from such a character. His grown up and distinguished son, a vakil of the Bombay High Court, died of the terrible influenza epidemic which swept over the world just after the Great War. Sane's heart was made desolate, but his back was unbent. He kept up his regular habit of taking daily exercise by a morning walk. When, in 1924, I paid a visit to Kalian solely for the purpose of seeing him again I found the old man returning on foot from the Durgadi side, a slim, vigorous, perfectly erect figure, who struck even a stranger as a commanding personality. Indeed, he reminded one most of the late Justice Sir Chandra Madhar Ghosh, whose aged thin but stiff and dignified form could be seen taking his customary walk on the *maidan* of Calcutta every morning almost to the day of his death.

The end was worthy of the man. Sane retained his mental powers to the last. In extreme age, he began to languish, but his brain remained as fresh as ever, and he was ready to examine and accept any new idea. When doctors forbade him to leave his room he took his customary exercise on its floor. For the last fifteen days he gradually grew weaker and weaker, and at last sank peacefully to rest in full consciousness, without pain and without repining, like a ripe fruit dropping from its stem.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor *The Modern Review*.]

Portrait of Gurn Gobind Singh

I.

The Frontis-piece of your "Modern Review" for March 1927 representing the portrait of Gurn

Gobind Singh is the most unbecoming of its kind. It shows him with a shaved head and a trimmed beard. This is quite the reverse of what the Gurn actually observed. He was never dressed like a Brahman (shaved-headed), nor did he look

like a Mughal Emperor. On the other hand, he was always dressed as a hero and a saint, both combined.

SHANSHER SINGH.

II

Please permit me to make a few observations on the portrait of Guru Gobind Singh published in the *Modern Review* March, 1927.

I admit the artist drew this picture all in good spirit and never dreamt of injuring the feelings of the Sikhs. For all his honest efforts I cannot help saying that it was a great failure. It betrays total ignorance of the artist about the Sikh Gurus and their religion. It is very sad that the artist is ignorant of even the fundamental principles of the Sikhs. (1) You can see no Sikh without hair and beard except under special circumstances. He prefers death to the removal of hair. When Banda Bahadur, a Sikh hero, was asked by the Mughals in his prison to cut the hair of his son with his own hands, the former could not bear such an idea and he preferred to see the head of his son cut off along with hair.

I, therefore, need not write that the Sikh

feelings have been greatly injured to see their great Guru represented without hair. It is quite apparent from the picture that his hair has been cut short.

(2) Secondly, the great master always used to wear a crest on his head. And in Sikh history he is always represented with a hawk and indeed he is called the Lord of the white hawk.

(3) He never wore any ear-ring and he preached against this custom of the Punjabis. Again the mechanical use of a thing has no place in Sikhism. The turning of the rosary is not a form of worship of the Sikhs and yet this master has been represented with a rosary round his neck.

He is shown here as wearing a type of moustache generally worn by the Mahamadans. One is sure to take this picture for one of a Musalman.

A person outside the Punjab can hardly distinguish a Sikh from a Mahamadani although a Sikh has quite a distinct look.

I wonder why the Bengalees, otherwise so widely read, are ignorant of the Sikhs. Is it not indeed sad that they know all about England, Europe and America and very little about their own countrymen?

PHULA SINGH, B.A.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND CHRISTIANITY: By Puthencattil O. Philip, B. A. Published by the Christian Literature Society, Madras. Pp. 52. Price four annas.

The author has described in this book-let the condition of the depressed classes and also what Christianity has done and can do for them.

The author frankly admits that the admission of the depressed classes in large numbers acts as a downward pull on the Christian community and prevents Indian Christianity from coming to its own is a serious objection urged against mass movements (p. 49).

The booklet is worth reading.

THE HIDDEN POWER IN MAN: By M. N. Ganega Iyer. Published by P. K. Vinayag Mudaliar & Co. Secunderabad, Madras. Pp. 482. Price Rs. 2-8.

Crude, uncritical and irrational.

THE VISHNU PURANA: A SUMMARY WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES: By J. M. Macfie. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India. PP-258.

It is a good and readable summary of the whole book. Some of the points discussed in the introduction are Pantheism plus Polytheism. The Hindu Triad, the development of Vishnu, Vishnu's incarnations, the story of Krishna's life, Heaven and Hell, Sins and Sorrows, Transmigration and Karma, Hindu Chronology, etc.

It is a different book from the Vishnu Purana published in the series called the "Sacred Books of the East described and examined"

WORSHIP IN ISLAM: By Rev E. E. Calver bay, Ph. D. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India. Pp 241. Price Rs. 2-8.

It is a translation of Al-Ghazzali's book of the Ihya on the worship with commentary and introduction.

In the introduction the author deals with the following subjects :—

- (1) The word sala and its meanings. (2) The performance of the worship. (3) The parts of the worship. (4) The kinds of the worship. (5) Other expressions of the divine life.

A useful publication.

SELF-REALISATION : By Syamananda Brahmachary. Published by Govinda Chandra Mukherjee, Benares Cantt. Pp. 288+2. Price Rs. 2. Paper bound. Rs. 2-8 (cloth).

In this book the author discusses the following points—condition of deluded people ; Deception of Maya, Maya-Theory propounded, the theory of opposites.

How to get rid of Jivatwa : Worship of Maya and Truth (Symbolization, Kali and Siva etc.), The Researcher, Karma and Bhramti, Rebirth, Responsibility, the Self, the Realiser, the Realisation.

Written from the standpoint of Absolute Vedantism.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSE

INSURANCE VADE MECUM, 1926. A Companion Book for the Agent and Manager: Insurer and Insurant. Published by the Insurance Publicity Company, Lahore. Price with Accounts Supplement Rs. 2-12.

FINANCIAL SUPPLEMENT TO INSURANCE VADE MECUM, 1926. Statistical Analysis of the Working of LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANIES IN INDIA together with summary of Accounts. Price As. 8 or 10 d. net : In cloth As. 12.

Useful publications. We recommend them to all interested in insurance. The get-up might be improved.

THE SHADOW OF THE DEAD : A PLAY IN FOUR ACTS : By J. N. Mitra, M.A., printed at the Anglo-Oriental Press, Lucknow. Pp. 42. Price Re. 1.

A drama, we are told, and a tragedy in its ostentatious display of thunderstorms and wrecks, the book has for its hero an orphan, brought up in luxury by rich foster-parents and married to their only beautiful daughter. Love, death, piety, devotion are sufficient materials for a tragic dramatist ; but this one, a menagerie of all these is only a tangle of confused scenes of a highly got-up pictorial effect. The characters are shadowy, and the purpose is evidently absent,—the whole thing being shot with the proverbial frenzy of authorship.

SHAKESPEARE AND THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA : By P. Ramathanan, M. A. Published by C. Subbiah chetty & Co. Book-sellers, Triplicane, Madras.

The greatest mystery (though Mysteries there are in this book) is how it could run into a second edition. Written in the language of text-book annotations it is a confused heap of informations, necessary and even otherwise. Crammed in a dry uninteresting and mechanical way, the study on Shakespeare is based upon that of Dowden. Although frequent references have been made to critics such weighty names as Bradley and Moulton seem to be almost unknown to the author. The last-chapter on Restoration and XVIII century drama

is an unmeaning tail. A rigmarole of scrapny and diffused treatment of loose and disjointed thoughts, the book can hardly be of any use to those for whom it is intended.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO PUBLIC FINANCE : By Kesari Singh Pancholy, B. A., LL. B. Lately Indian Tutor to His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa. Price Rs. 5 Pp. 106. To be had of the manager, "For Young Princes" series. Rewa C. I.

After expounding the general principles of his subject in a brief introductory chapter, the author proceeds to examine and explain their working in the four following ones on 'Public Expenditure,' 'Public Income,' 'Public Debt' and 'Budget.' Only the scantiest elements of the subject are given but the exposition is lucid and systematic. Even the fact that it belongs to the "For Young Princes" series does not justify, though perhaps it explains, the high price of the book, which is prohibitive for those who are not princes.

H. S.

GANDHI AND AUROBINDO : By B. C. Chatterjee. Published by the Calcutta Publishers, College Street Market, Calcutta. Price not mentioned.

The book under review appeared, so far as we can remember, by instalments in some noted daily in Calcutta, and excited admiration from the public for its masterly handling of the two great figures of the present-day India. Gandhi and Aurobindo stand as two apostles of faith and of action, in whom the consciousness of re-generation of a fallen race has taken a definite shape. The author summarises that the non-violent non-co-operation movement of Gandhi is not entirely a new theory, and that a similar agitation of the form of passive resistance was inaugurated by Aurobindo in the Bengal Partition days, which was soon followed by a revolutionary movement. And from behind the non-co-operation movement also are already visible the flames of revolutionary fire. The way to get rid of 'the calamity is to accept the almost prophetic doctrine of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, viz., the use of partial *Swaraj* as a step and means towards complete *Swaraj*.' In recounting the lives of the two patriots, the author has given us a nice, vivid and genuine history of the renaissance of modern India. His style is charming and vigorous. The Right Honourable V.S. Srinivasa Sastri has added to the value of this brief history of Indian Nationalism by affixing to it a pithy and wise foreword.

STORIES FROM VETALA PANCHAVINSATI : By Ramchandra Acharya, B. A. The Students' Store, Berhampore (Ganjam). Price As. 2½, 1926.

SEETA : By Godavarish Misra, M. A., B. T. The Students' Store, Berhampore (Ganjam). Price As. 4. 1926.

Two little books intended for children. The stories have been told in clear and simple English. The books will please those for whom they are written.

UPANISHADS (THE KATHA, THE KENA AND THE ISHA) : By Surendranath Basu, B. A. Published by Atmasakti Library, Book-sellers and Publishers, College Square, Calcutta.

The book contains translations of some notable extracts from the *Isha Kena* and *Katha Upanishads*. The translations are not bad.

LEADERS OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras Price Rs. 1-8

It is a record of the lives and achievements of the pioneers of the Brahmo movement, namely, Ram Mohan Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Kesav Chandra Sen, Pratapchandra Mazumdar, Sasipada Banerjee, Ananda Mohan Bose and Sivanath Sastri. Messrs. Natesan & Co., never lag behind the progress of the time. They are always up-to-date. The present volume like many others on different subjects bears testimony to the publishers' sagacity in bringing to the easy reach of the public, world of informations in a nutshell with a price admirably suiting the pockets of the poor Indian readers. The book is valuable.

RAMANAND TO RAM TIRATH. Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras Price Rs. 1-8.

The book contains the lives of the saints of Northern India and of the Sikh Gurus. They are Kabir, Guru Nanak, Vallabhacharya, Tulasi Das, Guru Govind, Swami Virajanand, Swami Dayanand and Swami Ram Tirath. Several illustrations have made the book more interesting. It is a nice book on the evolution of religious thought in India.

INDIA AND HER PEOPLE : By Swami Abhedananda. Published by Satish Chandra Mukherjee, "Basumati" Office, 166 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta Price Rs. 2.

The book is a compilation of a series of lectures delivered by the Swami before the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences during the season of 1905-1906. It is divided into seven chapters comprising seven lectures on the philosophy, religion, education, society, political institutions, etc., of India. To sum up, the volume is an exposition of India ancient and modern. It covers the Indian life not only in its religious aspects but also in its practical ways. So it is an all-round account of India and her people. Those, foreigners or Indians, who will feel an interest to know about India proper, will be highly helped by this work of supreme importance. The book is completely devoid of exaggerations, which, the writers of such accounts, are prone to make. Every library and every educated man of India should possess a copy of this volume—it is so helpful, informative and instructive.

P. SENGUPTA

KENYA. By Norman Leys, M. P., D. P. II. Third Edition (1926) 4s 6d. The Hogarth Press, London.

In the some four hundred pages of this book, Dr. Leys has chosen to give us a picture of the life in Kenya. The author is eminently fitted for such a task for he has an intimate knowledge of the life and conditions in Kenya having spent years in medical service in various parts of Africa. We do not know of any earlier effort to record Kenya life on a scale like that attempted here and we therefore welcome this pre-ent effort.

The book may be roughly divided into two portions—on historical and the other typical or current. The historical survey begins from very early times and records how Kenya came under British influence and how it has changed in modern times coming

down to practically 1923. The author next gives us a description of the industrial activities of the British people there; their economic and social conditions. There is also a chapter on Christian missions, one on the Masai and one on Black and White. The book has a note on the future of Kenya.

There is however one striking defect in the book. It is strong that in a book having the name of the whole extent of a country as its caption there is not much reference—barring of course, casual—of the indigenous people and of those Indians who decades ago settled and still live in Kenya. As noted above there is a chapter on the African tribe known as Masai and some explanation is attempted there for the absence of description of other local tribes. But no explanation as to the omission of a chapter on those Indians who have largely helped to make Kenya an inviting country!

Nevertheless we feel constrained to say that the author has largely succeeded in his aim in this book which he has throughout written sympathetically and he deserves our congratulations. The book has an index, an appendix and an introduction by Professor Gilbert Murray and is bound to serve politicians and historians well.

R. C. G.

HINDI

GRAHA KA PHER : Translated by Syamsundar Dwivedi 'Suhrid', M.B., B.A. [?] Published by "Chand" Office, Allahabad, 1925. Pp. 109.

An unknown Bengali novel by one Mr. Jogendra Nath Chaudhuri, M.A. is translated into Hindi.

ISVARIA NYAYA : By Mr. Ramdas Gaur. Published by the Ganga Pustak-mala Office, Lucknow 1925 Pp. 87.

Mr. Gaur presents this drama which is, as it says, based on actual facts. The prologue in the form of old Sanskrit Nandi, and the long poetical quotations are too much for the modern readers.

HINDI BAIJUT SADDAYALI : By Pandit Kesavdas Misra and Mr. Ramnath Singh. Published by R. N. Singh, 232, Bhadaini, Benares. 1925 Pp. 60.

The attempt of the authors to coin this Hindi Electrical Glossary will be found useful. Prof. B. C. Chatterjee, the well-known Electrical Engineer recommends it in his Prologue.

SURYA-SIDDHANTA, PARTS I, II : By Mahabirprasad Srivastava, B.Sc., L.T. Published by the Varanasi Press. Pp. 321.

The two chapters of the Sanskrit Surya Siddhanta called 'madhyamadhikara' and 'apstadhikara' are ably edited with a good commentary which is named 'Vijnana-bhasya'. The maps, charts, diagrams and mathematical calculation, will be found useful to the students of Indian Astronomy. The appendix gives a list of the technical terms.

SVADHARMA KR. PETAJI : By Bhadrakrishna Lal. Published by the "Pratap" Office, Calcutta 1925 Pp. 226.

Short life-sketches of the patriots of Russia.

stood against Czarism and suffered for their political convictions, are given in this work. It may be noted that these facts of history are often stranger than fiction. There are several portraits.

KRANTIKARI RAJKUMAR; *Pyaremohan Chaturvedi*. Published by the "Pratap" Office, Cawnpur, 1925. Pp. 267.

The autobiography of Prince Kropotkin who was exiled in Siberia is charming as a work of fiction. There is a portrait of the Prince on the cover.

MANOVIJANA : By Prof. Sudhakar, M. A. The Indian Printing Works, Gwalmandi, Lahore. Pp. 272.

A very useful and popular treatise on Psychology. The author lightly touches upon the interesting topics of Educational Psychology, Experimental Psychology, Psycho-therapy, Sexology, Race Psychology and Industrial Psychology.

RAMES BASU.

BENGALI

VISVA-BHARATI PUBLICATIONS :

GHARE BAIRE. 4th Edition. Price Rs. 2. 8.

GALPA GUCHCHA. 1st., 2nd., and 3rd Part. Price Re. 1-8 each.

SAMAJ. 4th Edition. Price 14 As.

RAKTA KARABI. First Edition. Price Re. 1 12 As.

GITIMALYA. 4th Impression. Price not mentioned.

GITAMALIKA. First Part. First Edition. Price Re. 1. 8 As.

KATHA O KAHINI. 9th Edition. Price Re. 1. 4 As.

With the exception of *Gitamalika* and *Rakta-karabi* all the above publications of the Visva Bharati are either new editions or reprints of some of Rabindranath Tagore's already published works.

The opening paragraph of *Ghare Baire* as it appeared in serial form in the Bengali monthly *Sabuj-Patra* has been restored in this edition and it is a delight to read those splendid lines with which the heroine *Bimala* begins her story. We may mention also that an English translation of it appeared in the *Modern Review* under the title of "At Home and Abroad."

If we leave aside the quadruplet, *Chaturanga*, which is more a novel than a collection of stories, with the short stories of Rabindranath are now presented, for the first time within the compass of a single series, in the *Galpa-Guchcha*. Previous editions of *Galpa-Guchcha*, were complete in five parts and even then they did not include all the stories some of which were published in separate volumes. In the present edition, the stories have been arranged chronologically, with the year and month of writing mentioned at the bottom of each.

Gitimalya and *Katha O Kahini* mark no departure either in size or arrangement from previous editions.

Rakta Karabi a symbolic drama which first appeared in *Prabasi* over three years ago and

which has since been translated into English under the title of *Red Oleanders* is now offered to the public for the first time in book-form as also is *Gitamalika*, which contains some of the poet's latest songs (with music appended to each). We congratulate the Visva Bharati publication department on the decent get-up of these volumes but we regret to note that there are occasional misprints which may puzzle the unfamiliar reader who may be deceived into ascribing to the author those vagaries of the text which are due to the pranks of the printer's devil.

H. S.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF BENGALI MANUSCRIPTS Vol. I.—By Professor Basantoranjan Roy Vidyad-vallabh. and Mr. Basantakumar Chatterjee, M.A. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1926. pp. XXXVII+252+2.

This volume of the Catalogue deals with 418 Ramayana MSS. preserved in the Bengali MSS. Library and the University of Calcutta, of which specimens are given from 286. The descriptions are fairly complete and the peculiarities are noted. Professor Ray who is responsible for the text is the best authority on old Bengali. Besides the well-known *Krittivasa* we have here a number of Bengali writers on the various episodes of the Ramayana. The MSS. are mostly modern rescensions, the oldest is dated 1580 A.D. and several others belong to the 17th century. The *Raybara* poems which are composed in the so-called *Bhat* dialect are a class by themselves owing to their diction and metre. Mr. Chatterjee in his long Introduction has dealt with various topics, such as, the Ramayana poets, non-Valmikian elements in the Bengali Ramayanas, etc. There is however, no attempt at the filiation of the texts, which is so important a preliminary to scientific study,

RAMES BASU,

GUJARATI

SWATANTRA NO DAVO : By Pranshankar Someshwar Joshi of Johannesburg. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, paper cover. Pp. 56 Price Re. 0-8-0 (1926).

A spirited translation of Rev. C. F. Andrews' "Claim for Independence." We trust it will be read widely.

DAMPATI VARTALAP : By Jivanlal Karsanji Thakkar. Printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press Ahmedabad, paper cover. Pp. 168. Price Re. 0-14-0 (1926)

In the shape of forty nightly dialogues between a rising young husband and his equally young bride, the writer has elaborated principles of social and domestic uplift, interspersing them with humorous interludes.

VIHARINI : By Janardan Prabhaskar, printed at the Khadaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover Pp. 71. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1926).

Mr. Janardan is not a tyro in the field of versification. Many of the verses collected and printed in this little book have appeared in various monthlies, but the one feature of it that attracts attention is

the foreword written by Mr. Khabardar, which is of a practical nature and appraises the work at its proper value. He rightly says that the writer is not "an epoch-maker".

KANNAD DE PRABANDHI: *by Dahyabhai Pitambar Das Derasari, Bar-at-law. Printed at the Vasant Press, Ahmedabad, cloth bound. Pp. 24+24+253. Price. Rs. 3-8 (1926).*

This is the second edition of an old Gujarati historical poem, the text of which was edited by Mr. Derasari some years ago. We then acknowledged the great service done to our literature by him by the publication.

This second edition has added to its value by the further furnishing of many useful features: a scholarly and interesting observation as the poem by Mr. Narsinh Rao Divatia, a thorough revision of the notes, an outline map of the places mentioned in the poem, are some of them. Mr. Derasari has been so very saturated with the spirit of the old language as actually to be able to compose a poem in it!

BAL CHANDRA: *By Giridhar Sharma, of Jhalra Patan, printed at the Aditya Press, Ahmedabad, cover. (illustrated) Pp. 80. Price Re. 1-0 (1926).*

Kavi Giridhara Sharma is well-known for his Hindi scholarship. He is equally at home in Gujarati, in which he takes great interest, which is testified to by this small book of verses, which is a (verse) translation of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore's *The Crescent Moon*.

It gives pretty good idea of the original.

INDIA IN THE TIMES OF AURANGZEB: *By Nadi. Printed at the Islam Press, Bombay. Paper Cover. Pp. 183. (1926).*

The history of this book is as follows: Mr. J. R. Roy wrote an article called "India in the times of the Moguls". To the Chief Justice of H.E.H. the Nizam's High Court, Mirza Yarjang Samiullah Beg it appeared to be unfair, and he replied to it in Urdu, under the above name, and the present author has translated it from Urdu into Gujarati, with a view to show that the last of the great Mogul Emperors has been thus judged and the adverse opinions passed on his administration and religious ideas are unfair. By means of quotations from the works of European writers of the times the other side of the shield is tried to be presented. The quotations are full of information and naturally provoke thought. We want the book to secure many readers.

K. M. J.

MARATHI

MARATHI LITERATURE and WRITERS OF BARODA: *By G. R. Dandawate. Publisher—The Educational Dept. of the Baroda State. Price As. eleven.*

This book gives an interesting account of Marathi writers, past and present, in Baroda and the service rendered by them to the Marathi Literature

DESABANDHU C. R. DAS: *Published by Gojate Company. Price As 8.*

A biographical sketch of the late C. R. Das with extracts from obituary notices in the Press.

THE HOME ENGLISH GUIDE. *By G. S. Sardar. Price As. 8.*

The author has sufficiently long experience of teaching English to Indian boys and girls and has close acquaintance with the difficulties that Indian students have to face in acquiring a fair knowledge of a foreign language. This ought to be a sufficient guarantee for the usefulness of the new method he has devised for facilitating the teaching of English to Indian beginners. The method deserves a fair trial and from what I have seen of the book I feel no hesitation in saying that it will prove successful.

HINDU-DHARMA-SHIKSHANA, BOOK II: *By Mahadev Shastri Divakar. Publisher—Tilak Vidyapeeth, Poona.*

This is an outcome of the resolution passed two years ago at the Teachers' Conference held under the auspices of the Tilak National University with regard to the preparation of suitable text-books for religious instruction to be used in Primary and lower Secondary schools. The tone of the instruction conveyed is liberal and suited to the present times.

RAJ KUMARANCHEN SANGOPANA: *'A disciple of Madhav.' Pages 200. Price Rs. Two.*

The author who belongs to an aristocratic family in Gwalior seems to be alive to the entirely wrong way in which Indian Princes are being brought up and educated under the influence of a foreign Government. These evils are vividly set forth in the book and the right lines on which their training must go are laid down. The author has freely drawn upon the 'General Policy'—a monumental work by the late Maharaja Madhavaram Scindia—in the preparation of the book, and has gratefully acknowledged the inspiration and the light received from His late Highness. The book ought to be read, thought over, and digested not only by Indian Princes but also their nobility who have the interests of their sons at heart.

V. G. ARTS.

SANSKRIT

RASAGRANTHAMALA *Edited by Rajavaidya Jivarama Kalidasa - Shastri Ayurvedacharya. Rasashastra Granthabhandara, Gondal, Kathiawar.*

This is a series the object of which is to publish *rasa-sastras* or works dealing with chemistry or alchemy as developed in India. The editor has in his library a good collection of very rare and valuable Mss. of such works, of which the following four have been published and sent to us:

1. **RASENDRAMANGALA** (Pp. 68, Price Annas 12)

Its authorship is attributed to Nagarjuna, who is said to have been the author, among others, of the *Rudrayamala*, a work on dhatuvada, of which the first two parts, *Dhatukalpa* and *Paradhatukalpa* have been secured by the editor. It has a few other parts, not yet found. The present edition of the *Rasendramangala* is based on three Mss., all

them being very incorrect and incomplete. Consequently we could not have the entire work in the edition, there being only the first four chapters out of eight, as the author himself says in the beginning of his book.

2. *RASAKAMADHENU of Cudamani*. Pp. 417. Price, Rs. 4.

It is divided in four *padas* or parts, of which the present volume contains only the fourth, *Chikitsa* or treatment of diseases, prescribing various medicines according to the kind of disease. The first three parts, viz., *Upakarana*, *Dhatusangraha*, and *Risakarma*, may have come out by this time under the editorship of Vaidyanaja Yadavaji Trikamji Acharya, Holihakla, Bombay.

3. *Mantrakhandā* of Nityanatha (Pp. 144. Price Rs 2.)

It forms the fifth part of a work called *Rasratnakara*, of which the first two parts, *Rasathanda* and *Rasendrakhandā*, have already been published in Calcutta and Bombay and the fourth in Bombay edited by Vaidyanaja Yadavaji Trikamji, while the third part *Risiddhakhandā* is being published by the present editor in his monthly in Gujarati, *Parada*. The *Mantrakhandā* contains various kinds of *mantras* or formulas for charm, spell, or magic. Those who want to get rid of troubles from bugs, mosquitoes, rats, snakes, flies or other such insects, may try some of the remedies given in the book (Pp. 63-64)!

4. *Rasaprakasasudhakara* of Yosadhara (Pp. 183, Price Rs. 2.)

It deals with alchemy, besides the purification etc. of such metals as quick-silver, gold, silver, copper and so forth.

We welcome the series. Though the books are not so critically edited as could be desired, yet they have much value which cannot be denied.

VIDYUSHKRARA BHATTACHARYA.

FRENCH

REACTIONS DE LA MATIERE VIVANTE ET NON VIVANTE. PHYSIOLOGIE DE L'ASCENSION DE LA SEVE. PHYSIOLOGIE DE LA PHOTOSYNTHESE. Par, Sir J. C. Bose—published by Gauthier-Villars, Paris.

The series of standard works on diverse activities of the life of plant by Sir J. C. Bose have roused keen and universal interest. The most important advances in physiology have hitherto been to a great extent the contributions made by German and French savants. The methods originated by them have been followed in other countries with success; it is only third-hand knowledge, often antiquated, that reached India.

It is a matter of much gratification that the tide has now turned, and the original contributions made by Sir J. C. Bose by the imitation of perfectly novel methods have not only opened out new fields of exploration, but also established a wider synthesis in the phenomena of life. His works have already been translated and published by some leading German publishers. There was still a large demand for them in the Latin Countries, and Messrs. Gauthier-Villars, the

eminent scientific publisher of Paris, are bringing out French editions of Sir J. C. Bose's works, of which the three books under review have just been published.

The scope of these works will be understood from the Preface written by M. Mangin, Member of the Institute and Director of Natural History Museum of Paris, whose unique contributions in plant-physiology are universally regarded as classical. We give below a free translation of the greater part of the preface.

"Sir Jagadis Bose has for a long time been devoted to the detection and measurement of the most delicate phenomena of plant life such as gaseous interchanges, growth, movements of the sap etc. As an inventor of rare ingenuity he has devised a whole series of apparatus which by their sensitiveness surpass all those known hitherto and which inscribe automatically the most delicate manifestations of the vegetable life thus avoiding errors which are inevitable in personal observations.

"His work on the Physiology of Photosynthesis is most suggestive in this respect. The measurement of chlorophyllic gaseous exchanges, sources of stored energy on which depend the life of all beings etc., were attempted until now by tedious methods of analysis of too long a duration to secure the constancy of the numerous factors on which the accuracy of measurement of photosynthesis depends. Photosynthesis can be measured from the volume of carbonic acid gas absorbed or from the oxygen disengaged or from the increase of weight of the organs due to assimilation of carbon.

"Sir Jagadis Bose has utilized the well-known characteristic of aquatic plants, which disengage series of bubbles of oxygen when subjected to insolation, these increasing or decreasing according to the intensity of illumination.

"He has invented an apparatus "The Bubbler" for measurement of pure oxygen bubbles of constant volume emitted at regular intervals in proportion to the intensity of chlorophyll activity.

"To this apparatus he has added an automatic recorder for the record of successive oxygen bubbles, the automatic method being free from the errors of personal observation.

"For a source of artificial light the author employs a special lamp the Pointolite consisting of a luminous point making it possible to obtain variations of rigorously defined intensity of light.

"With the aid of these instruments it is possible to complete experiments within a short time and thus avoid the fatigue of the plant which vitiate the results. The action of diverse factors which intervene in the photosynthesis can also be easily isolated, these factors being temperature, luminous intensity and composition of the atmosphere.

"The study of the assimilation in the natural conditions of illumination is difficult, because the intensity of sunlight, direct or diffuse undergoes variations which is not perceived by the human eye. The difficulty has been overcome by Sir J. C. Bose's invention of the electric photometer by which the most feeble variations of intensity can be measured with precision.

"Numerous are the problems elucidated by the author which could not be solved by the existing methods. As it is impossible to give an account of all of them, I shall content myself only with a short summary of the results obtained of the

action of formic aldehyde. It is known that this body is considered as the initial product of the synthesis of carbohydrates. This hypothesis seemed to be in contradiction to the well-established fact of the toxicity of formic aldehyde on plants. Sir Jagadis has shown that an extremely small dose of this aldehyde far from being poisonous, increases the activity of assimilation. This substance is immediately polymerised after formation, so that there is no toxic dose accumulated in the cells.

"It is already a magnificent achievement to be able to analyse with his instruments, with a precision hitherto unknown, the different factors which intervene in photosynthesis.

"The clarity of the method of exposition adds further to the originality of the work and reveals Sir Jagadis Bose not only as an impeccable experimenter but also an incomparable professor."

X

LETTERS FROM THE EDITOR

VIII.

The city of Geneva is the capital of the Swiss canton of the same name. It is situated at the south-western extremity of the beautiful lake of the same name, which is also called Lake Lemán, and is the largest in central Europe. It is formed by the river Rhone, which enters it at its east end near Villeneuve and quits it at its west end, flowing through the city of Geneva. The lake is crescent-shaped, the east end being broad and rounded and the west end tapering towards the city of Geneva, where consequently one recalls Byron's phrase, "the blue rushing of the arrowy Rhone" (*Childe Harold*, canto iii, stanza 71). The waters of this lake are as clear as glass and unusually blue. An idea of their transparency may be formed from the fact that the limit of visibility of a white disk is 33 feet in winter and 21¼ feet in summer. A number of lake dwellings, of varying dates, have been found on the shores of the lake. Mont Blanc is visible from it, and, although sixty miles distant, is often reflected in its waters. Mirages are sometimes observed on the lake.

Geneva is an old city, its history being traceable to the second century B. C. It was formerly surrounded by walls, and consisted of clusters of narrow and ill-drained streets; but since the accession of the radical party to power in 1847 the town has been almost entirely rebuilt in modern style. The old walls have been removed, the streets widened and well-paved, and new and commodious quays built along the

shores of the lake and river. The Rhone forms two islands in its course through the town. On one of these, laid out as a public pleasure-ground, is a statue of Rousseau in a sitting posture. I visited this spot several times in the company of friends.

The population of Geneva was 135,059 in 1920. Besides this it has a considerable floating population during the League Assembly meetings and the sessions of various international conferences. Geneva is famous as a theological, literary and scientific centre. It has given birth to the Casaubons; to Rousseau; to the physicist De Saussure; to the naturalists De Candolle, Charles Bonnet, and the Pictets; to Necker; to Amiel; etc. Other names connected with Geneva, either as natives or as residents, are Calvin, Bonivard, Scaliger, Sismondi, Alphonse Favre, etc. The principal edifices are the cathedral of St. Peter (1124); the town-hall, where the *Alabama* arbitrators met in 1872; the academy, founded in 1559 by Calvin, and converted in 1873 into a university with a great library; the International Reformation Monument (1917) facing the University; the magnificent theatre, opened in 1879; the Salle de la Reformation, where the League Assembly meetings are held; the Russian Church; the new post office; and the Hotel des Nations (seat of the League of Nations). The principal museums are the Rath Museum; the Fol Museum, with collections of Greek, Roman, and Etruscan antiquities; the Athenaeum, devoted to the fine arts; and

the museum of natural history, containing De Saussure's geological collection, admirable collections of fossil plants, etc. The Rousseau Museum, though not large, is also worth a visit. I found there portraits of Rousseau of various kinds and sizes, and all the different editions of his works hitherto published, besides some of his manuscripts.

Geneva boasts of a fine observatory, and of a number of technical schools where watch-making, chemistry, medicine, commerce, fine arts, etc., are taught. It is well-supplied with charitable institutions, hospitals, etc.

Fairs have been held periodically in the vicinity of Geneva since the thirteenth century, frequented by Italian, French, and Swiss merchants.

The city is divided into two portions by the lake, and by the river Rhone, which flows westwards under the seven bridges by which the two halves of the town communicate with each other.

Many of the fashionable hotels of Geneva are situated on a road running parallel to the quay on the northern shore of the lake. These hotels command a view of the lake and mountain scenery. In the evenings the quay is frequented by large numbers of people of all ages and both sexes. On Sundays and other holidays, the steamers, motor launches, motor boats, and other water-craft of various descriptions are so overcrowded with men and women and children of all ranks and classes that it appears as if the whole of Geneva were out on pleasure bent. Such outings conduce to the health and efficiency of the population. Both shores of the lake are dotted with cafes and restaurants at convenient points, where the water-craft touch. Chairs and tables are to be found placed under shady trees, and one can sit there with one's family or friends and order any kinds of refreshments, and have a game of cards, etc., if one likes. After spending almost the whole day in the open air, the excursionists return home late in the afternoon or in the evening. Besides water-craft, some use the railway, too; and those who have their own automobiles use them for these excursions.

The soil of the canton of Geneva is not naturally fertile, but has been rendered so by the industry of the inhabitants. Consequently gardening and vine and fruit growing are pursued as industries very profitably. One afternoon, after taking tea and some refreshment's at a cafe on the southern shore

of the lake, I strolled along a rather narrow road bordered by orchards. I noted with admiration how by means of intensive cultivation a considerable number of pear, apple and peach trees had been grown on small plots of land measuring only a few square yards each, and how the branches of very small trees were almost overweighted with fruit. I also noticed with admiration how the branches of some fruit-trees which are not creepers had been trained to run along the wires of fences and bear an abundant crop of fruit. Wherever one might go in Switzerland, one would find the mountain slopes covered with vineyards, fruit trees, etc.

Besides being engaged in agricultural industries, the people manufacture watches, articles of *bijouterie*, musical boxes, chronometers, mathematical instruments, pottery, etc.,

Geneva appeared to me on the whole free from dirt and dust. The buildings were also fine, though, as in many other towns of Europe, the architecture was rather monotonous and devoid of art. There are some well-kept public gardens. Considering the size of the town, the number of hotels is rather large. That is no doubt due to Switzerland being a tourists' country and Geneva being a city of various international gatherings.

It was vacation time when I visited the University. So I saw only the buildings and some of the rooms. In a hall I saw the busts of professors, mostly dead and some, I presume, still alive. As was to be expected, the faces were all intelligent-looking. But what at the time I was impressed with was the calm, passionless expression of self-control in them. Most of the Europeans in India are Britishers. As I have not seen all or most of them, I cannot say how all or most of them look. But from the Britishers and their real or would-be relatives the Anglo-Indians whom I have seen, the general impression left on my mind is that they have an aggressive, overbearing, and somewhat fierce look, as if they wanted to frighten, browbeat and cow down somebody and consequently always had their war-paint on. During my brief stay in England, Switzerland and other European countries, I did not find many examples of this type of expression. If my observation has been correct, the explanation is quite simple. Here in India, the Britisher feels that he can maintain his unnatural position

only by being always in a state of war as it were; whereas, in England and other European countries, the natives live among their own people, whom it is neither necessary nor easy to terrorise and cow down.

The International Reformation Monument which faces the University is an impressive structure. It takes the form of a long and high stone wall on the surface of which are the statues in relief of Protestant reformers of many European countries, like Calvin, John Knox, Huss, etc., with appropriate texts from the Bible carved underneath. All along the foot of the wall there is a reservoir of limpid flowing water with some aquatic flowers in full bloom. They seemed to symbolise the never-drying waters of life



Monument Filibert Berthelier

eternal, bearing on their surface the flowers of spirituality. I should mention in this connection another monument in a different part of Geneva. It is the Monument Filibert Berthelier, erected to the memory of a man of that name who was executed in the year 1519 for adhering firmly to the right of freedom of opinion and freedom of conscience. The statue is in relief on the walls of a building. Every year, on the anniversary of the day of his execution, the citizens of Geneva decorate the statue with floral wreaths and do him honour in other ways.

A large plot of land has been acquired for the League of Nations Secretariat buildings, which are still to be erected. At present the Secretariat occupies buildings originally constructed for a different purpose. The International Labour Office occupies a building of its own, which is large but has no pretensions to architectural beauty or grandeur. The stained glass window on the wall of a stair-case did not appear to me as admirable a piece of work as I had seen even on the windows of many college chapels in Oxford and Cambridge.

I do not know how many clerks and other officials are employed in the International Labour Office. Not having paid it many long visits and gone the round of the different rooms several times, I cannot vouch for the accuracy of my impression; but from what little I have seen of this office, it seemed to me that, whilst some persons are overworked, many others have an easy time of it, not having sufficient work to do. To compare great things with small, it was in this respect somewhat like our Calcutta University.

By appointment one day I met M. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office, and Mr. Butler, Deputy Director, in their rooms. M. Thomas is a Frenchman and is a socialist, I was told. Mr. Butler is an Englishman. M. Thomas received me courteously in his room. We had only a very brief talk. As after a few minutes of general conversation he seemed to make a movement or a gesture of resuming his office work, I bade him goodbye, observing that he was a busy man, to which he assented! He did not speak English with ease.

With Mr. Butler, who also was polite, I had a longer conversation. In the course of it, I observed that so far as India's desire and efforts for political emancipation were con-

cerned, the League of Nations would be of as much help to her as a college debating society. He did not say either yes or no. I went on to add that, on the other hand, the International Labour Office might be able to do some good to the labouring population of India, if it did its work properly. As there were in India many women among factory labourers, I suggested that there should be an educated Indian lady to represent these women at the International Labour Conferences held under the auspices of the International Labour Office. For men are not always able or eager or willing to represent women's grievances. I said that an Indian woman like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu would be able to speak up as eloquently and courageously and with as much information for women workers, as any male representative of male workers has hitherto spoken or may hereafter speak for both male and female labour. But, I added, that it was not likely that the Government of India would nominate a woman like Mrs. Naidu. Thereupon Mr. Butler interposed the remark that the International Labour Office could independently and directly invite a woman delegate. But I see that this year at any rate no Indian lady has been invited. Whether any such person would be invited in any future year, is more than I can say. And Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is not the only woman whose name could be suggested. There is, for instance, Behen Anasuya Bai of Ahmedabad, whose active sympathy with and intimate knowledge of the conditions of work of female labourers in mills are unsurpassed by those of any other Indian woman. Our conversation drifted to the topic of the efficiency of labour in India. I suggested illiteracy and ignorance as among the principal causes of the comparative inefficiency of labour in India. I added that, far from the Government of India doing anything in the direction of free and compulsory elementary education, it adopted a worse attitude than that of mere indifference to the late Mr. Gokhale's free primary education bill, which was thrown out. Other bills of a similar nature, dealing piecemeal with rural and urban areas in some province or other, have sometimes been passed, but Government has not yet evinced any particularly unusual enthusiasm in this direction. I also said that during the last great world war, if not earlier, it has been proved that

the more educated the privates of an army are, the more efficient is the army. That being the case, it goes without saying that in industrial pursuits, the more educated the workers are the greater would be their efficiency and the better the quality of the manufactures. Mr. Butler spoke little. But on this topic he put the question, "Is there a demand for universal free and compulsory education in India?" I replied, "Yes, there is." I did not say anything more on this subject. But the question has not ceased to haunt my mind. I have often asked myself: "Must there always be a demand for a good thing on the part of the people before it is supplied?" Take the case of Japan. When the Emperor Mutsuhito proclaimed that it was his desire that there should be no village in Japan without a school and no family with any illiterate member, did he do so in response to any popular demand? No. When elementary education was made free and compulsory in Japan in 1871, was that again due to any popular demand? No. Or, take the case of England herself. When after the passing of a Reform Act, the number of voters greatly increased, and in consequence Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke, said words to the effect, "We must educate our masters," and subsequently, the first steps were taken towards providing national education in England was that done because of any universal demand?

Mr. Butler courteously offered to give me some reports and other literature published by the International Labour Office, for which I thanked him. These have been received. M. Albert Thomas having agreed to an exchange between *The International Labour Review* published by his office and *The Modern Review* and *Welfare*, the latter are regularly sent to him.

The Library of the International Labour Office is very valuable. It is a sort of depository of all sorts of information relating to labour and industries of all descriptions and allied subjects, gathered from all quarters of the globe. Scholars who want to do research work about these subjects are likely to receive more facilities here easily than in any other single library.

This leads me to speak of the League of Nations Library. This also contains a good but not very large collection of books. It is growing, however, and is likely in course of time to assume respectable proportions. I do

not know on what principles books are purchased for it, or kept in it when presented. I sent the following historical and other works to it as presents by registered post on the 9th March, 1926, but when I visited the library in September, 1926, I did not find them there :—*Rise of the Christian Power in India*, complete set of five volumes ; *Story of Satara* ; *History of Education in India Under the Rule of the East India Company* ; *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries* ; and, *Colonization in India* :—all by Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired). Is the League library bound to discriminate according to some British *Index librorum prohibitorum* ?

On the Library table I did not find a single Indian periodical conducted under purely Indian control. *The Modern Review* may or may not find favour with and be purchased by any organisation in which British bureaucratic influence predominates. But *The Hindustan Review* and *The Indian Review*, too, were conspicuous by their absence. The only monthly published in India which I found on the League Library table is *The Young Men of India*, the organ of the Y.M.C.A. The only Indian weekly which was on the table is *The Servant of India*, which is undoubtedly an ably conducted journal and has the right to be there. I told Mr. Cummings of the Information Section that the Indian press was very poorly represented in the League library. The most widely circulated periodicals of India were not there, and most shades of public opinion were entirely unrepresented. He said he got *Forward* (though it was not kept on the table), and that the League kept only those journals which were sent free by their publishers. I took the hint, and have been sending to the League library *The Modern Review* and *Welfare*. But I do not know whether they are kept on the table.

I went to Villeneuve one day with some friends to pay a visit to M. Romain Rolland, the famous French author and intellectual leader, who lives there with his father and sister. Villeneuve is some 56 miles by rail from Geneva and is some two hours' journey. Journey by steamer is more pleasant but takes more time. We had to change at Lausanne. We travelled third class. There were no cushions on the benches. Perhaps that was better, as it is difficult to keep cushions scrupulously clean. The benches were free from the least speck

of dust or stain. Otherwise, too, there was no inconvenience or trouble involved in travelling third class. It may be added here that there can be no comparison between third class carriages in India and in Europe. Travelling in third class, and some times in intermediate class, carriages in India gives one a foretaste of hell, or at least of purgatory. For this state of things our passengers are no doubt to blame to some extent. But if the railway management provided the public with clean carriages with plenty of water in the lavatories and insisted on their being kept clean, much improvement could at once be effected. Nowhere in Europe did I see such dirty and dusty third class carriages as in India. The smokers' carriages were no doubt not so clean as the non-smokers'.

After getting down from the railway train at Villeneuve station, we had to walk a little distance to reach Villa Olga, where M. Rolland lives. That part of the road which leads immediately to the Villa is shaded by an avenue of trees with broad large leaves growing thick on the branches. M. Rolland and his sister Mlle. Rolland, received us very courteously. Romain Rolland is past sixty and has the scholar's stoop. He did not appear to be in the best of health, having just recovered from an attack of influenza. His clear blue eyes beamed with intelligence, and love of man was writ on his looks. He does not speak English, his sister does. I was very glad to learn that she has some knowledge of Bengali also. I may be permitted to say here that I had the privilege of being known to the Rollands by name through my son-in-law Professor Kalidas Nag, who, while in Europe, helped M. Romain Rolland in writing his book on Mahatma Gandhi. I found the portraits of Kalidas and my daughter Santa on M. Rolland's study table, and expressed pleasure at finding them there. Mlle. Rolland observed with a smile, "The portraits have not been placed there because you have come to see us ; they are always there." I had the honour of shaking hands with M. Rolland's venerable father, who is now past ninety. Considering his great age, the old gentleman appeared remarkably erect and healthy. I told him in English that I considered it a great honour and pleasure to shake hands with him. This was translated into French by his daughter. He, on his part, expressed pleasure at seeing visitors from India.

I was the only person in our party who was entirely ignorant of French. So what M. Rolland said in French was translated into English for me by his sister, and what I said in English was translated by her for her brother into French. For this and other reasons there was no sustained conversation between us. Only a few points that came up may be mentioned here. The question arose as to how far M. Rolland's works were read in India. As only a small number of people in India know French, some of his books are largely read in English translations. The English translation of his book on Gandhi has gone through several editions. Similarly, his "John Christopher" is largely read in English translation. It was perhaps I who said that it was appearing serially in Bengali also. Mlle. Rolland observed, "Yes, it is appearing in *Kallol*", whereupon some one of our party asked whether she knew Bengali and, if so, how did she learn it. She replied, "Kalidas gave me some lessons." When the conversation turned on Rabindranath Tagore's visit to Italy, we learned some details of the attempt that was made there to prevent the Poet's meeting with the famous Italian philosopher Croce. Mlle. Rolland showed us photographs of Rabindranath and his party, taken when they were at Villeneuve. We learnt that M. Rolland had read Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's *Srikanta* in an Italian translation, made from the English translation of that novel. The great French author remarked that Sarat Chandra was a novelist of the first order, and enquired how many other novels he had written. I told him the names of some of them. When we were led to speak of Sir J. C. Bose's work, M. Rolland observed that the Indian scientist had also the imagination of a poet. Thereupon one of our party, Dr. Rajani Kanta Das, if I remember aright, dwelt briefly on the synthetic genius of India. M. Rolland wanted to know whether any Indian had written any work giving a synthetic view of the universe from the Indian point of view. I replied that I did not know that anyone had done so yet.



Mon. Romain Rolland and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee
Photo by S. C. Guha, M. Sc.

He asked whether there was no one capable of doing so I mentioned the name of Dr. Brajendranath Seal. Then M. Rolland wanted to know why he had not done it yet. That was a question which Dr. Seal alone could have answered. But I ventured to suggest that perhaps he was diffident, perhaps according to his ideal of preparation for so great a task he was not yet ready, perhaps he was always learning or thinking out new things, leading him to revise his previous ideas, etc, etc.

I am sorry some inconvenience might have been caused to M. Romain Rolland's venerable father in getting him photographed. All of us, the hosts and the visitors, were also photographed together. Previous to that, Mrs. R. K. Das put in order Mlle. Rolland's hair which had been slightly disarranged by the wind. Thereupon M. Romain Rolland complained with a smile, "you have not done *my* hair," which was done immediately. I add this slight touch just to prevent my readers from drawing an ever frightfully serious-looking mental picture of the great French intellectual.

The Rollands kindly asked me to see them again. I regret I was not able to do so.

The day before the meetings of the Seventh Annual Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations came to a close, the Indian Delegation gave a lunch, to which, along with some other Indians,



Standing (from the left)—S. C. Guha, Mrs. Rajani K. Das, Dr. Das. Sitting (from the left)—Miss Rolland, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee and Mon. Romain Rolland. Photo by S. C. Guha, M. Sc.

I was invited. It was to begin at 1-15 PM, but it was I believe nearer three than two o'clock when the guests began to be served. Before, during and after lunch there was much desultory talk on matters grave and gay, which need not be recorded. Three items may, however, be noted without any names being mentioned. A certain person (not Indian) was "awfully afraid of snakes" and was, perhaps, partly for that reason prevented from visiting India though invited to do so! It seems, therefore, that some foreigners have the idea that India is so infested with snakes that even in cities snakes these creatures are to be found wriggling in all our drawing-rooms, bed-rooms, etc. With reference to some of the speakers at the League Assembly Meetings, who were evidently bores in the opinion of the speaker, a guest (not Indian) suggested with quiet humour that they should be taken in a boat to the middle of Lake Geneva and just dropped down there! A certain person (Indian) asked me what places I had seen in Switzerland. I said that I had gone to Villeneuve to see M. Romain Rolland. I was asked, "Who is Romain Rolland?" I said in reply that he was a great French author and intellectual who had won the Nobel Prize in

through many editions. The last question was: "Has the book been published after you came to Geneva, and have you heard of it only since coming here?" I replied, "The book and its translations were published long before I left India." Evidently if India must send her so-called representatives abroad, they should have greater knowledge of things in general and of contemporary culture than this gentleman appeared to possess!

P. S. I have forgotten to mention in its proper place one little, but perhaps significant, incident. On the 9th September, 1926, I despatched from the League post office at Geneva some Notes and photographs for this *Review* by registered packet. It was meant to reach Calcutta just in time for our October issue. The man in charge of receiving registered articles asked what the packet contained, and was told in reply, absolutely truthfully, that it contained MSS. for the press and photographs. Apparently satisfied, he accepted it and gave a receipt. Subsequently, however, it was opened at that post office (or, elsewhere, I do not know) and returned to me as containing a letter, which it did not. If the registration clerk had any doubt, he ought to have opened it before giving a receipt when he was told that

literature; had been unpopular with his countrymen because he had opposed the last world war against Germany and so on and so forth. Finding that all these pieces of information left him cold, I added that M. Rolland had written a book on Mahatma Gandhi in which the viewpoint and ideal of Rabindranath Tagore had also been discussed. I was asked "Is the book in English or in French?" I said, in French, but translations had appeared in English both in America and in India and gone

it contained only MSS. and photographs. But his or someone else's peculiarly honorable conduct delayed the despatch of the packet by one full week, so that it reached Calcutta in time only for the November issue, in which some of my Notes on the League were published as the first article.

GLEANINGS

Cruise in Motorcycle Boat Around World Planned

Plans for a tour around the world from London, in a small motorcycle boat he has designed, are being made by an English inventor. The craft has a sidecar float and is equipped to withstand



Designed for World Cruise ; the Motorcycle Boat

rough weather and give protection to the occupant. According to reports, he tested the boat with good results on a small body of water at Hampstead Heath.

—*Popular Mechanics.*

Monster Lizards

Sir Alan Cobham, the world's greatest sky-taxi-man in his last world-flight saw on the little island of Komodo three live dragons—gigantic lizards which, from all appearance, were direct descendants of the prehistoric monsters of mythology. They were ten to twenty feet long, and armed with great claws which enabled them to kill and devour animals as large as horses.

They used their powerful tails as lashing weapons, one blow from which could break a man. In movements they were exceedingly swift. From natives, who lived in mortal terror of the monsters, Cobham learned that the creatures had been known to run down and kill halfwild island ponies, and that they had been seen fighting one another over the carcasses of wild boars.

Two of the dragons, the only ones in captivity, were brought recently to America. One of them died soon after its arrival. Scientists say their discovery and capture constitute one of the most



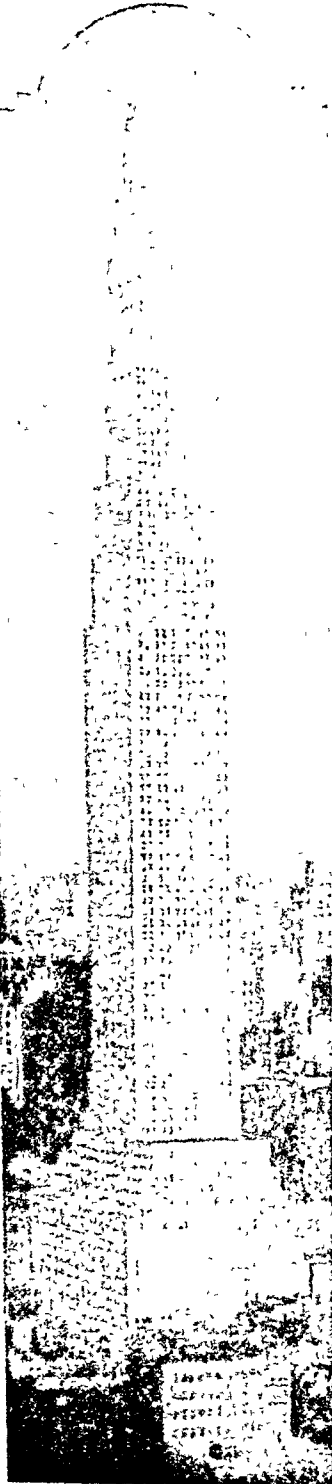
One Lash of Its Tail Will Kill a Man
The days of romance are not past in a world that still holds gigantic dragons for its young heroes to slay. Above is a type of monster Cobham met with on the island of Komodo

important additions ever made to zoological collections. Lardest of all reptiles, their ancestry dates back 4,000 years to the time of the pyramids,
—*Popular Science.*

Forty Thousand People within Four Walls !

When Thomas A. Edison speaks, everybody listens.

So it was that when the famous inventor a few weeks ago sounded the warning that "disaster



The proposed Larkin Tower of New York City

must overtake us" unless overcrowded American cities call a halt to the building of mighty skyscrapers, he startled city dwellers and aroused a storm of controversy throughout the nation.

Almost simultaneously with Edison's warning came the amazing announcement that plans had been completed for a dizzy office spiral of 110 stories, to rise from the heart of New York City and to tower far above the world's tallest buildings. This colossal structure, to be known as the Larkin Tower, will climb 1208 feet above the street level—116 feet above the sixty-story Woolworth Building.

From the rocks on which the feet of the new giant will rest to the tip of its flagpole the distance will be a quarter of a mile. Eight million bricks will go into the walls of its enormous body, while the steel required for its backbone and ribs will amount to 40,000 tons—enough to load a train twenty-two miles long. Including the value of the 50,000 square feet of land on which it will rest, this super-skyscraper will cost in the neighbourhood of \$12,500,000!

—*Popular Science.*

Camera for Parachute Jumping

Dropping 2500 feet after a parachute jump, Jimmy Clark, takes pictures of the advancing earth



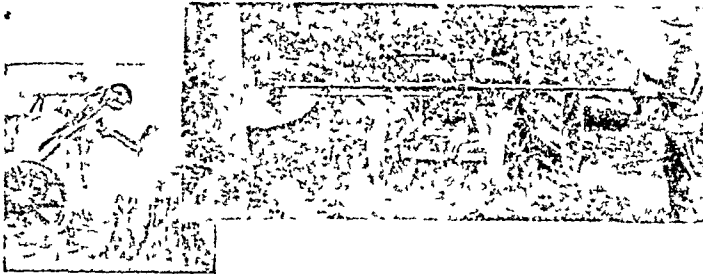
Camera for Parachute Jumping

with an automatic movie camera. The photo shows the lens protruding from its canvas protector.

Tractor Saws Logs and Fells Trees with New attachment

Making a sawmill out of a Fordson tractor is the feat accomplished by an ingenious new attachment, a circular saw swung from the front of the tractor. The device moves in the hands of the operator to cut in a horizontal, vertical, or slanting position. This is by virtue of its universal suspension; a further refinement enables the saw to be pushed forward along its shaft or drawn back, without moving the tractor.

Power supplied through a belt to a series of geared shafts drives the saw at a high rate, with a "tooth speed" or lineal velocity at the outer edge of 10,000 feet a minute, twice the speed of an express train. The fast cutting of this



The new saw attachment for tractors felling a tree and left sawing up a stump. It will cut up, down, sidewise or endwise, and will whittle up a log of wood as quickly as a man could whittle up a willow limb with a jackknife. With it the tractor can now be made to swing a saw in any direction

saw is easy to understand when it is recalled that the old style drag-saw moves at about the same velocity as your foot in walking.

The saw attachment fells trees, slashes brush and saws up limbs, poles, logs and stumps. It does not appear necessary to use a big saw to fell a large tree, says the inventor, V. L. Holt, of Portland, Ore., as the saw can be used as a woodman uses his axe. By taking advantage of its slanting adjustments, the device can be employed to remove stumps to a depth of one foot below ground. A brush patch can be mowed with it, it is said, as easily as grass with an old-fashioned scythe. According to its inventor, the attachment will fell and saw up twenty cords of oak a day, at a great saving over usual costs. If logs are too large for this saw, they would have to be split in making cord wood any way, so no time will be lost

Rebuilding America's sacred City

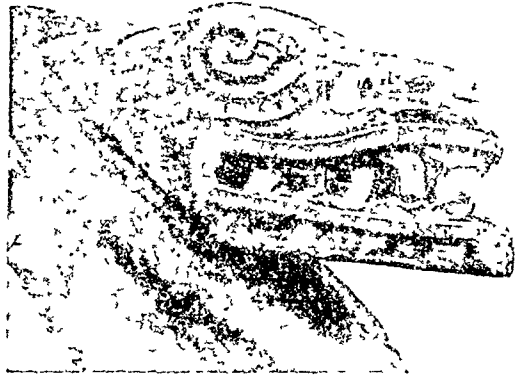
Down in the southernmost part of Mexico, in the state of Yucatan, which raises the sisal for American-made harvester twine, a great race of people lived and died nearly a thousand years before Columbus discovered the new world. At their height, they boasted a civilization as great as the ancient Egyptians; they knew more about

mathematics and astronomy than any ancient people, and their builders, stone carvers and artisans in precious metals and other craftsmen turned out work the equal of any produced under the Pharaohs.

Yet they died and their cities and marvelous temples fell into ruins. Their civilization was lost mainly because they could not cope with the high cost of living, and their towns fell down largely for the reason that they had never learned to build an arch to hold up the roofs. The high cost of living for the Mayas was due to the fact that they possessed no draft animals to plow their fields, and the agricultural methods they used eventually produced a turf so thick and heavy that their plants could not pierce it.

All the first Spaniards found were the decaying ruins of great stone cities, wonderful temples and enormous pyramids. For four hundred years or more, the ruins have been pawed over by soldiers, priests, adventurers, and, later trained and amateur archaeologists. Now, however, they are not only to give up their last secrets, but one of them, which was once the Mecca of the Maya world, is to be reconstructed as early as may be to what it was in its prime.

At Chichen-Itza, the holy city of the Mayas a party of American archaeologists, representing the Carnegie institution of Washington, has embarked on a ten-year reconstruction program, under agreement with



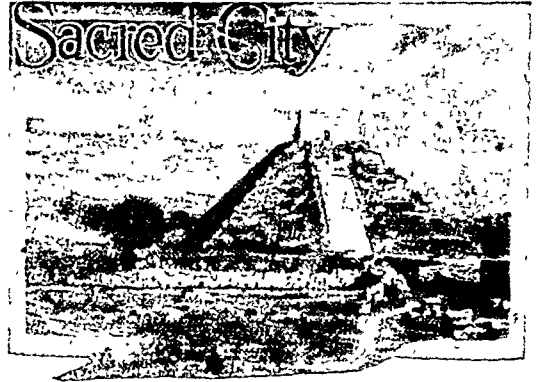
Head of the Snake God. One of the Most Used Decorations in the Ancient Mayan City of Chichen-Itza

the Mexican government that all the art treasures found shall be preserved at the site as part of a Maya museum.

Chichen-Itza won its fame because it was the possessor of the sacred well in which Maya maidens were sacrificed to Kukulcan, the god of



Whether Mayan Sculpture Was of Local Origin or Shows Traces of Influence from Overseas, is a Question Puzzling to Scientists



El Castillo, the Great Temple atop a Pyramid, from which the Religious Processions Advanced to the Sacred Well, to Throw Maidens In as Sacrifices to the Rain God

rain. Not only were the living sacrifices hurled into the sacred well as mates for the god, but gold and jade ornaments, beautiful pottery, carved wood, in fact, every kind of possession that its owner held precious; were cast to the waters, as well as an occasional enemy warrior whose valor was considered sufficient to make him an attractive present.

—*Popular Mechanics.*

PESTALOZZI CENTENARY (1827-1927)

BY DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D. LITT., (Paris)

I

THAT schoolmasters might occupy a permanent place in the Pantheon of Immortals was brought back to my mind by one of my friends of Switzerland—the Mecca of Pedagogues. It was Dr. Martin Hurlimann of Zurich who kindly looked me up in the course of his pilgrimage through India in the company of Dr. Wehrli, the famous Swiss Anthropologist, who is building the Indian section of the Anthropological museum of

the Zurich University. It was such a joy to meet and talk with a true idealist like Dr. Hurlimann. He easily scented my chronic enthusiasm for heroic souls, and, catching the infection, he confessed that he was then full of a man—a Schoolmaster Hero—Heinrich Pestalozzi, born in Zurich in 1746, a contemporary of Rousseau and Goethe and like them, although in a humbler sphere, a real pioneer. Dr. Hurlimann has written a profound study on the great Swiss Education

Reformer (vide Pestalozzi Ideen, published by Rascher & Co., Zurich-Leipzig). Moreover, he belongs to the latest continental school of historians who consider history not simply as a chronological apparatus for catching the so-called "events" of nations but as a faithful recorder of the development of civilisation and of the march of Humanity along the path of deathless creations. Hence his passion for art and his attempt to interpret life in and through the art of a people.

But the most invaluable discipline ensuring the capacity of a people to create permanent things, is a sound system of Education. By discovering this basic principle and proving himself a martyr to it, Pestalozzi became immortal. The facts of his life which I gathered from Dr. Hurlimann, I am bringing before my Indian friends, who would join me in my sentiment of gratitude to Dr. Hurlimann. It was also due to him that I am able to present to the public a document of rare value—Pestalozzi's meditations on Education, which I publish at the end of this tribute to the memory of this Educational Columbus of Switzerland.

II

Pestalozzi came of a high family of Zurich. His father died early and the whole education of the boy was in the hands of the mother—a remarkable woman. Having the mother as a *Guru*, Pestalozzi imbibed a very high regard for womanhood as the maker of nations. Hence we find in Pestalozzi's masterly romance *Leonard and Gertrude*, the mother Gertrude to be the heroine who by her lofty womanly virtues and abilities purifies her family, then the village and ultimately leaves a mark on the history of her country. The other education romance of the age, the *Emile* of Rousseau, also centres round the life of a woman. Love and Nature came henceforth to be the guardian angels of Education when it was revolutionised by master spirits like Pestalozzi and Rousseau.

SYMPATHY, THE KEY NOTE OF PESTALOZZI SYSTEM

Sympathy was the very keynote of the life and system of Pestalozzi. While in the University of Zurich he breathed the noble atmosphere of creative idealism, which made Zurich a force not simply in Swiss educational life but also in German literature. This

was admitted by a German poet like Wieland. A spirit of adoration of Nature and a love of Shakespeare were symptoms of the age. The *back to Nature* cry of another Swiss prophet, Rousseau, was already in the air, and a group of vigorous thinkers and critics like Bodmer and Breitingger were



Pestalozzi the initiator of Sympathy-method

inaugurating a political revolution along with the literary and spiritual renovations. The preachings of the great Swiss pastor Lavatar engendered a spirit of national awakening and Pestalozzi wanted to devote his life to political reform with a view to ameliorating the condition of the common people.

But Destiny smiled obliquely. He would be a great reformer but not in politics. He was hopelessly impractical; so he left the difficult world of politics and attempted to build an agricultural settlement in Neuhof after his marriage (1769). From the economic point of view the experiment was a failure. But the desire to help the poor and the helpless was insistent and the *back to the soil* idea was equally deep-rooted in him. So we find Pestalozzi establishing another farm which was more an educational laboratory than a financial venture. For we find its author

more busy thinking how to make the *soul* and not the hand alone, free from the shackles of conventions. The work of the hand was considered as the *means* and not the end, which was to Pestalozzi the emancipation of the spirit. Thus he anticipated Tolstoy and Gandhi by insisting on manual work as a great corrective of purely intellectual education, as well as the most effective method of instilling true democracy, dignity of labour and sympathy for the majority of mankind, who are labourers. It is noteworthy that he had weaving and spinning as a part of his curriculum. He was busy with another this great experiment for six years (1774-1780), during which he built his *Home-school* for orphans who would never know what home is. He used to live and work with his pupils (and his wife was a great helper here) and kept a regular diary for each of his children. This silent and sublime service to the helpless and the deserted, this intensive study of the children from day to day, gave solidarity to his system and a universality to his outlook that would ever keep the memory of Pestalozzi sacred. This *tapasya* produced fruits in the form of two of his famous works: the *Evening Hours of a Hermit* (1780), a book of meditations and the epoch-making novel *Leonard and Gertrude* (1881), a sister portrait to Rousseau's *Emile*. Pestalozzi was undoubtedly influenced by the works of Rousseau: *New Heloise* (1760), *Social Contract* (1762) and *Emile* (1762), which convulsed the whole of Europe. If the nineteenth century was a century of educational reforms, it was due to the works of the two great Swiss masters, Rousseau and Pestalozzi, who had "the honour of conceiving a method which is the corner-stone of all sound theories of primary education."

With the French Revolution, Switzerland was invaded by the French in 1798 and Pestalozzi opened a school at Stanz for the orphans of war. Himself homeless and penniless, he could not help gathering the helpless children around him! What a pathos in the noble struggle in which he warred desperately against the demon of war and even when failing to make his work successful, starting another educational work at Burgdorf. Here he joined a school but was driven out from the position of a subordinate teacher by the jealous and bigoted senior master. This was his reward at the ripe age of 55!

INFLUENCE OF PESTALOZZI

However, he was able to start and run a school of his own, aided by the Swiss government, at Burgdorf (1799-1804). Here he published his second social novel: *How Gertrude educates her Children* (1801), in which he set forth that "the development of human nature should be in dependence upon *natural laws* with which it is the business of every good educationist to comply; in order to establish a good teaching method, learn first to understand nature, its general processes in man and its particular processes in each individual; observation, the result of which is a spontaneous perception of things, is the method by which all objects of knowledge are brought home to us." This is the outline of the *Intuitive Education* (Anschauung) of Pestalozzi which is the corner-stone of the German *Folkschule*. It led to a veritable revolution in the science of pedagogy and the reputation of Pestalozzi spread far and wide. In 1802 he was sent to Paris on deputation and he tried to convert Napoleon to his theory! The latter sympathised but with characteristic cynicism replied that he was a little too busy to think of the alphabet! Pestalozzi however was made an honorary citizen of France like Schiller and Washington.

In 1805 he moved his school to Yverdon and it attracted the attention of the whole of Europe. It was visited by Talleyrand, Madam de Stael and others, while Humboldt and Fichte praised the method followed in the institution. Amongst his pupils Pestalozzi claimed Delbrück, Carl Ritter, Zeller and last, though not the least, Frobel, the founder of the *Kindergarten* method. The Prussian government sent boys to be trained in Yverdon. When the Czar granted him an audience, Pestalozzi naively sermonised the emperor of Russia on his duty to educate the Russian mass! With each argument Pestalozzi, with his awkward yet vigorous gesture, stepped forward and the Czar was obliged to walk backwards, till at last the Emperor was not only cornered but actually pitched on the wall of the reception hall, and he burst out laughing while he embraced the divine fanatic of education.

A SAD END

Yet the last days of his life were very sad. His colleagues of the school rebelled against him and Pestalozzi, sick of perpetual conflict from 1815, retired from the school

of Yverdon in 1825. He was as lofty in his ideals as he was hopeless in his practical sense. Hence his actual work came to nothing, although his vision of the true principles of education continues to inspire us down to this day. He wrote his educational prayer—the *Swan Song*, and died in retirement at Brugg (17 Feb. 1827). His own words now would speak for the greatness of the man :

III

A VISION OF TRUE EDUCATION

"We are warned, as humanity has seldom been warned. Thousands of bleeding wounds are calling out to us in a manner as they have not for centuries called out to the world. It is urgently necessary that we should consider once the *source of the errors of the Citizen and the Society*, giving rise to this mass of *corruptions of civilisation*. Once more we should find in the improvement of our nature itself, the means of escape from all the sufferings and all the miseries which we, the higher and lower, the rich and the poor, should equally come forward to face, not as frightened weaklings, but as men, who can face their posterity, their children and their race with stern dignity.

Let us become *men* (*menschen*), so that we may become citizens and statesmen again.

NATURE THE SOURCE OF REAL EDUCATION

The art of being man (*Mensch*), of becoming man, of remaining man, the art of making man human (*den Menschen menschlich*, as well as that of maintaining his human character,—this art which thou deniest, O! foolish absurd race, and ridiculdest, as something undiscoverable, is, God be praised, not yet discovered. It is ours, it has been ours and it will ever be ours. Its principles lie inextin-



The Great helper of the helpless

guishable and unshakable in the human nature itself.

CULTURE AND ANARCHY

But the world as it is, seems every day to become more detrimental to this pure basis of the happiness and culture "*Bildung*" of man; every day it is advancing towards the destruction of the life of the home "*Wohnstube*". This is against God and human nature ; it hardens the pure human spirit and renders it sensible only to its bestial and voluptuous existence and activity without manliness, (*Menschlichkeit*) love or grace, in the private and public relations of life.

EDUCATION TO HUMANIZE MANKIND

Even in minor children we find the feeling of animal arrogance and animal violence; fraud and cunning as they develop in a fox, are found in ill trained boys, apish vanity

and the pride of a peacock get possession of the nature of the girl before the tenderness of her developed maidenly character can expose to her this vanity and this pride as contemptible as compared with the innocence and simplicity of human feelings which are the products of human training.



The Unflinching Friend of Orphans

PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY

Fatherland! the problem of our day is not yet solved, it still stands before you and awaits solution. The spirit of the time is not favorable to its permanent solution. Thousands of our men, who are living only for the day (*Zeitmenschen*), are active in tying and tightening all sorts of bonds, shackles and knots. But few fingers are refined and tender enough, bold and powerful enough to loosen these bonds, shackles and knots. If the ordinary man of the day is entrusted with the untying of such knots he would always (and, how unhappily!) rush to seize the sword (in order to cut the Gordian knots!)

Fatherland! teach your children not to consider this means (of the sword) to be the highest. Highly estimated, the sword easily degenerates into a means of paralysing in you the old and essential things which you need today, and leave you a cripple. No, Fatherland, not the sword, no, no, but Light more Light upon yourself,—deep knowledge of the evils which lie within you, against your own self, knowledge of the real condition of yourself, that is what you want.

FROM VIOLENCE TO NON-VIOLENCE

The elevation of our race to true manhood (*Menschlichkeit*), to real culture—is in its essence a *transformation of the bestial and lawless violence into a human non-violence* (*Gewaltlosigkeit*), brought about by law and justice and protected by the same,—a subordination of the demands of our sensuous nature to the demands of the human spirit and the human heart.

THE DISEASE OF CIVILISATION

Look at the whole society of man, sunk deep in the corruption of civilisation; look at those whom you should consider to be the noblest and the purest. Look at the *mother*! No, I don't call her mother—look at the woman of the day who is sunk in the corruption of civilisation. She cannot give her children what she herself has not and does not know. Her life, her maternal life as it is today, is, for her child, an actual death. She does not know what maternal anxiety is, she does not know what maternal strength is, she does not know what maternal faith is. She has no anxiety, no strength, no faith for her child. Her anxiety, her energy, her faith is all for worldly dalliance, of which she does not wish to put one single card out of her hand—not even for a moment—for the sake of her child!

Imagine now also, a father of today—I cannot call him father, imagine a man of the world, sunk deep in the corruption of civilisation. You will find in him the same effect of the corruption of civilisation, you will find in him regarding his son the same error of mind, the same desolation of heart as we found in the woman of the day. He is nothing but a business-man and he treats the education of his children just as any other business.

WORLD REPLACING GOD

Without regard for the will of God, the parents want to educate their children for the world only and to represent to them the *world as their God*. The talents of human nature are for them nothing but means to get as much power and honour and enjoyment of life as possible, for themselves only against all others. The intellect, which has been wedded by God, in their children, to innocence, is separated by them from their heart and made entirely the means of selfishness.

And almost all creatures, sunk into the corruption of civilization, think and act and feel just as the man of the world and the woman of the world.

BANKRUPTCY OF POLITICS

The faults of the official people—"Behördenmenschen", who are more bloodless forms than living people,—are fundamentally the same as those of the woman of the day and of the business-man. The civilized, corrupt magistracy are found as wanting as the home—(Wohnstube), of the common people: Fundamental knowledge and fundamental strength for what they should do and what they would do are lacking. In the magistracy, just as in the homes, dreams are dreamt about things which are unknown, and sleepless nights are spent in researches for something, which if it would be known it would not be worth wishing. This state of complete hardening of mind, which I would call the wickedness of statesmen, changes the *Vatersinn* (the feeling of a father) of the government into mere economic principles of property.

THE SILENT HIDDEN VIRTUE OF THE
LIFE IN THE HUT

O my fellowmen! who have attained to a rare height in the cultureless arts of civilization and its blind, delusive strength, O my fellowmen, come for a moment out of this dazzling delusion of yourself, and look at the lofty strength of *silent hidden virtue*, which is still alive in the hidden, lowly good huts of the country. Look at the residuum of morals and good habits, which still express in your rural areas the national strength and the national character of your ancestors.

FREEDOM AND NON-FREEDOM

The idle and deceptive talk of the time about human and social freedom and equality and about non-freedom and non-equality of men would be carried away with the noise of its savagery and its social delusiveness. The diffusion of divine freedom and equality, which has been given us from eternity is only apparent for it has been seldom acknowledged with sincerity and love; freedom and equality in the nature of human virtues, and the equally necessary non-freedom and non-equality would resist the wild waves of barbarism as an eternal rock resists the waves of a violent torrent.

TENDERNESS THE HIGHEST HUMAN STRENGTH

Friends of humanity! The sublime claim of holy *tenderness for the weak* of our race, this tenderness which is really the highest human strength,—this is the exalted external sign of the inner sanctity of a sovereign power.

Fatherland! beneath the thousand voices that have, through the terrors of the past years, come up to the wisdom of a mature self help, there is only one supreme voice: We must educate our children better and with more strength and earnestness than they have been educated until now.

If we are able to enliven humanity in its better individuals for the recovery of themselves and to strengthen the pure enthusiasm of the human nature for this purpose,—then our race would raise itself to the hardest, to the highest and to the most sublime of what human nature is capable of. The powerful arm of the nation will then be unchained. From single action to a common action life will be stirred up. Each single action of wisdom and virtue will act upon the common strength, common wisdom and common virtue. These acts, may then be done by the highest and the greatest as well as by the poorest of men, they will disappear as single actions. They will be actions of and for the *whole humanity*, actions of the higher human nature, noble exploits of our race, dedicated to humanity and to the fatherland and to the most urgent needs of our time.

PESTALOZZI THE PROPHET OF OPTIMISM

It must, it will, become better ! There will be a common power for the creation of a general improvement of things.

There will be a cry in the world : Up ! Arise to the arms of wisdom and virtue ! Up ! Arise to the arms of innocence and love.

Down, down with false honour which, puffs up human nature and thus destroys its Morale and its Spirit.

Down, down with false honour, which going out from the barbaric weakness of our corrupt civilisation, proud of its stupidity and arrogance and unkindness, wants to usurp the holy heights of civilisation. Down, down with the first source of the evils of the world—down, down with false honour, but only *by means of wisdom and love*. No evil force, no weapon of barbarism. The developed Understanding and the burning Love of a better race—may it smile upon all !

INDIAN PERIODICALS

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—In this section we try to give extracts from the Indian periodicals we receive. But as our space is limited, those periodicals which are published regularly and punctually have the first claim on our attention.]

Bengal's New Governor

The editor of *Welfare* observes :

Sir Stanley Jackson is very fond of cricket and has already talked once or twice in terms of cricket about his plans with regard to his governorship. Once he reminded us that if we played cricket (i.e., played fair), he too would reciprocate by playing fair with us. We, no doubt, believe in playing fair ; but Sir Stanley was not quite doing justice to the spirit of cricket when he thus made fair play a conditional thing. Moreover, Sir Stanley forgot his captain, the Government of India. How can it be cricket at all when we are fielding eternally with shackles on our feet and they are hitting and scoring as they like ? Whenever we talk about declaring the innings and taking up the bat ourselves, we are told that our bats will be only 2 x 6 and that we must play with leaden leg-guards and with bandaged eyes. And to crown all, our stumps must be a mile wide and a mile high, while the ball will be fired at us from a field gun ! We own up our defeat right at the beginning.

Our Faults

We read in the same monthly :—

Our up-bringing is steadily playing havoc with our social and other institutions. The order of the

day is weakness, lack of energy, disunion and neglect of duty. We need ten men where other nations put up only one man to do something. Our energy oozes out three times as fast as that of others, our labour is wasted because we pull, not together, but against one another and we always devote far more attention to the subtle art of shirking duties than to learn to do things better. Take, for example, any industry and study conditions in it. Our brick layers lay 150 bricks per hour or less, where the Americans lay 800 and the amount of *Ca'Canny* encountered by our employers makes normal business a dangerous speculation. In any other society where people are better brought up and disciplined one man turns a thief where a thousand work wholeheartedly. But here eighty per cent of the men would directly or indirectly attempt to acquire what they have not earned and consider the whole procedure perfectly legitimate. The law of distribution makes every man poor where few work and far too many steal (i.e., acquire the product of others' labour) and the poverty of India is largely explainable by this. By a lucrative job in India we mean a job in which there is much unearned income coming one's way and not one in which one can do a lot and earn accordingly.

One of the main causes why Indian business does not expand is the lack of persons who can be trusted fully to carry out orders and not to abuse power. The picture of the Western business man running his vast organisation from a sort of observation station fitted up with a hundred telephones and a hundred thousand charts and abstracts, has remained so far an unreality in India ; for the available human element cannot fit into such a picture. It may be different hereafter but that will depend entirely on whether we can better bring up and train the future generations of Indians. In law, in the services and elsewhere progressive improvement is obstructed by corrupt practices, jobbery and a total disregard for truth

and real merit and their claims. What one hears of the disgusting morale of the Moghul Court, one can see now in practice everywhere; the unfortunate part being that even the so-called Nationalists are ardent wallowers in the filth. If we are hoping for a new and better state of affairs in India, we must give up all self-deception, acknowledge the truth about ourselves and then proceed to build right from the bottom with a clear conscience; for build we must from the bottom in order to achieve any real and lasting good.

Ancient Centres of Indian Emigration

According to Mr. C. F. Andrews, in ancient times,

There were three centres of Indian emigration. First of all, the kingdom of Kalinga, which is now Orissa and Andhra Desa, sent its ships over the sea as far as the coast of China and the furthest islands of the Malay Archipelago.

At the South-West of India, along the Malabar Sea-border, another great and adventurous people sent its ships far abroad, especially towards the shores of Africa, Madagascar, the Persian Gulf and the Arabian ports.

A third centre of emigration was the Gujarat coast, including Cutch, Kathiawar, and Sind.

As Mr. Andrews is not a specialist in this and many other subjects on which he writes, he would do well to read up the latest literature on them. On the subject under notice, he might, for instance, read Dr. Prabodhchandra Bagchi's article on India and China in the *Modern Review*.

Cultural Unity of India

Pandit Chamupati writes in the *Vedic Magazine*—

The Temple of India's culture knows no distinction of sect, of creed, of colour. It stands on the bed-rock of unity. The religious movements that take their birth in this temple have an inclusive, instead of exclusive, outlook. Ram Mohan Roy saw oneness in all religions. Vivekananda raised the cry of the Vedanta in materialistic West. Ram Tirtha of the Punjab joined his voice to the voice of his predecessor and his conception of mystic religion was clearer though not so rich. And Dayananda who spoke in the voice of thunder and storm recognised all religions to be the offshoots of the Veda. He unified all cultures at the root.

Strange, as it may seem, even in the struggles of to-day that are being waged between different sects and communities of India, bloody and barbarous as some of these conflicts are, I see a vision of unity—of oneness passing through the throes of a new birth. India is rising. She is already awake. Through the mist of the morn the first rays of the

rising sun, of a new day, are visible. Blessed are they who recognise the rising sun, and set their house in order to welcome him!

The temporary decay to which Bharat was subject, in the course of which instead of assimilation, disintegration was the rule of its life, instead of association and absorption, isolation was its motto, appears to be coming to an end. As in past ages, unity will once again prevail over forces of disunion. It has already prevailed. For the heart of India is sound. Only the externals had degenerated. For through the songs of Tagore and the paintings of Avanimdra, in the scientific researches of Bose and the humanitarian messages of Gandhi, the same old vision of "one in many" is manifesting itself. The religions of the world are relishing themselves in accordance with the latest religious voice of India, the voice of Dayananda. Thus, while politically we lie low, we are making again a spiritual conquest of the world.

Rescue Homes

Stri Dharma observes:—

The appeal by Lord Lytton for liberal public support to the Rescue Home, at Cossipore, is touching in its earnestness for the suppression of the social evil in our midst. Speaking of Calcutta, he said that 2,000 minor girls (who can say what numbers have yet evaded the vigilance of the police?) were kept for immoral purposes, whereas the present Home could accommodate only 32. Lord Lytton has suggested various means by which public sympathy could be secured for enlarging the institution, the most significant of which is "for every father and mother in Calcutta to subscribe a rupee for each of their own daughters to the central fund to save other children from a life of shame." He highly commended the labours of the Bengal Vigilance Society and also referred to the success of the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, 1923.

Education of Girls in Bengal

In Lady Abala Bose's paper on girls' education in Bengal, published in the same magazine, it is stated that

Of the total number of girls in the different educational institutions of Bengal, nearly 95 per cent., are in the primary grade the remaining 5 per cent. being distributed in the Middle and High schools and the colleges for general or professional studies. So the problem of female education in Bengal is mainly the problem of primary education.

The combined effect of these and allied causes is that, although Bengal can boast of about 12,000 primary schools for girls with about two lakhs and seventy-eight thousand of pupils—these being, by the way, the highest figures of all the provinces in India—it is only the fringe of the vast problem

of primary education that has been touched; because among the girls of school-going age, only 7½ per cent., ever join any school at all, the rest of them remaining beyond the reach of all educational influence.

I venture to lay great stress on the point that primary education should be left to the initiative of non-official organisations, national in character, subject, of course, to Government supervision. Official organisation must necessarily be rigid, inelastic and unable to adjust itself to varying circumstances.

The Telegraph Services for Indians

What just and generous treatment Indian employees receive in the Indian Telegraph Department will appear from the following sentences taken from *The Telegraph Review* :

The main grievance is that this General Scale service has been an exclusive monopoly of one section of the Indian population, and that is the Anglo-Indian community. We feel that this is a gross injustice, and that *this anomalous and invidious distinction should be forthwith removed, and that openings be offered to all, irrespective of caste, colour or community, and that merit should be the only basis which alone can increase greater service with better efficiency to the public, such as is demanded of them.*

Alas! there is yet another class to mention—the so-called menials. These Telegraph peons, who are no less important from the point of view of essential imperativeness, are paid wages, or subsistence allowance, as it is called, of a varying degree from Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 a month, and the rest are to be made up from the mileage pies by the delivery of telegrams. The breathless hurry with which deliveries are made at the risk of health and even life, can better be imagined than described. In about 10 to 15 years of their ceaseless activities, they become mercilessly spent-up, and yet they continue till the fag end of their officially recognised 'period' when they are doled out a magnificent pension of Rs. 4 a month! It is said that this magnanimous dole is not sufficient enough today to feed even a country dog for a month.

The Prospects of Prohibition in India

Prohibition notes that

The Imperial Government has not materially changed the policy enunciated in the Legislative Assembly by Sir Basil Blackett, in 1925. This policy had no sympathy whatever for either local option or prohibition. Anxious to prevent in every way any excess of drinking or drug taking it sees no evil in the traffic, and considers the moderate drinker and drug taker has the right to demand facilities for purchase of these articles. Revenue considerations do not control excise policy, although the State benefits considerably from such

revenue. Provincial Governments with the exception of Bombay and the C. Provinces accept the Government of India's policy. The spirit of antagonism to prohibition has markedly grown in official circles. The steady annual rise in Revenue receipts in Provincial and the Imperial Government is a disheartening factor in present conditions. In this respect Excise Departments are making the drink and drug traffics a necessary part of the fiscal arrangements of the country. Meanwhile discussions in Legislative Councils continue to show that the large majority of the representatives of the people of India repudiate this policy of regulation and control of consumption. A demand is made and reiterated for more sympathetic compliance with the expressed convictions of the great majority of the Indian people, asking for eventual prohibition.

The "Friendly Handshake"

According to the *Oriental Watchman*,

The "friendly handshake" is now charged with being very unfriendly. According to Dr. John Sundwall, University of Michigan, this age-old custom spreads diseases, especially respiratory infections, such as influenza. The infectious organisms of this group of diseases, he says, are present in the discharges from the mouth and nose and the average person's hands are always contaminated with these secretions. A man who has the infection and whose hands are contaminated, meets and shakes hands with his friend. The friend's hands are contaminated by this contact, and when his fingers go to his mouth shortly after the meeting, the route of transmission of the disease is completed. Persons suffering from respiratory infections frequently use their hand to check a cough or violent sneeze, and almost immediately extend the same hand for a friendly shake with an old acquaintance. In many cases the result of such "shakes" is that the friend is made to suffer. Dr. Sundwall blames this form of greeting for influenza epidemics.

Preaching Buddhism in Europe

Dr. George Grimm gives in *The Mahabodhi* a draft of rules for a Buddhist Order Colony in Europe with the following prefatory observations :—

Christianity considers it the highest merit in its adherents if they contribute towards the spreading of their religion. And, as a matter of fact, every year untold sums of money are given by Christians in order to bring the teachings of the Nazarene more especially to the peoples of Eastern Asia—to the peoples of Eastern Asia who themselves possess the noblest of all religions, the absolute religion, the religion of the Buddha.

Hence the followers and friends of the Buddha can give them no better answer than by, on their side, bringing to the peoples of Europe this highest

religion of the Buddha, in the light of which all Christianity pales like moonlight in the glow of the sun.

This also is *the duty* of every friend of the Buddha in Asia. For the Fully Awakened One has expressly enjoined that his disciples should carry his Teaching to *all* men. For, whoever helps to spread the Buddha's teaching, brings to his fellowmen the highest of bestowals: "The Gift of the Teaching excels all other Gifts." Can it be that to-day there no longer are any disciples of the Buddha who obey this his command? Can it be that especially in Eastern Asia, there are no longer any friends of the Buddha's Teaching who are blessed with this world's goods, and are willing to place at disposal the means necessary for the spreading of the Buddha's Teaching in Europe? Are the rich friends of the Buddha in Asia going to let themselves be put to shame by the rich Christians of Europe? No, that cannot be! that shall not be! All the less shall that be, in that no very extraordinary amount is required. Five thousand pounds sterling would suffice to carry out a plan which indicates the most promising method for the spreading of the Buddha's Teaching in Europe.

Leadership without Apprenticeship

India abounds with leaders of all descriptions, political, religious, social, educational etc. They will find the following portion of Swami Turiyananda's talks, published in *Prabuddha Bharata*, interesting:—

"A man went to a Sadhu to become his disciple. The Sadhu, before accepting him, informed him of all the hardships of a disciple's life. The man replied: 'Sir, make me a Guru directly.' For then he will be saved from the hard austerities. If you always spare yourself, you cannot hope to accomplish anything."

The South African Settlement

The National Christian Council Review observes:

We have had in the reception that India has given to the news of the South African settlement, a distressing revelation of her present mood of scepticism. It seems as if in this matter a miracle had happened, but 'miracles do not happen.' The 'change of heart' that we speak so much of has come to be reckoned a phrase to which no meaning can ever be attached. India needs in the region of political expectation to be begotten again to a living hope. Perhaps the gradual persuasion that a change has indeed come about in South Africa may be the beginning of a return to faith. The exposition of the whole India-South African contention that Mr. Srinivasa Sastri gave in Poona, an exposition as candid as it was luminous and masterly, made it plain that through this agreement things have been attained that may be of very far-

reaching consequence in India's forward march among the peoples. The agreement restores India's self-respect, freeing even her 'coolies' from humiliation. If they leave Africa, they leave it as emigrants, seeking of their own will a better place of settlement and free, if they choose, to return. If they remain in Africa, they remain as fellow-citizens and not as aliens and interlopers. And further, as Mr Sastri pointed out, these notable achievements were obtained by the direct negotiation of an Indian Commission, under Indian leadership, speaking face to face with the representatives of their sister nation and unencumbered by the tutelage of foreign guides or governments. There is ground for profound satisfaction in all this, and we trust that it may help to cast out the spirit of suspicion and distrust that have of late ruled so lamentably in this land.

Humour in Sikhism

Mr. Teja Singh contributes to *The Calcutta Review* a readable article on humour in Sikhism, in the course of which he says:

The most striking example of Humour playing a prominent part in Sikhism is the fact that there exists a regular order of Humourists called *Suthras*, who have carried on religious propaganda in the name of Guru Nanak mainly through Humour.

Guru Govind Singh also realized the value of humour and made full use of it in his religious work. Once he dressed up a donkey like a lion and set it roaming about the fields. The Sikhs began to laugh when they heard it braying, in spite of the lion's coat, and asked their leader what it meant. The Guru told them that they too would look as foolish as the donkey, if, with the Singh's (lion's) name and uniform, they still remained as ignorant and cowardly as before. The same love of the dramatic is exhibited by the way he exposed the futility of the belief in Durga, the goddess of power. When all the *ghee* and incense had been burnt and Pandit Kesho had tired himself out by mumbling *mantras* by the million without being able to produce the goddess, the Guru came forward with a naked sword and flashing it before the assembly declared: "This is the Goddess of power." The same grim humour was shown to him, when one spring morning, in the midst of hymns and recitations, he appeared before his Sikhs and demanded a man who would sacrifice himself then and there for his faith. He wanted to see whether the people dared to do anything beyond mere singing of hymns and reading of texts.

Veterinary Education in India

Mr. C. J. Fernandes, G. B. V. C., writes in *The Indian Veterinary Journal*:

Veterinary education has been the Cinderella of Government educational departments in India. After forty years of existence, it is still in its infancy and its growth and progress has been retarded by a parsimonious policy. It originated as a half-hearted attempt at imitating the veterinary arrangements of civilized European countries.

has remained in its original conception, through lack of encouragement and neglect of the persons responsible for the progress of agricultural welfare in India.

Indeed much elaboration is not needed to prove the immense benefits that accrue to a country through veterinary science. The veterinarian does not merely relieve the sufferings and prolong the existence of our dumb servitors but he helps materially to conserve the vast wealth of the nation, invested in its flocks and herds. Moreover, the benefit to the general public by the State control through its veterinarians, of the chief infectious diseases of animals, some of them communicable to man, cannot be overestimated. Reports from towns and cities, where meat and milk inspection are carried out, show what service is rendered by the veterinarian in safeguarding the health of the population. Veterinary research has also proved of great benefit to its sister science medicine and the help rendered to medicine by experiments conducted on animals by both medical men and veterinarians is too well-known to need more than passing mention.

India is an enormous country, chiefly agricultural. Agriculture in the main may be said to mean the art of raising plants and animals that are best suited for the supply of food for man. If this is so, then the importance to India of maintaining the health of the live-stock in the country, which is chiefly in the hands of veterinarians, may be appreciated when we consider that the total live-stock in 1924-25 in India was 213 millions.

Indian Posts and Telegraphs

In *Labour* Sri Jut Tarapada Mukherjee gives the following comparative statements of expenses of the Indian Postal and Telegraph Departments:

1. Postal Expenses :	
(a) Expenditure for—	
192-25 ...	Rs. 5,56,95903
(b) Do Estimated for—	
1927-28 ...	Rs. 6,00,31,000
An increase of ...	Rs. 43,35,097
	or a little over 9 percent
2. Telegraph Traffic Expenses :	
(a) Expenditure for—	
1924-25 ...	Rs. 1,22,56,030
(b) Do Estimated—	
1927-28 ...	Rs. 1,48,42,000
An increase of ...	Rs. 25,85,970
	or over 20 percent

The expenditure of the Telegraph Traffic Department, has increased by over 20 percent while the expenditure of the Post office has increased by only 9 percent during the same period. The Telegraph Department is working at a loss and in the year 1927-28 the loss estimated is Rs. 27,00,000 on the Telegraph side and Rs 474,000 on the telephone side. On the other hand a net surplus of Rs. 24,57,000 is estimated in the Post office department.

The Hon'ble Member is probably aware that since 1924-25 the telegraph traffic has not increased in the same rates as the post office work. It was naturally to be expected that there should be a higher percentage of increase of expenditure

in the Post office department than in the Telegraph. department specially when Post office services in the subordinate ranks are so much underpaid. But quite the reverse is the case. The Telegraph service has received increases at rates more than double that of the Post office service. We do not grudge our brother workers in the Telegraph department. We congratulate them on their good luck. But what we lament is that the poor, hard worked Post office men should not receive at least equal consideration from such a sympathetic officer as Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra. There is a surplus shown in the Post office Budget and money is therefore not wanting to do justice to the subordinate staff in the Post office. If the Hon'ble Member could manage to secure for the Telegraph service an increase of over 20 percent in the expenditure when the department is working at a loss, why could he not do likewise with the Post office service when, the Post office department is showing surplus year after year?

Mr. D. N. Dikshit observes in the same issue of the same magazine:—

My contention is that Government have no moral right to annex for general financial purposes any surplus of Postal revenue. Indeed, the Government of India, since the days of the East India Company, are committed to the principle that the Postal Department is to be administered without any consideration for the general revenue interests. In 1866, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Massey, the then Finance Member of the Government of India, went so far as to declare that "the Post Office was so potent an engine of civilisation that no Government would be justified in allowing fiscal considerations to stand in the way of any improvement." The only consideration that seemed to weigh with him whether or not the postal rates did act as a check on correspondence, and if they did, they must be made liberal no matter what the financial effect was. And Sir Malcolm Hailey was out to demolish the generous principles established by this broad-minded predecessor of his. I maintain that the Post office need not always be even self-supporting. The Post Office is a public utility department, and any check on its usefulness must be condemned. The recent increase in Postal rates has already resulted in a great shrinkage in the volume of correspondence. A similar circumstance was considered sufficient to justify a reduction in the rates in the British Isles in Sir Robert Horne's budget, though it involves the imposition of the financial burden on the general tax payer. The rates for carrying a letter to London is two annas while that of London to India is 1½ annas. Does any body look to this anomaly?

The Age of Consent

In the opinion of Mr. N. Sri Ram, as expressed in *The Bharata Dharma*,

The Madras public deserves to be most heartily congratulated for the meeting held in Gokhale Hall on March 23, at which the following resolution was passed with but one dissentient: "This meeting is in favour of marriages taking place only after sixteen years for girls and eighteen for

boys: it is in favour of the Age of Consent being raised to fourteen years as an immediate step towards the prevention of child motherhood, and wholeheartedly supports Sir Hari Singh Gour's Bill to raise the Age of Consent for married girls from thirteen to fourteen." It will be noticed that Sir Hari Singh's modest proposal, which he is bringing up for the second time before the Assembly, has not only the very strong support of public spirited citizens, who have emphatically voiced their opinion in other places also, besides Madras, but falls considerably short of the proper age acceptable to them. There can be no reasonable doubt whatever that if the women of the country were allowed to settle the question, it would be decided at once in accordance with the demand of the Reformers. It is because they have not yet come to their own and are still in many ways like dumb driven cattle, that man-made law continues to exercise its blightful ascendancy.

Ancient Tamluk

We read in *The Beagal-Nagpur Railway Magazine* :

Ten miles to the south-west of Kolaghat station and 16 miles from Panchkura station on the main line to Bombay on the banks of the Rupnarayan river, is the ancient port of Tamralipti, now modernized to 'Tamluk.'

The date of this port is lost in the mists of centuries but the fact that coins have been unearthed near its vicinity proves it to have existed during the days of the Roman Empire, for the coins bear the face of the Emperor Justinian. It is obvious from this fact that the port was one of call for the Phoenicians in their journeys to the east. As far as we are concerned, besides being one of the most ancient ports in India, Tamluk was the only inlet of merchandise into the "country of Bengala." To ascertain approximately the date of this seaport, a reference to the Sanskrit works of the Jains, Buddhists and Brahmmins, is necessary and they show frequent mention of the name "Tamralipta, a name which was given to the port as well as to the kingdom of which it was the capital, as also to the people. In fact, from these works it is surmised that the seaport was in existence long before the birth of Christ.

Ptolemy notices it in his geography, giving the place the name of Tamalites, and this was in the year 150 A. D. The situation of the town in his maps places it on the banks of the Ganges.

It really first merges into history by being several times referred to by mediaeval Buddhists as a port at which merchants and others embarked for Ceylon and the Far East. Fa-Hien (*saka* 405-11 A. D.) describes it as being on the sea-front, and the earliest Hindu tradition places the sea 8 miles off, to-day the town is 60 miles inland.

Fa-Hien took up his abode for two years in one of the Buddhist monasteries. It was again visited by another Chinese pilgrim, Huen-Tsiang (in the 7th century A.D.), whose description of the place shows it to be near an inlet of the sea. 10 li (about 2 miles in circuit) with ten Buddhist monasteries and 1,000 monks, and near by was a pillar erected by King Asoka, 200 feet high. Indigo, silk and copper (*tamra*) were the trading

articles of export and he concludes by thinking that the port got its name from the copper exports. Still another Chinese pilgrim—I-tsing, landed at the port from China at the close of the same century, and Hwui-Lun, the Corean, remarked—"This is the place for embarking for China from the East India and close to the sea."

The town also finds mention in the "Story of the ten princes" written by Mitrugupta, in which it is said to be close to the sea and not far from the Ganges and frequented by sea-going boats of the Yavannas and others, and on the whole prosperous.

Again on the Dudhpani rock, inscription, which is not later than the 8th or 9th century A.D., there is a reference to Tamralipta, but after this period no mention of the port can be found in any subsequent works.

Fault-finding

In the *Calcutta Presidency College Magazine*, Mr. J. C. Ghosh humorously lays down the definition :

Faults are what one finds in others; that is why fault-finding has ever been a highly fascinating pursuit. As a characteristic intellectual attitude it is the recognised privilege of all civilised men and women, and can be engaged in with considerable impunity. Laughter, which according to its most modern and brilliant analyst is purely critical, corrective and devoid of feeling, is the gesture of highly sophisticated societies. The wit, the humourist, the satirist and the caricaturist find their natural quarry in the follies and foibles of men and women, and we unloosen our purse-strings in order to view ourselves in the distorting mirror of their art. We enjoy being guyed and bullied by them, and call those great who really pull our ears while apparently pulling our legs. Even personal jealousy, malice and spleen may run into many editions, and in the hands of a master achieve immortality.

The sun and the moon would not be what they are if they did not have spots. It is at least some fun to discover that votive offerings are too often poured at feet that are of clay, and that the ample mantle hides shoulders that are too narrow. Men are, of course, great not because of their failings, but in spite of them. But no picture is complete without the necessary shade. The dark spots are not only so many foils setting off by contrast the general brilliance; they also supply the requisite human touch, for it is the way of all flesh to err. Frailty is a necessary human quality, and nothing would be more faulty than faultlessness even if it were possible—vapid, drab and inhuman.

Hindu-Moslem Quarrels

Mr. Vasudeo B. Mehta writes in *The Indian Review* :

The many and regrettable Hindu Mahommedan riots that have recently taken place in India, have set people thinking as to what should be done to prevent their recurrence in future. Religion has been a source of bitter quarrels in most if not all

countries of the world at some time or other in history Europe was torn to pieces by the religious wars of the Reformation. But as time passed, the followers of the different sects understood each other's point of view better, and so their wars became less and less frequent, and finally disappeared. In the same way, the Hindu-Mahomedan quarrels in India will disappear when the two communities understand each other's point of view better.

The situation is not hopeless. The different communities can be brought together again and made to work harmoniously as in the past. This can be done by one method,—and that is by giving the right kind of education. Whether the different communities have separate schools or common schools, the education imparted in these schools should be of a national and not of a communal character. All Indian children should be taught to take pride in their country and her history, and work for her improvement—as is being done in Turkish and Persian schools.

That a certain amount of friction for position and power between different Indian communities will always remain, cannot be denied; that kind of rivalry exists between different groups all over the world. But if the right kind of national education were given, Indians will certainly be able to unite and work for the improvement of their country,—and not waste their energies in irritating each other and flying at each other's throats as they are doing at present.

The Caves of India

Roughly speaking, says Dr. K. N. Sitaram in *Shama'a*,

The cave districts in India comprise about fifty different and distinct groups though the majority of them are to be found within the limits of the Presidency of Bombay. All told, the caves, both those which were only natural formation ones, and those specially hewed from out of the sides of the living mountains or detached rocks big enough for the same purpose, number easily more than a thousand, although some of these are no bigger than mere manholes, which house some of the slum population in the least sanitary parts of the City of Bombay, while others, like those of the chaitya Halls that lend dignity and charm to Karla, Kaperi, Ajanta, Bedsa and Bhaja, are structural excavations of whose 'Tour d'force' any nation in the world might be proud of.

There are others which were Viharas once, and housed either a college or only a community of mediating monks, which though secondarily for architecture, but still primarily are now invaluable for the students as well as connoisseurs of art, throughout the world, because of the precious fragments of frescoes which still adhere to their walls, ceilings and pillars, in some of which the colours are still as fresh as when they left the hands of their masters nearly two thousand years ago.

If the caves in the Ramgarh Hills can claim priority because of their antiquity, and as the earliest to delineate in colour the joy in life which

the ancient Indian felt, then the caves of Sittanavishal, twelve miles from Pudukottah, near Trichinopoly, contain some of the loveliest cave paintings which the hands of the Jain masters of the brush has as yet given to us. Ajanta contains the largest number of paintings executed in glorification of the Mahayana form of the Buddhist Faith, though some of the paintings are far from being either religious or Buddhist. One may say that the paintings of Bagh (Gwalior) are more or less contemporary with the latest of the wall paintings at Ajanta, even though from the point of technical achievement and the colour scheme, some of them may be said to be superior and gayer even to those at Ajanta, especially the scenes in the Raagamahal which depict Indian dancing.

Value of Historical Training

Mr. G. A. Naidu observes in *Morris College Magazine*:

A historical training teaches one to be critical in his study of the various aspects of human affairs. "The student is to read history actively and not passively," says Emerson, "to esteem his own life, the text, and books, the commentary. Thus compelled, the Muse of History will utter oracles." "A sound historical morality" (or training) says Goldwin Smith, "will sanction strong measures in evil times; selfish ambition, treachery, murder or perjury, it will never sanction in the worst of times, for these are the things that make times evil." "If you wish to profit by your reading," says Lord Bryce in one of his addresses, "do not forget to scrutinise each maxim delivered, to see if it be justified by facts. Sound criticism (or historical training) seeks rather to discover and appreciate merits than to note faults." In short, true historical training teaches to judge of events, correctly. It fosters right thinking, and favours the formation of a wholesome public opinion. "Let my son of ten read and reflect on history; this is the only true philosophy," were Napoleon's last instructions for the King of Rome. And it is this habit of reflection, which a sound historical training aims at cultivating in the average citizen, for a right understanding and proper guidance of the affairs of the society, and of the country in which he lives.

Another way in which a historical training is of practical value to the average citizen is that it enables him to make a fairly correct estimate of the future from the study of the past. "History," says Sir John Seeley, "ought surely in some degree, if it is worth anything, to anticipate the lessons of time. We shall all no doubt be wise after the event; we study history, that we may be wise before the event."

Engineering

L. N. Dev, Esq., L. M. T., writes in *Progress*—

Engineering is now recognised as one of the sciences. It is really the science of applying the

older sciences to the ordinary affairs of mankind. It is the practical application of information gathered by the abstract scientist, the chemist, the physicist, the mathematician and so forth. It is also defined as the science and art of adapting, converting and applying the great sources of power in nature to the use and convenience of man.

Some Indian Artists

N. Vyasa Ram, Esq., BHAVACHITRA LEKHANA SIROMANI (which we suppose is a brief hono-
rific title), read a paper before the Bangalore Mythic Society, in which, as published in its quarterly journal, we find the following :

The works of Ravi Varma may be roughly divided into three main groups: portraits, scenes from life (contemporary) and mythological representations. I am of opinion that his best works are to be found among the portraits, examples of which can still be seen at Mysore. Though he was not a portrait painter like Rembrandt who could see through his sitters, Ravi Varma must certainly be accepted as one of the best portrait painters of modern India. The huge portraits of Their Highnesses the Maharaja and the Yuvaraja of Mysore are among his best productions in the line.

While Ravi Varma, through his art created in the people a certain amount of appreciation for scientific colouring of light and shade, he has also on the other hand, stimulated the grosser tastes in them for jarring colour effects and pleasant lusty womanhood in painting, to such an extent, that the path of the sincere well-wisher and reformer in the line has become very steep and beset with thorns on every side. India became, in consequence of the activities of Ravi Varma and his followers, a suburb of London and Paris in art, as she is a suburb of Manchester and Sheffield in commerce. As the art of Ravi Varma was a lifeless imitation and hybrid combination, similar features dominated the life of the average Indian of the period making it too prosaic and devoid of imagination.

The swing in Indian artistic thought towards the western ideal had reached far enough to need a re-action. And this originated on the other extreme of India. Ravi Varma's prosaic art spread its influences from the west end of India, commercial Bombay. The reactionary influences began their work from the east end of India—emotional and poetic Bengal. This movement, stimulated and patronized by E. B. Havell, the principal of the Calcutta School of Arts, gathered round it a strong band of relentless workers like Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose and began a counter activity in art.

The members of this re-actionary school saw that the beauty of Indian life was fading away in a mad pursuit of a foreign civilization and concluded that the only method of purging Indian art of its newly acquired evils and purifying it once again was to look back to the past for inspiration and guidance. Consequently they based their studies on the art of Ajanta, and the Moghul and Rajput schools of the mediæval period. Without

doubt this movement produced some excellent artists who have won world-wide fame for their country through their productions. Abanindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, Surendranath Kar, Asit Kumar Haldar, Gogonendranath Tagore and Mukul Chandra Dey are among the foremost of them in Bengal. These artists developed different styles of their own each specializing in his own way. Gogonendranath Tagore specialized in the ironical aspect of art and produced a series of extremely humorous and instructive cartoons illustrating the degeneration of Bengali life. He has now become an exponent of the new theory of cubism.

As the fashion of Indian art grew more and more common the spirit of fanaticism found itself gradually entering the minds of the later artists. Among the ideals of the new school, one was to copy and revive the style of Ajanta. But the new artists forgot that *the hand can never imitate the style of Ajanta unless the heart is inspired by the ideal of Ajanta artists*. If the ideal was there the style would come by itself.

It is with a certain feeling of pride, however, that we have to consider the effect of the activities of the new school of thought on South Indian artists who came under its influence. While Bengal, always emotional, soared beyond its normal limits and reached the extent of fanaticism in her art, South India, though represented by a handful of her artists in this new wave of artists' renaissance, brought her reason and intellect to bear upon these problems and struck out a new line for herself.

Two names appear before me in outstanding prominence in South India: Venkatappa of Mysore and Natesan of Hyderabad. These two artists evolved a style of their own which particularly reflected the ideals of the part of the country they lived in.

"To the Youth of India"

Through the medium of *The Scholar* Miss M. A. Tata, M. Sc., Barrister-at-Law, addresses the following words to the Youth of India:—

From times immemorial poets have sung of Youth. It is the most wonderful period in one's life. The youths are to a country what the spring is to the year. They feel the joy of being alive; vital forces are pulsating, throbbing through them, striving for expression like the flowers which burst forth in spring from the cold barren earth. It is those vital forces which give courage, vision and adventuresomeness to youth, nay, which are its sole prerogatives. It is a time when sympathy is rich and wide, the "world has not been broken into fragments by narrow domestic walls", and the mind is not fossilised in terms of dogma and tradition. Buoyancy and hope are characteristics of youth, for, were it not so, progress would not be possible in the world. It is this capacity of youth to dare, to be, which is the motive force of all progress. Life is the greatest of adventures which faces us all; if we shrink from it, if we do not face it, then surely something is wrong with us somewhere, for it is not in the nature of youth to doubt and hesitate, but to dare and hope.

Practical Idealists :

This is a time when dreams are dreamt and ideals are formed. But now-a-days, it is not enough merely to dream great dreams ; this is an era pre-eminently of action, at no time in history was there so much need for right and decisive action as to-day. This is an era of big international movements. We, who have learnt the value of combination and organisation in business and in politics, why should not we, the youths of a nation, unite and form an association of practical idealists—for that is what we hope to be.

as these were inspired and guided and helped in the past by the progressive patriots of England, like Hume and Wedderburn. Further, it is only a form of enlightened self-interest for the politician of British India to feel concerned for the politics of his brother in the Indian State. For, any scheme of Swaraj for British India must, at some vital points, touch the claims and interests of the Indian States; and no proper scheme can therefore be devised without a serious consideration of the latter's position and prospects also.

Improvement of Third Class Carriages

The Indian Railways observes :

In our opinion more accommodation should be provided with a view to avoid overcrowding and the benches should be wider to get rid of the present punishments. All carriages should be securely walled with wood and glasses and present narrow gauge open-trucks should be permanently damaged. In local trains also there should be privy arrangements, as nobody can check the call of nature and in view of sanitation this is bad. A cook room will serve a party well, but average Indians will not heartily support the idea. Water must there invariably be in all carriages and to this point all attention is respectfully drawn. There should be iron nails set in E. B. Ry. carriages as are found in the E. I. R. ones, in addition to the hanging benches. The same case applies to the *Inter Class* carriages. Overcrowding there is very great. People pay much but do not get suitable room to their ill-luck. Like third, more *Inter Class* carriages should be attached with every train to avoid discomforts and disquietitudes. We request the Railway authorities to be mindful to our hearty requests and sincere entreaties made above.

Self-help for Indian States Subjects

The Karantaka dissents from Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar's opinions on Indian States on the following point among others :

He says that the people of the States have themselves to work for their emancipation. No one will be so foolish as to dissent from this. But, if he has known anything of the internal conditions of the States, he should not need to be told how very difficult—nay, impossible—it is for their peoples to carry on any political work. The Princes and their ministers know how to get scent of any attempt to start a popular agitation and how to crush it out. If their people should advance, it is essential that they should be helped by the progressive patriots of British India, even

Teaching of Economics in School

We read in *The Garland* :

The importance of the study of a true National system of Economics to the growing citizens of a country can in no sense be overrated and the lamentable lack of knowledge in this subject even in several of our so-called educated men is one of the most regrettable shortcomings in the system of education prevalent in this country. That the subject of economics has not been given the proper place it deserves in our present curricula of studies prescribed for schools and colleges goes without saying and a chat with an average individual passing for an educated man on such a topic as India's international trade or tariff or currency problems, gives you ample room. I do not know, whether to say for regret or for laughter. I have often been wondering how seriously inadequate that education must be which does not impart to its recipient some knowledge regarding the production and distribution of wealth in his country, the monetary standard and the banking systems prevalent, the principle and practice of the tax system or systems in vogue etc. If the teaching of the elements of economics in general and of Indian economics in particular were more widespread than it is now, there would have been no possibility of men of some education betraying colossal ignorance on such a topic of discussion as say the suitability or otherwise of state aid to some industry during some specific period of its growth.

As things stand, few outside the small circle of college and University Professors of Economics, seem to take any great interest in the discussion of Economic problem. Even several of the newspapers try carefully to avoid the subject, and even when occasional editorials on economic questions appear, the average reader seems to slur over it for the simple reason that he does not understand it or thinks so. The proceedings of economic conferences do not often get the publicity they deserve and even if published appear almost as Greek and Latin to the vast majority of readers.

It will therefore be certainly an excellent thing, if the educational authorities see their way to make an elementary study of Indian economics compulsory in our High School classes throughout the Presidency.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Sir Muhammad Iqbal's Poetry

In *The Bharat* Mr. S. A. Rahman says of Sir Muhammad Iqbal's poetry, in part :—

In the midst of a community groaning under the dead-weight of a lifeless intellectualism and steeped in the opiate of pantheistic sufism came this singer of eternal melodies, and with one touch of his wizard-hand set into ecstatic vibration the life-strings of a whole nation. The sleepers of centuries stirred, yawned, opened their eyes, and found themselves in a new world. Some understood, some misunderstood; all were thrilled. And in the midst of this commotion, rose the voice of the poet, singing triumphantly :

"I have no need of the ear of to-day,
I am the voice of the Poet of To-morrow."
—*Secrets of the Self.*

That is the keynote to his poetry. He is not merely an inspired sentimentalist, catering to the love of "sch-stuff," so characteristic of the Orient. He feels that he has a message to deliver—a message he must proclaim with all the breath he can command :

"My song exceeds the range of the chord
Yet I do not fear that my lute will break."
—*Secrets of the Self*

His is indeed an inspiring message. He demonstrates to us that life is livable if only we knew it—not only livable but enjoyable. He enters a vigorous protest against the dogma that this world is an illusion and that therefore, one must resort to the woods and eat fig-leaves to save one's soul. We are not mere grains of sand buffeted by every chance-wind, the ephemeral playthings of an ironic Fate. We are atoms indeed, but atoms pregnant with the potentialities of life. We have only to develop our latent powers to realize ourselves :

"You do not know your worth : it takes its
value from you.
Otherwise this sparkling ruby is but a piece
of stone."
—*Message of the East.*

And again :

"O thou that art heedless of the trust
committed to thee
Esteem thyself superior to both worlds!"
—*Secrets of the Self.*

He does not merely hold out to our admiring gaze the vision of the supreme goal of life—he tells us how we can actually attain it. We have only to educate the Ego in us by a life of consistent self-affirmation, self-assertion, and self-expression.

A Dutch Journal

In a journal named *Timboel*, conducted

in Dutch and published in Java, we find a translation of Dr. J. T. Sunderland's article in the *Modern Review* entitled "America's Interest in India."

The Labour Movement in China

Mr. Ta Chen concludes his article on the labour movement in China in the *International Labour Review* thus :—

In the first place, in order to strengthen the labour movement, labour must be divorced from both politics and radicalism, for in recent years political changes and communistic propaganda have adversely affected the cause of labour. Meantime, strenuous efforts should be made to recruit men of courage and determination to fight the cause of labour independently and unselfishly. Unless there are a considerable number of men with a strong conviction that social and industrial progress will come only through an emancipated proletariat, it will not be possible to carry on a fruitful labour movement. Secondly, the predominant ambition of labour should be the social and economic improvement of the workmen, for their misery to-day is fundamentally due to combined social and economic causes. The main questions at issue include wages, hours of labour, conditions of employment, and social treatment by the employers. Only when the workers have an income adequate to maintain a decent standard of living can higher ideals of social life be discussed. The economic phase of the fight should precede any other consideration in a programme of social reconstruction for present-day China. Thirdly, unsound practices should be avoided. A general tendency to-day is to imitate the tactics of the labour movement in the west. Certain practices may have been successful for the struggle between capital and labour in Europe or America but may yet be ineffective in China. Regulations or policies of trade unions may be efficient for one society but unsuitable for another. Certain aspects of the Chinese labour movement to-day are still too foreign in spirit. Trade union methods and practices of western countries should be so modified as to suit economic and social conditions in China. The 8-hour working day should not be blindly advocated when the 10-hour day would in many cases be a blessing to the workers. It is useless to agitate blindly for labour co-partnership in industry when the majority of the workers are still illiterate and care little for such privileges. What is urgently needed, then, is a programme of practical reforms, based upon existing social conditions, which shall truly serve to promote the welfare and happiness of the workers. Some fundamental work must be done to build up an intelligent proletariat capable of appreciating and

using wisely its just rights and privileges. Gradually its social standards should be raised, so as to ensure industrial peace in the nation, and so ultimately throughout the world.

Japan's Foreign Relations

The *Japan Magazine* contains the following opinion of Baron Shidehara, minister for foreign affairs, Japan, on Japan's foreign policy :

Our policy covering all questions in the relations between Japan and China may then be summarized as follow :

1. To respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, and scrupulously to avoid all interference in her domestic strife
2. To promote solidarity and economic rapprochement between the two nations.
3. To entertain sympathetically and helpfully the just aspirations of the Chinese people, and to co-operate in the efforts for the realization of such aspirations.
4. To maintain an attitude of patience and toleration in the present situation of China, and at the same time, to protect Japan's legitimate and essential rights and interests by all reasonable means at the disposal of the Government.

Difference Between the Nationalist and Anti-Nationalist Armies in China

The *New Republic* observes :

It looks more and more as if the national impulse to which the Canton government is giving an effective military and political expression will, in the course of the present year, subdue the whole of China. The Nationalist victories, according to all accounts, are won quite as much by propaganda as by the discipline and the valor of the Cantonese armies. The troops which oppose them are merely mercenaries, or at best provincial levies; and their loyalty and the loyalty of the communities which they are supposed to defend are easily undermined by armies which are fighting on behalf of the Chinese national idea. For the first time in centuries, the Canton government is offering to the Chinese peoples the prospect of participating in the life of an orderly, independent state which will at least try to govern in their interests. Propaganda to this effect ought to work as well in the north of China as it has in the south. Chiang Tso-jin stands, it is true, for an idea. He, like many another apprehensive official, is proclaiming himself to the world as the arch-enemy of Bolshevism, but this kind of preaching is intended, not for the benefit of the Chinese, but to curry favour and support from foreign powers. The anti-Nationalists can for the time being place armies in the field against the Cantonese armies, but they cannot place ideas in the field against the Cantonese ideas. These ideas will continue to

march ahead of the Cantonese troops and pave the way for their victories. The most serious obstacles which the Chinese Nationalists will encounter in winning over their fellow-countrymen will not be created by their present active opponents, who appear already to be beaten. They will arise after the fighting is over, and when they will have to redeem their pledge to provide the Chinese with an orderly and progressive national government.

Financial Interests and the Use of Violence

In the opinion of the editor of *The World Tomorrow*,

The use of violence by nations to protect their financial interests abroad is proving to be less and less effective. The policy of armed coercion is rapidly breaking down in China, India, and Egypt, and has already been abandoned in Turkey, Ireland, and the Ruhr. The economic boycott, the industrial strike, the policy of non-violent non-co-operation, and national armies are being widely used to administer disastrous blows to the commercial and financial interests of foreigners. It is supreme folly to think that western powers can successfully safeguard their economic interests in the Near East or in the Orient by the use of violence.

"Colour" Problem of the British Empire

Writing on the above subject in *The Labour Magazine*, Major D. Graham Pole asks :

Are our Statesmen big enough to settle the Eastern problem in a big way? If not, they are going to unite the whole of the coloured races against the dominion of their white over-lords. Not only shall we lose the Indian Empire because of the lack of imagination of our Statesmen, but we shall go far to unite the whole of Asia, and possibly the whole of the coloured peoples of the world, in a determination to overthrow the white races who seem unable to see the signs that even he who runs may read.

Muddle and Bombay

Mr. B. Shiva Rao writes to *Foreign Affairs* (British) :

Dr. Besant has been a severe critic of British rule in India, which may be efficient in administration, but has shown a criminal neglect of all that concerns the life of the people—education, health, food and decent housing.

Even this bubble of "efficiency" was burst recently by a Committee appointed by the Government itself. Lord Lloyd, when he was in Bombay

as Governor, launched a scheme for re-claiming a portion of the sea for greater Bombay. The scheme is a colossal failure, and the protests of the people became so loud that the Government appointed a Committee. How the work was done is best told in its own words :

The organisation and arrangements made for the conduct of the scheme were almost unworkable. Responsibility was not clearly defined. Much of the technical work was left to an over-worked Chief Executive Engineer, or was not done at all. Nobody believed himself responsible for the due execution of the work. No real effort was made to secure competitive tenders.

Every word in the above paragraph is from the Committee's report. The scheme failed because the clay at the bottom of the sea was hard, and the dredger ordered from England could only work on soft clay. Lord Lloyd's defence is that the distinction between hard and soft clay was too technical for him to appreciate! Sir George Buchanan, the expert, gave such "manifest underestimates" that the Committee says, "it cannot understand how they found acceptance at Bombay and Delhi." When Sir George was questioned by the Committee about his figures, "he preferred not to answer those questions" Sir Lawless Hepper was Director of the Department, on a salary of over £5,000 a year. His annual reports, says the Committee, "cannot be justified. They do not present a true picture of progress of the work, and concealed material circumstances."

Now comes the best part of the story. The misleading of the public for over six years by false reports; the sanction of a scheme on figures deliberately altered and equally deliberately overlooked by the Bombay Government and the Government of India; the ordering of a soft clay dredger to do operations on hard clay; the breakdown of the scheme, involving a loss of several millions of pounds—none of this is denied. But the men concerned in this were all honest, says the Committee, "actuated by the highest motives." They perpetrated—well, only "errors of judgment."

A Union of English-speaking Peoples

On Mr. Hearst's advocacy of a Union of English-speaking peoples Mr. J. Krishnamurti makes many just observations, some of which are quoted below.

What, in Heaven's name, is the fundamental difference between a non-English-speaking person and an English-speaking person, between a Hindu and a Christian, or between a Chinese and an American, that they cannot peacefully enjoy the world together? Is it because of the difference in colour, in traditions, in customs, that we should be regarded as superior or inferior? The highest Brahmin of India regards the white man, or anyone outside his own caste, as "beyond the pale." He is as instrumental in causing a division as the man who is convinced of the superiority of the English race.

A Union of English-speaking races alone, while it might undoubtedly increase the material wealth and prosperity of those races, would not make for

the well-being of the world, because it would leave out of the new civilization the wisdom, the culture, the beauty of the East and of the non-English-speaking races. The English-speaking races, while they have been distinguished for their power of organization, of government and of law, while they have produced great literature and works of art, have never given birth to a religion or to a great spiritual teacher. The spiritual wealth of the world lies in the East, and the material wealth of the world lies in the West; and the union of both is the guarantee of the world's happiness.

"China Must Arm"

The following is taken from the London *Inquirer* :

"One of the saddest things said to me whilst I was in China," writes Dr. Charles E. Jefferson (U. S. A.) as quoted in *The Christian Register*, "was said by the President of Amoy University, one of the noblest men it has ever been my privilege to meet. We were sitting on the deck of a vessel on our way to Hong Kong, and we were discussing the present and the future of China. He said, 'China must arm. No Oriental nation can have the respect of the Christian nations of the West unless it is armed. No Oriental nation can expect justice at the hands of any Christian nation unless it is armed. There is nothing, then, for us to do but to arm. We must go contrary to the traditions of our people and to the principles of the greatest of our sages in order to secure justice at the hands of the nations of the West.' And I sat there in his presence shamefaced and dumb."

Awakened China

We read in *The Modern World* :

Seventeen years ago the "break-up of China" was taken for granted by the chancellories of the world.

Today China can no longer be regarded as one of the stakes for which imperialist diplomacy can play.

Four hundred million people representing the oldest—and in many ways the most civilized—race the world has known have taunted in 17 years as no one would have anticipated they could have taunted in a century.

Every close student of Chinese history recognizes that beneath the surface differences China's diverse populations display, there is a psychic unity represented by a myriad manifestations which the casual tourist, the purblind militarist or diplomatist can never see.

Devices and outside oppression—railroads, telegraphs and airplanes on the one hand and arrogant bullying on the other hand—have served to make this psychic unity potent even in the gross terms which, alone, Occidental imperialism can understand.

From China emerges a voice which will increasingly influence the future. It is the voice of a

truly civilized, rational, ethical *kultur* made vibrant and threatening by enforced self-protection against the merely animalistic, brutish activities representing that mythical "superiority" of the predatory Occident exalting the physical while blind to the more subtle ideals to which the Orient has given allegiance.

A Polish View of English-speaking Peoples

We have received from Warsaw a journal named *Zycie Wolne*, in which the only things that we could read were the following lines in English addressed "To English-speaking Peoples":—

How now?...

For the others only You have the moral command of disarmament in order to be able to keep easier Your uncontrolled armed dominance over the world?

From the others only You require to give full rights to racial and speech minorities, and for Yourself You guard the right of oppressing enormous peoples, whose culture is by many millenia older than Your own?

For others You have pulpits to preach the sublime words of Christ, but for Yourself You preserve the Moloch's and Mammon's altars?

Ireland, Mexico, Nicaragua...

The Negroes, The Boers...

India, China...

And the affair of the Mavor of Cork...

And the process of Mahatma Gandhi...

Still, You are not ashamed, You mighty powers?

Still do You not regret this sublime role of a Great Arbiter of the World, that the cruel War has awarded to You?

O! Anglo-Saxons!

Every Anglo-Saxon is not like this.

Beating Politicals in Soviet Russia

In a Bulletin published in Paris and Berlin in March there are some frightful and disgusting details of the treatment received by political prisoners in Soviet Russia, some of which we print below. The more disgusting portions have been left out.

In a cell occupied by 4 Georgian Social Democrats was placed the non-partisan workingman Beliankin. The Georgians, speaking Russian imperfectly, used to converse among themselves in their native tongue. In consequence, Beliankin felt himself entirely isolated and requested to be transferred into another cell, or into solitary. His demand refused, Beliankin declared a hunger strike. He was entirely ignored by the prison management, till the 17th day of his strike, when he was removed from his cell for the purpose of administering forcible feeding. The other politicals protested against this by creating an obstruction for about five to ten minutes, during which time they beat with their tables and stools against the doors.

Within a few minutes the prison was filled with the special guards of the G. P. U. who immediately forced themselves into the cells and began throwing their contents into the corridor. The politicals did not resist, not wishing to precipitate any blood-hed, in view of the fact that the Tchekists were all armed, some of them being drunk. But the activities of the G. P. U. guards did not stop there. After the contents of the cells were all thrown out, the Tchekists attacked the prisoners. They began forcibly undressing them, the while beating the victims. Not only the men, but the Women prisoners were similarly treated. The proceedings in the female cells were accompanied with terrible scenes of brutality. They would pick up a woman bodily, one guard tearing off her things, another pulling off her stockings, while the other Tchekists indulged in market vulgarity and cynicism.

One of the women, the S. R. Ksheshnevskaya, was knocked down and beaten into unconsciousness for daring to protest. The Zionist-Socialist woman Holtzman and several others suffered similar treatment. The Social Democrat Dalinsky was badly beaten up for trying to protect his wife. Also Dichter and his wife Venger. Even the sick politicals did not escape brutal handling.

During three days the Tchekists continued the beatings.

The use of the toilet is allowed for only 20 minutes—for the occupants of each cell, collectively. The guards actually force themselves into the toilets, even when occupied by women, and drag the occupant to his cell, irrespective of his or her condition. The women in particular have been brought to such a pass that they now refuse to go to the toilet to wash up.

For some time past the authorities of the Tobolsk polit-isolator have been making the lives of the politicals unbearably miserable. The Anarchist prisoners occupy Cell No. 6 and one morning, about 10-30, the usual time for being permitted to go to the lavatory, the men were informed that the lavatory was engaged. They waited patiently, repeatedly reminding the keepers about their need. This continued till 3 in the afternoon, though never on previous occasions was the toilet engaged by one person for more than 15 minutes.

Prohibition in America

We read in *The International Student of America*:

At the moment, prohibition as a national policy is supported by the business community, by all the Protestant churches, by the women's organizations, by the farmers, and probably by the boot-leggers altogether a very powerful combination for any political party to challenge successfully. In Europe we are constantly told that American labor desires to re-establish the liquor interests. Even if this were true, labor is not so universally organized in America as in Britain and does not take the same part in politics. But it is not true. Manual workers in the United States belong in great measure to what is called the middle class. They belong to labor but not to the lower classes.

These men are often associated with church and chapel. These would be against drink. Then, also, too many wives of manual workers attribute to prohibition the comforts of their homes to make at all universal the pro-liquor views of a limited number of labor leaders in districts where there are foreign-born workers.

This journal shows how owing to prohibition health has improved, crime decreased, drunkenness decreased, drinking in colleges decreased and economic conditions improved. Consequently there are more homes, better homes, less poverty, and more food (not wine and beer), milk and meat.

The Soul of China

Writing in *The Review of Nations* on the Soul of China Professor Richard Wilhelms observes, impart:—

The East does not form one indivisible whole. It is true that there are some common traits—some things that are characteristic of all civilisations from Constantinople to Calcutta and Tokyo, if they are contrasted with Western Europe and America. The common characteristic may be briefly defined as a holding fast to the natural profundities of the soul, as against the Western tendency to make life consistently mechanical and rational. But within this unity we find a variety of forms of expression.

Chinese civilisation has already passed through one crisis about 2200 years ago. At that period it passed through its mechanical stage. Technical discoveries were made, and something like capitalism and industrialism came into existence. The old orders fell into decay, and a new aristocracy of wealth and power sprang up. A process of atomisation took place in thought. The philosophy of Yang Chu was a glorification of the individual, who would not give up one jot or one tittle even to benefit the whole world, and on the other hand, would not accept one jot or one tittle which was not his just due. Mo Ti, on the other hand, taught a rationalistic faith in an anthropomorphically conceived personal God, whose will it was that all men should love one another. He hoped to build up the fabric of society on the basis of this universal human love, organised in the form of a church, and on a rationalistic system of pragmatism and utilitarianism. In his view that is true which has prevailed historically, that which is practically useful, and that which corresponds to the dictates of common sense.

As far as China's attitude towards the West is concerned, it has gone too far in the reception of the mechanical civilisation of the West for retreat to be possible. The Chinese want the advantages of mechanical industry. This however means that capitalism, and the uprooting of the factory workers and their reduction to the status of a proletariat, must also be accepted. What is more, the improvement of means of communication, the development of mining, and the industrialisation of large tracts of territory cannot fail to have its effects on the structure of Chinese society. The organisation of the Confucian family State will necessarily break

down, and the atomisation of society will be the result.

There is no intention in China of passing through all the phases of capitalistic industrialism, which caused so much misery in Europe, in the same way that Europe was obliged to pass through them. China benefits by the historical moment at which industrialism comes to it. Since the Russian Revolution it is no longer a moral possibility for the proletariat to be treated in so inhuman a fashion as in Europe in the Nineteenth Century. Again the Chinese worker is not so defenceless against exploitation by the employers as the European worker was when there came, without warning, the sudden development of machinery and its consequences. China has inherited from its past the power to organise. The system of guilds of traders and craftsmen in the towns is still full of vitality. These organisations are a further development of the administrative organisations of the villages, which are based upon combinations of families. They constitute the germ of trade unions. Besides, the workers in China are not struggling without defence of help in inarticulate misery. They receive guidance, assistance and moral support from the students, who feel their solidarity with the struggling proletariat and stand shoulder to shoulder with it.

A solution for all the problems with which China is faced is to be found in the spirit of the old traditions. The more the Chinese have become sceptical that the only salvation is to be found in the gospel of Europe, the more they have realised how much benefit is to be derived from their own past, and have tended to go back to it. The representatives of Young China have undertaken the gigantic task of impartially investigating and sifting what national and what foreign elements are good and useful, and can be amalgamated to form a new synthesis of cultures.

Let us sum up what has been said above. If mankind is to set itself free from the bonds of the temporal and the local, it needs two things. The first is profound penetration into its own subconscious, until from that beginning the way is opened to all those living experiences to which access is gained intuitively in mystical contemplation. This is the contribution of the East. On the other side, mankind needs the bringing of the free individuality to the utmost pitch of intensity, until it gains sufficient strength to bear the full pressure of the external world. This is the contribution of the West. On this ground East and West meet as twin brothers each of which is the necessary complement to the other.

Wiping Out Illiteracy in China

Current History for April has an interesting article on this subject by Lenning Sweet, in the course of which he says:—

What Socrates did for the thought of Greece, what Pasteur did for medical science, Y. C. James Yen is doing for democracy in Asia.

Yen, who conceived and founded the Popular Education Movement is gradually teaching 320 000,000 people to read and write at the rate of a

million a year, at a cost to each pupil of ninety six hours' time and to the community of the equivalent of 50 cents per scholar. This has been done almost entirely by volunteer help, in a country in which there is no semblance of central Government and which has sunk into poverty and anarchy through fifteen years of civil war and brigandage.

Never before has it been possible for a Manchurian coolie to learn at first-hand the thoughts of his countryman in Canton, or for him to read what is happening in Paris, in Vienna, in New York. Now millions are learning to understand the meaning of "China." For the three million textbooks which Yen has sold do not merely teach the pupils to recognize the puzzling Chinese characters; they also carry lessons concerning love of country, veneration of the heroes of old, the solidarity of the labouring classes, the imperialism of foreigners and the meaning of citizenship in a republic.

Afghanistan's "Modern" Ruler

We read in the same magazine :—

Amanullah Khan is an ambitious man. He has two objects in view: to become the Caliph or religious head of all the Sunni Mohammedans in the world, and to modernize his country.

The Amir has already taken many steps to realise his second object, viz., to modernize his country. He has taken Japan as his model, and like the late Mikado, Mutsu Hito, he is introducing all sorts of reforms in the country.

The Amir is rapidly progressing. He has employed a large number of Turks to bring Afghanistan into line with Western countries; the Afghan army is trained by Turkish officers. The Turks are also put in charge of the Finance Department. But though the Amir prefers Turks, who as mohammedans are more agreeable to his people as introducers of Western civilization, it must not be supposed that he employs no Western peoples. There are some American and German experts appointed to guide the industrial and commercial activity of the country. No British or Russians are employed, because the amir is afraid of both Great Britain and Russia. Non-official Western peoples are also taking part in the development of Afghanistan. A German firm called "Shirkat-i-Alman" (The German Cooperative Company) has recently secured monopoly of the whole export and import trade of the country. Another German firm has applied for the monopoly of valuable minerals in Afghanistan and the application is being considered by the Amir. French archaeologists under M. A. Foucher have obtained a thirty year monopoly for excavating the remains of the Greco-Bactrian civilization in the country.

The Amir is a strong protectionist. With the exception of the Koran and other religious books, also war material there is a heavy duty on all imports into the kingdom. Powders, cosmetics, collars and handkerchiefs are charged 100 per cent. duty.

The Government of Afghanistan has been considerably improved. The Amir sees that no tyranny is practised in any of the five provinces

into which his kingdom is divided—Kabul, Kandahar, Afghan Turkestan, Herat and Badakshan which are ruled each by a Governor. He has created a Khilwat (cabinet) which is composed of Sirdars (hereditary noblemen) and Khans (representatives of the people). He has also created two assemblies, the Durbar Shahi (the Senate) and Kharwanin Mulkhi (Congress). Justice is administered by the Kazi (the District Judge) and under the Kazi comes the Kotval (Magistrate). The Amir himself is the Supreme Court of Appeal. Amanullah Khan, like Oriental monarchs of old, has also set apart a day in the week on which the humblest of the subjects can approach him and pour their grievances into his ears.

He is something of a linguist, because, besides Pustu (the people's language) and Persian (the court language) he speaks English and French. He dresses in a half Oriental and half Western style; but he takes good care that the cloth from which his garments are made is manufactured in Afghanistan.

Increasing Duration of Life

Mr. Watson Davis writes in the same monthly :—

One of the most notable achievements in the eventful half century since Pasteur has been the increase in the average duration of life in the United States. At present the average length of life is 58 years. Public health experts predict that the average years of man will continue to lengthen as time goes on. At the recent convention of the American Public Health Association Professor Irving Fisher of Yale gave a schedule of how the duration of life should increase in the years to come, assuming that a hundred-year average duration is the attainable limit. In 1930, the average length of life will be 61; in 1940, 65; 1950, 69; 1960, 72; 1970, 75; 1980, 78; 1990, 80; 2000, 82. In the distant time of 2100 nearly everybody should live until 94 years of age. Professor Fisher pointed out that increases in length of life were being made at an amazing rate at the present time. The pace for the quarter century just past was 40 years increase per century, whereas it was only 4 years per century in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There will be a time, perhaps, when men will live, if not for ever, at least much longer than the century mark, which is now practically the limit of the human life span. The time will come, perhaps, Professor Fisher said, when the human being will have an indefinite life-span, when his defective and worn-out parts can be replaced and renewed like those of a watch.

A Swiss on Our Congress

A Swiss correspondent has contributed to the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* an article on the Gauhati session of the Indian National

Congress, from which we make the following extracts:—

People previously unknown to its members have enjoyed brief periods of amazing popularity only to be forgotten the following season. A classical example is Annie Besant, the theosophist leader. As early as 1878 this lady attacked the British Government in India in a pamphlet entitled *England-India-Afghanistan*. In 1916 she appeared, almost unannounced, with a plan for immediate home rule, which she persuaded the Congress to endorse by a heavy majority. At the session in Calcutta late in 1917 she was elected president. But she vanished from the stage as suddenly as she had appeared, and no longer figures among the Congress leaders. The Ali brothers have had a somewhat similar experience.

This year's attendance, which was about five thousand including spectators, was not as large as at some previous sessions; but when we consider that the delegates had to make an exceptionally long journey at their own expense in order to attend, it was most creditable. A number of those with whom I talked spent three days and three nights on the railway to reach Gauhati, which is twenty hours' railway journey north-east of Calcutta, the nearest large city.

A place was reserved for lady delegates and their children. These formed a bright and charming group. Many of the women were remarkably beautiful, and, as they sat there on their mats, their flowing bright garments made them seem like a veritable nosegay in the snowy throng. The Assamite women, who were naturally out in force, are among the loveliest in India.

Madame Sarojini Naidu, the poetess, who, like Gandhi, has resided in that continent, followed Gandhi with one of the most brilliant and appealing addresses of the Congress. She pictured with vivid, ardent words and a great wealth of literary figures the condition of the Indian settlers in Africa. Every sentence was perfectly rounded and complete. Her address was a gem of extemporaneous eloquence.

Heart Thunderings by Loud-speaker

The Literary Digest notes:—

An electric stethoscope with radio loud-speakers attached rumbled and roared recently with the noise of human heart-beats amplified 10,000,000,000 times in its first clinical demonstration at the University of Pennsylvania, says a Philadelphia dispatch to the *New York Herald Tribune*:

"Two hundred members of the junior class of the Medical School took notes as the dull roaring of the hearts of eight patients of the university hospital, one at a time, reverberated throughout the hospital auditorium.

"The patients, all of whom are afflicted with some form of heart ailment, were wheeled, one by one, on their beds into the center of the amphitheater beside the huge apparatus flanked by two large, rectangular loud-speakers, and had the stethoscope placed on their chests.

"As the first patient was 'hooked up' with the

radiolike apparatus, a rumbling as of distant thunder filled the room.

"That's the heart-beat," explained Dr. C. J. Gamble, assistant instructor in pharmacology, who with H. F. Hopkins, of the laboratories of the Bell Telephone Company, New York, in charge of the heart-beat amplifier, conducted the class.

"This is amplified, 10,000,000,000 times," said Dr. Gamble.

"The roaring was irregular, as if a man were pounding on a barrel with a hammer, alternating the interval between the strokes.

"Dr. Gamble explained that the machine was the result of seven years' work in the Bell Company laboratories. It was devised especially to enable students to become familiar with heart sounds in diagnosis. The demonstration, Dr. Gamble said, was its debut in actual work. Heart beats have been heard over the radio before, but this was the first time the beats have been amplified to such an extent.

"Differences in the heart beats of the several patients were discernible to the lay auditor. Some hearts beat rapidly, slowing up when the patient held his breath momentarily at the request of Dr. Gamble. Others were irregular.

"The most interesting patient was a sixteen-year-old high school boy. He grinned when he heard his own heart-beats pounding into his ears, watched the blackboard chart of his heart's functioning, and waved his hand in a cheery goodbye as he was wheeled out."

Buddhism in Leningrad

The British Buddhist announces:—

"Preparations are well under way for the opening in Leningrad of a special institution for the study of Buddhism. Its establishment with the status of an Academy, will mark it out as the only institution of its kind in the world.

"It will be organised in four departments—Japanese, Indian, Chinese, Mongolian—at the head of which will be four eminent Sanskrit Scholars, one from each of the nationalities mentioned. The Soviet Government has borne initial cost and guarantees the Institution financially for the future."

Let us hope that the British people too will follow this grand example and study more carefully the Doctrine of Love and Compassion enunciated by the Buddha Gautam over 2,500 years ago.

A Resolution Urging Prohibition

According to *Abkari*, the Executive Committee of the Prohibition League of India has passed the following resolution:—

The Executive Committee of the League passed a resolution placing on record its clear and considered judgment that the total prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic liquors and poisonous drugs,

except for medical and industrial purposes, should be the goal of the Excise policy of the Imperial Government, all Provincial Governments, and the Governments of Indian States. Keeping in view the difficulties of the introduction of national prohibition, a period of ten years is sufficient for this purpose in the opinion of the Committee. The financial difficulty must be met partly by reduction

of expenditure and partly by alternative methods of taxation. The Imperial and Local Governments should be urged to recast, as early as possible the present scheme of finance so as to eliminate Excise revenue from the country's financial system.

The resolution further demanded the immediate introduction of local option laws by which to ascertain the wishes of the people in this matter.

SHIVAJI, HIS GENIUS, ENVIRONMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT

By JADUNATH SARKAR

I

OUR conception of Shivaji needs revision in the light of an exhaustive and critical study of the many original sources of his history which have been opened to the present generation. The theory that he was merely a lightly moving and indefatigable raider, a brigand of an ampler and more successful type than the ordinary, can no longer be held.

No blind fanatic, no mere brigand, can found a State. That is the work of a statesman alone. And statesmanship has been well-defined by the Right Hon'ble Mr. H. A. L. Fisher as the power of correctly calculating and skilfully utilising the forces of one's age and country so as to make them contribute to the success of one's policy. The true statesman does not grumble when he cannot find the materials for his purpose ready to his hand; he does not denounce the society round himself as hopelessly bad. Nor, on the other hand, does he, like the doctrinaire reformer, court failure by insisting on a standard of abstract perfection impossible in his age—and, indeed, in any age. Statesmanly wisdom consists in taking correct stock of the available human material around us, making different appeals to different individuals or social groups, rousing the vanity of one, the cupidity of another, the idealism of a third, so as to enlist them *all* in the service of the grand aim and undertaking of the statesman. That aim must be the paramount object of his pursuit, and a

statesman's genius is shown only in enlisting the greatest amount of public support to his policy while weakening that policy as little as possible by his concessions. No unprincipled opportunist, no spineless leader who tries to be everything to everybody by yielding on all points, can be a statesman. The true statesman is an unfailing judge of human character and of the social forces of his age; he has an almost super-human acumen in knowing beforehand what is possible and what is not in that age and country. His success proves his divine gift of genius, which baffles our analysis.

II

Let us survey the situation in Maharashtra proper at the time of Shivaji's rise. Ever since the battle of Tirauri (1193), when Prithvi Raj went down, through five centuries without a break wave after wave of foreign onset had swept over the Hindu world. After the fatal day of Talikota (1565) no Hindu, even in the more sheltered southern land, had raised his head above the flood of Muslim conquest as a sovereign with a fully independent State under him. Thenceforth, the ablest Hindu, with all his wealth and power, had only been a feudal baron, a mercenary general under an alien master.

Every generation that had passed away in this state had naturally made the rise of a Hindu to sovereignty more and more difficult. Indeed, the very tradition of Hindu independence and Hindu maintenance

of a complete and self-contained kingdom seemed to have faded into a dim distant and almost forgotten memory. Thus, when in 1659-60, a poor, friendless, humbly born youth of thirty-two set himself to face at once the might of the Mughal empire (then in its noon-day splendour) and the nearer hostility of Bijapur (which had been the "Queen of the Deccan" for nearly a century, and whose internal decay was not yet visible to any human eye).—he seemed to be the maddest of all mad men. No one could foresee in 1660 what the Mughal empire would sink to in 1707; as yet it was resplendent with all the prestige of Shah Jahan's victorious and magnificent reign. Shivaji had no brother Hindu chieftain to help him, nor even a Muhammadan Court which could have ventured to give him an asylum, in case of defeat, from Mughal vengeance. In embarking on war in 1660, he, therefore, as the English saying is, "burnt his boats" and made retreat impossible for himself.

The result in fourteen years was that he did found a State, he did make himself a fully independent sovereign (*Chhatrapati*). Therefore, there can be no denying the fact that he was, as the ancient Greeks would have called him, "a king among men,"—one endowed with the divine instinct or genius.

III

Shivaji founded and maintained a sovereign State in the face of unparalleled difficulties and the opposition of the three greatest Powers of India in that age,—the Mughals, the Bijapuris, and the Portuguese. But did he succeed in creating a nation? Let us appeal to history for the answer.

A century and a half after Shivaji the Maratha State fell before the impact of England. Its political condition is graphically described by an exceptionally talented and shrewd Scotch contemporary. Sir Thomas Munro writes :

18 Dec. 1817.—"I have already got possession of a considerable number of places in this district, entirely by the assistance of the inhabitants, of whom *nine-tenths* at least are in our favour. All that the inhabitants had requested was that they should not be transferred to any [Maratha] jagirdar." [Gleig, iii. 221.]

19 May, 1818.—"No army was ever more completely destroyed than the Peshwa's infantry. Of the few who escaped [after the fall of Sholapur] with their arms, the greater part were disarmed or killed by the country people." [Gleig, iii. 256.]

Let us try to imagine a parallel in Europe. The Germans, provoked to war by the imbecile French Emperor Napoleon III, have invaded France. The French soldiers, after a disastrous defeat at Worth or Mars-La-Tour, are escaping to their homes before the enemy, and they are "disarmed or killed by the country people" Is such an event conceivable? If not, then the conclusion is irresistible that the French are a nation, but the Marathas were not even after a century and a half of *Hindupat Padshahi*, or a purely national Government without any foreign admixture or control.

What was the attitude of the higher classes, the natural leaders of the people in Maharashtra, during the national disaster of 1818? Let Munro again speak :

"Most of the Southern jagirdars would, I believe, be well pleased to find a decent pretext for getting out of it [i.e., the war, in which they were standing by the side of the Peshwa]" [Gleig, iii. 301.]

"We have in our favour, with the exception of a few disbanded horsemen and the immediate servants of the late Government, almost the whole body of the people. We have all the trading, manufacturing, and agricultural classes." [Gleig, ii, 270].

IV

The Maratha failure to create a nation even among their own race and in their small corner of India, requires a searching analysis on the part of the Indian patriot no less than the earnest student of Indian history. And for such an analysis we have to go down to the roots, to the social condition of Shivaji's time.

A deep study of Maratha society, indeed of society throughout India,—reveals some facts which are popularly ignored. We realise that the greatest obstacles to Shivaji's success were not Mughals or Adil Shahis, Siddis or Feringis, but his own countrymen,—just as in his last year he could have truly said in the words of Tennyson's dying king Arthur :

My house hath been my bane.

First, we cannot blink the truth that the dominant factor in Indian life—even today, no less than in the 17th century,—is caste, and neither religion nor country. By caste must not be understood the four broad divisions of the Hindus,—which exist only in the text-books and airy philosophical generalisations delivered from platforms. The, caste

that really counts, the division that is a living force, is the sub-division and sub-sub-division into innumerable small groups called *shakhas* or branches (more correctly twigs, or I should say, *leaves*,—they are so many!)—into which each caste is split up and within which alone marrying and giving in marriage, eating and drinking together take place. The more minute and parochial a caste subdivision, the more it is of a reality in society, while a generic caste name like *Brahman*, or even a provincial section of it like *Dakshina Brahman*, does not connote any united body or homogeneous group. Apart from every caste being divided into mutually exclusive sections by provincial differences, there are still further subdivisions (among the members of the same caste in each province) due to differences of districts, and even the two sides of the same hill or river! And each of these smallest subdivisions of the Brahman caste is separated from the other sub-divisions as completely as it is from an altogether different caste like the *Vaishya* or *Shudra*. Eg., the *Kanyakubja* and *Sarayu-pari* Brahmins of Northern India, the *Konkanastha* and *Deshastha* of *Maharashtra*.

These are live issues of Indian society. Where three *Karhara* Brahmins (to take only one example) meet together, they begin to whisper about their disabilities under the *Chitpavans*. A *Prabhu* stranger in a far off town would at once be welcomed by the local *Prabhu* society of the town, ignoring the other members of the visiting party.

V.

The evil penetrates deeper. For the purposes of marrying and dining together,—which are the only *real* bonds of social union,—even *Sarayu-pari Kanyakubja* North Indian Brahman cannot be safely taken as the last indivisible unit. Within this seemingly ultimate sub-division there is a force of still minuter cleavage, due to blood,—or what is called *kulin*-ism.

Thus, *Shahji Bhonsle* and *Chandra Rao* More both belonged to the same small social group as regards caste province and local sub-divisions, but More could not give his daughter to *Shahji's* son without a lowering of his social status or defilement of his blood, because he was a *kulin* (blue blood), while *Shahji* was a *non-kulin* or plebeian. And why, so? Was More descended from an

ancestor of a higher caste, sanctity or learning than *Shahji*? No. Both families had gained wealth power and social prestige by serving the same *Muhammadian* dynasty, but the *Mores* had been eight generations earlier in the field than the *Bhonsles** It was exactly as if the grandson of a *Rao Bahadur* created by *Lord Canning* were to sneer at a *Rao Bahadur* created by *Lord Reading* as an upstart.

Thus, even the smallest sub-division of a caste was further subdivided, and a united nation was made one degree still less possible. The same forces, the same beliefs, the same false pride in blood, are operating among us to-day. Without the completest freedom of marriage within a population—and not the much-advertised *Aryan Brotherhood* Intercaste dinners (on vegetables!)—that population can never form a nation. Englishmen of to-day do not consider their blood as defiled when they say in the words of their late poet laureate :

"SAXON AND NORMAN AND DANE ARE WE"

Where caste and *kulinism* reign, merit cannot have full and free recognition and the community cannot rise to its highest possible capacity of greatness. Democracy is inconceivable there, because the root principle of democracy is the absolute equality of every member of the *demos* :

The rank is but the guinea's stamp.

A man's the gold for all that.

Without the abolition of all distinctions of caste, creed and *kulinism*, a nation cannot come into being. And further, without eternal vigilance in national education and moral uplift, no nation can continue on the face of the earth.

This duty the *Marathia* State never attempted to perform, nor did any voluntary agency undertake it.

VI

Shivaji was not contented with all his conquests of territory and vaults full of looted treasure, if he was not recognised as a *Kshatriya* entitled to wear the sacred thread and to have the Vedic hymns chanted at his domestic rites. The Brahmins alone could give such a recognition, and though they swallowed the sacred thread they boggled at the *Vedokta*! The result was a rupture. So, too, his favourite secretary

* Another example, *Yadav Rao's* reluctance to marry his daughter *Jija Bai* to *Shahji*.

Balaji Arji (of the Prabhu caste). invested his son with the sacred thread, for which he was excommunicated by the Brahmans. Whichever side had the rights of the case, one thing is certain, namely, that this internally torn community had not the *sine qua non* of a nation.

Nor did Maharashtra acquire that *sine qua non* ever after. The Peshwas were Brahmans from Konkan, and the Brahmans of the upland (Desh) despised them as less pure in blood. The result was that the State policy of Maharashtra, instead of being directed to national ends, was now degraded into upholding the prestige of one family or social sub-division.

Shivaji had, besides, almost to the end of his days, to struggle against the jealousy, scorn, indifference and even opposition of Maratha families, his equals in caste sub-division and once in fortune and social position,—whom he had now outdistanced. The Bhonsle Savants of Vadi, the Yadavs of Sindhkhed, the Mores of Javli, and (to a lesser extent) the Nimbalkars, despised and kept aloof from the upstart grandson of that Maloji whom some old men still living remembered to have seen tilling his fields like a *Kumbi* ! Shivaji's own brother Vyankoji fought against him in the invasion of Bijapur in 1666.

VII

Thirdly, there was no national spirit, no patriotism in the true sense of the term, among the Maratha people to assist Shivaji and hasten his success. Not to speak of the common people, who patiently and blindly tilled a grudging soil all their lives,—many of the higher and middle class Maratha families were content to serve Muslim rulers as mercenaries throughout the Chhatrapati or royal period of their history, as their descendants did the English aliens by deserting Baji Rao II. And why ? Because in that troubled divided society, with century after century of the clash of rival dynasties and rapid dissolution of kingdoms, land was the only unchangeable thing in an ever-changing world. The ownership of land,—or what amounted to the same thing, the legal right to a village headman's dues,—was the only form of wealth that could not be quickly robbed or squandered away, but could be left as a provision for unborn generations of descendants. Dynasties did change. but the

conqueror usually respected the grants of his fallen predecessor.

It has been well said of the Scottish Highlanders that, after the Jacobite risings of the 18th century, they could forgive to the Hanoverian Government the hanging of their fathers but not the taking away of their lands.

Such being the economic bed-rock on which Maratha society rested, it naturally followed that fief (*watan*) was dearer than patria *sua-des*, and a foreign Power which assured to the watan-dar the possession of his land was preferred to a grasping national king who threatened to take away the watan or enhance his demand for revenue. As Munro writes :—

"The Patwardhans and the Desai of Kittoor will be secured in the enjoyment of their possessions [by the British conquerors] instead of being exposed to constant attempts to diminish them, as when under the dominion of the Peshwa." [ii. 1267]

Even Sindur [of the Ghorpare family] was in danger of treacherous seizure by Baji Rao II during his pilgrimages to the river. [iii. 235.]

The same clinging to land, which was quite natural and justifiable in that age,—drew many Deccani families to the Mughal standard against Shivaji and Shambhuji, and kept them faithful to the alien so long as the Mughal Empire did not turn hopelessly bankrupt and weak, as it did after 1707. There could, therefore, be no united Maharashtra under Shivaji, as there was a united Scotland under Robert the Bruce. Shivaji had to build on a loose sandy soil.

VIII

But the indispensable bases of a sovereign State he did lay down, and the fact would have been established beyond question if his life had not been cut short only six years after his coronation. He gave to his own dominions in Maharashtra peace and order, at least for a time. Now, order is the beginning of all good things, as disorder is the enemy of civilisation, progress and popular happiness.

But order is only a means to an end. The next duty of the State is to throw careers open to talent (the motto of the French Revolution of 1789), to give employment to the people by creating and expanding through State-effort the various fields for the exercise of their ability and energy—economic, administrative, diplomatic, military.

financial, and even mechanical. In proportion as a State can *educate* the people and carry out this policy, it will endure. Competition with the prize for the worthiest,—modified partly by the inexorable rules of caste and status and the natural handicap of the mediæval conditions of the then society,—was introduced into Shivaji's State.

The third feature of a good State, *viz.* freedom in the exercise of religion, was realized in Shivaji's kingdom. He went further, and though himself a pious Hindu he gave his State bounty to Muslim saints and Hindu sadhus without distinction, and respected the *Quran* no less than his own Scriptures.

But his reign was too brief and his dynasty too short-lived, for the world to see the full development of his constructive statesmanship and political ideals. Thus it happened that on the downfall of the Hindu Swaraj in Maharashtra, a very acute foreign

observer could remark. (evidently about its outlying parts and not the homeland) :—

"The Mahratta Government, from its foundation has been one of devastation. It never relinquished the predatory habits of its founder. It was continually destroying all within its reach, and never repairing."

[Munro's letter, 11 Sep. 1818. Gleig, iii 276].

For this result Shivaji's blind successors at Satara and Puna were to blame, and not he. In that early epoch and in his short span of life, he could not humanly be expected to have done otherwise.

Today, after the lapse of three centuries from his birth, a historian taking a broad survey of the diversified but ceaseless flow of Indian history, is bound to admit that though Shivaji's dynasty is extinct and his State has crumbled into dust, yet he set an example of innate Hindu capacity (superior to Ranjit Singh's in its range) and left a name which would continue to fire the spirit and be aspired to as an ideal for ages yet unborn.

BINDU'S SON

By SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

6

ABOUT ten days after Bindu's return from her father's house, one afternoon Annapurna entered her room and called "Chhotobou !" Chhotobou was sitting silently in front of a pile of soiled linen.

Annapurna asked, "Has the washerman come?" Chhotobou did not speak. Annapurna now noticed the expression on her face and was frightened. Very much upset, she asked, "What has happened?"

Bindu pointed out with her finger two burnt cigarette ends and said, "They were in Amulya's coat pocket."

Annapurna stood speechless.

Bindu suddenly burst into tears and said: "Didi, I prostrate myself at your feet ; either send them away or let us go and live elsewhere."

Annapurna could not say anything. She stood silently awhile, then went away.

In the evening Amulya returned from

school, had his tiffin and went out to play. Bindu did not say a word. Bhairab, the servant, came and complained that Narenbabu had slapped him without any cause.

Bindu got annoyed and said, "Go and tell Didi."

On his return from court Madhab attempted a little joke while changing, got scolded and reverted to silence. Only Annapurna of all the members of the family had any idea of the range of the storm that was brewing unseen. She passed the whole evening tortured by suspense ; then finding her alone, she caught Chhotobou by the hand and said in a voice of entreaty, "Whatever it might be, he is your son after all, do pardon him this once ! Or get him to one side and give him a good scolding."

Bindu said, "He is not my son. I know that, so do you. So what is the use of saying a lot of words for nothing, Didi ?"

Annapurna insisted, "No, you are his

mother, not I ; it is to you that I have given him."

"When he was young I have fed him and dressed him. Now he has grown up, he is your son ; take him back, give me my freedom." So saying Bindu went away.

At night Amulya came to sleep with Annapurna. He was on the verge of tears.

Annapurna understood the matter and was annoyed. She asked, "Why have you come here ? Go away, I am telling you, go away !"

Amulya turned round and found his father asleep on the bed. He did not say another word and went away.

In the morning Kadam, the maid, went to clean the kitchen and found Amulya fast asleep at one corner of the verandah on a pile of cow-dung fire-lighters. She ran to Bindu and brought her to the place. Annapurna was also awake ; she too came and stood there.

Bindu said sharply, "Did you drive him away at night, Bara Ginni ? He spoils your sleep, doesn't he ?"

Seeing her son in that condition, Annapurna was deeply pained and tears of remorse clouded her eyes ; but Bindu's cruel rebuke made her lose her temper absolutely. She cried, "Nothing pleases you so much as shelving your own guilt on to others' shoulders."

Bindu lifted up the boy and found he had a temperature. She said, "If one lies out in the open the whole night at this time of the year, one is bound to get fever. It will be a blessing now, if he gets well."

Annapurna anxiously leant forward and said, "Fever, did you say ? Let me see."

Bindu pushed her hand away roughly and said, "Leave him alone, you needn't see if he has got fever". So saying, she picked up the sleeping child with ease, cast a poisonous glance at Annapurna and went to her room.

Amulya got well in about five or six days ; but Bindu did not pardon her sister-in-law her fault. She did not even speak to her nicely after this incident. Annapurna understood everything, but kept silent. Nor could she forget how Bindu had put all the blame upon her before the whole house. This she somehow blurted out one day to Elokeshi. "His fever was due to Chhotobou. It is his good fortune that he did not die."

Elokeshi did not delay a minute to bear the tale to Bindu. Bindu heard it but said nothing. That she had heard it was known

only to Elokeshi. Bindu now stopped all conversation with Annapurna. For the last few days things were being moved to the other house, to-morrow they would go over to the new house. Jadab was staying in that house with the boys ; Madhab was away on a case. He too was not at home when something terrible happened. The teacher had come in the evening ; Bindu suddenly had an idea and had him called before her. She said, "From to-morrow, please go to the other house to teach the boys." The teacher was going away after a respectful, "All right," when Bindu asked him, "And how is your pupil getting on with his lessons now-a-days ?"

The teacher answered, "He is always good at study ; he stands first in his class every time."

Bindu agreed, "That is true. But he has learnt to smoke cigarettes these days."

The teacher was astonished, "Learnt to smoke cigarettes ?"

The next moment he himself added, "Well, there is nothing surprising in that ; children learn what they see."

"Whom has he seen to smoke ?"

The teacher kept quiet. Bindu said, "Please inform his father about this."

The teacher agreed by nodding his head and said, "Take, for instance, this other affair about a week ago, they entered the garden of an Orissa man near the school, plucked his mangoes untimely, thrashed him and created no end of a row."

Bindu held her breath and asked, "What happened then ?"

"The Oriya complained to the headmaster ; he fined them ten rupees and pacified the man with the money."

Bindu could not believe it. She asked, "Was my Amulya in it ? Where could he have got the money ?"

The teacher answered, "That I don't know, but he too was in it. Naren-babu of this house was there, as well as some three or four wicked boys of the school. I have heard all this from the headmaster."

Bindu asked, "And the money ? Has it been realised ?"

"Yes, madam, I have heard that also."

"All right you can go" Bindu sat down where she was, she could only utter in a whisper, "Who is so daring in this house as would give him the money without telling me !" She was already in a bad temper as a result of her quarrel with

Annapurna. This fresh provocation drove her to desperation.

She got up and went straight to the kitchen. Annapurna was cutting up vegetables for the night's dinner. She looked up and into Chhotobou's clouded face.

Bindu asked, "Didi, have you given any money to Amulya recently?"

Annapurna was fearing this. Her tongue dried in her mouth. She asked, "Who told you?"

Bindu said, "That is not so very important. The important point is how you could give the money and how he could take it from you."

Annapurna was silent.

Bindu continued, "You do not want it that I keep him in discipline, that is why you have kept this secret from me. Whatever he might do, Amulya would never lie to his seniors. You gave the money knowing all; isn't it so?"

Annapurna said slowly, "Yes, it is so. But pardon him this time. I am begging it of you."

Bindu was burning within her heart. She cried, "This time! I am pardoning for ever. I shall not say anything more. I shall utter one final word. I would not suffer him go to the dogs like this, inch by inch, before my own eyes—let him go wrong altogether. But what audacity you have!"

The last word pricked Annapurna rather sharply; still she kept quiet. But the more Bindu talked, the more angry she was getting. Bindu cried again, "For every thing you have your one eternal pose of innocence and say, 'pardon him this time only'; but the fault is not so much his as yours. I shall never pardon you."

The servants of the household were all listening to the battle of words from under cover.

Annapurna could stand it no more. She cried, "What will you do? Hang me by the neck?"

The fire received added fuel. Bindu flared up like gun-powder and said, "That is the right punishment for you."

"Isn't my crime this that I have given my own son a couple of rupees?"

Words brought in words; Bindu forgot the main issue and digressed, "Why should you give even that much? Where does the money come from to be wasted?"

Annapurna said, "And don't you waste money?"

"I waste my own money; and whose money do you waste, may I know?"

At this Annapurna became fearfully angry. She was the daughter of a poor family and thought Bindu was referring to her poor origin. She got up and cried, "You may be the daughter of a rich man, but don't be conceited enough to think that other people could not even spend two rupees."

Bindu retorted, "I am not so conceited; but you had better think whose money you spend even if you give away a pice."

Annapurna shrieked, "Whose money I spend! How dare you say such things? Go away from my presence at once!"

Bindu said, "Go away I shall—in the morning; but can't you see whose money you spend? Don't you know whose income you live upon?"

Having blurted out this Bindu suddenly became silent.

Annapurna's face had gone deathly pale. She looked awhile, without a flicker of her eyelashes, at Bindu, then said, "We are living upon your husband's income. I am your bondmaid and servant and my husband is your slave and serf. This is what is in your mind, isn't it? Why hadn't you said so before this?"

Her lips trembled. She bit her lips hard, and continued after a moment's silence, "Where were you Chhotobou when he (meaning her own husband) never even purchased two garments at a time so that his younger brother might go to school? Where were you, again, when he rebuilt this parental cottage after it was burnt down, cooking his meals and living under a tree?"

As she said this, her eyes overflowed with tears. She wiped her eyes with the end of her sari and continued, "If he had only known what you had in your mind, he would never have passed his days in ease like this—eating opium and dozing away with the pipe of his hooka in his mouth—he is not a man of that type! Your husband knows him, the gods in heaven know him! And you have insulted him to-day by making me an occasion!"

Annapurna's breast heaved at this insult to her husband. She said, "It is a good thing that you have told me how you feel about it. Sati killed herself when her husband was insulted by her father; I am taking this solemn oath that I would rather earn my living by working as a cook, than touch your food! What have you done—you have insulted him!"

Just at this moment Jadab came into the court-yard and called, "Barabou!" Her husband's voice roused her emotions to a storm. She rushed out and said, "Oh shame, shame, the man who cannot feed his own wife and child—why can't he get a rope to hang himself with!"

Jadab was thoroughly non-plussed. He enquired in a dazed voice, "Why, what has happened?"

"What has happened? Nothing at all. Chhotobou said it quite clearly to-day that I was her maid and you her servant."

Inside the room, Bindu bit her tongue and put her fingers in her ears in shame.

Annapurna wept as she said, "I have no right to give even a pice to anybody—and I have to hear all this while you are alive! I am taking this solemn oath in front of you; if I ever again eat their food, may I eat the head of my own son."

To Bindu's stunned senses, the fearful words came faintly, as if from a long distance. She uttered a half articulate, "What have you done, Didi!" Then suddenly fainted and collapsed again after about twelve years.

(7)

Everybody had come to the new house except Jadab, Annapurna and Amulya. Among outsiders had come Bindu's aunt, her aunt's daughter and grand children, her parents, their servants, etc., etc. The whole house was full up. Bindu appeared a bit upset on the day of their arrival; but it passed off from the day after. That Annapurna would come the moment her anger vanished, Bindu had not the least doubt about. She put herself wholeheartedly into making arrangements for the religious ceremony and the feast which would take place.

Her father asked, "How is it, little mother, that I don't see your son?"

Bindu answered laconically, "He is in the other house."

The mother enquired, "Your sister-in-law couldn't come, isn't it so?"

Bindu said, "No."

She then herself explained, "If every-body came away, who would stay over there? One could not very well shut up one's ancestral home, could one?"

Bindu quietly went after her own work.

Jadab used to come every evening these days, sit outside and make enquiries about everybody; but he never came inside.

The night before the sanctification ceremony (of the new house) he called Elokeshi and was enquiring about various things of her. Bindu witnessed all this from a safe corner. Her brother-in-law had been more than a father to her. He used to call her "mother" and not "bouma" as is customary. How often had she carried her little complaints to him when she had quarrels with her sister-in-law. He had never decided against her. To-day she could not face him; for a great shame separated her from him. Jadab went away. Bindu wept bitterly in a secret corner, gagging herself with her sari—the house was full of all sorts of people; they might hear her.

Next morning Bindu had her husband called in and, when he arrived, said, "It is getting late, the priest is waiting, why has not Bara Thakur (Jadab) come yet?"

Madhab was astonished, "Why, what do you want with him?" he asked."

Bindu was even more astonished; she said, "What do I want with him! Who else is going to conduct everything, if he doesn't come?"

Madhab said, "Either I or our brother-in-law Priyanath Babu will have to do it. Dada cannot come."

Bindu said angrily, "You can't say 'Dada cannot come' and have done with it. While he is present, who else has the right to take the lead in such things? No, no, it cannot be—I will not allow anyone else to perform the ceremony."

Madhab said, "Then the ceremony had better not take place. He is not at home; he has gone to work."

"All this is Bara Ginni's doing! I see that she too will not come." So saying Bindu went away tearfully. To her the religious ceremony, the festivities, the merrymaking, all became aimless and unreal in a moment. For three days it had been her only thought that Bara Thakur would come and so would Didi and Amulya. Only she knew how much she had built upon this hope of hers while she had been going through the day's labours. How secure she was in her faith! And now, at a word from her husband, the whole thing vanished like a mirage and her fruitless labours rested on her shoulders like a burden of heavy stones.

Elokeshi came and said, "Give me the key of the store-room, Chhotobou; the confectioner has come with the sweets."

Bindu said wearily, "Keep them somewhere now, Thakurji; I shall see to it later on."

"Where shall I keep them, the crows will be at them at once."

"Then throw them away", Bindu said and went elsewhere.

Aunty came and enquired, "Bindu, if you would just show them how much dough they should prepare for the morning . . ."

Bindu answered with an expression of displeasure in her face, "What do I know about the quantity of dough required? You are experts in household work; you ought to know."

Aunty exclaimed in surprise, "Just listen to her! How should I know how many persons will dine here!"

Bindu got angry, "Then go and ask him", (meaning her husband). You should have seen Didi at work—when Amulya was being given his holy thread, the whole town dined at our place during three whole days; but she never once said 'Chhotobou just do this, or arrange that'. Her one little bone contained more ability than that found in all the people in the house put together". So saying she went into another room. Kadam came and said, "Didi, Jamai Babu is saying, the clothes for the ceremony—" Before she could finish Bindu cried out, "Slaughter me and eat me up, all of you! Go away from here at once!" Kadam ran away promptly.

A little later Madhab came and called her several times, "I say, do you hear?" Bindu came up closer to him and said loudly, "No, not a bit. I shall not. I won't! Won't. Will that do?"

Madhab gaped at her amazed. Bindu said, "What will you do to me? Hang me by the neck? Then do it". She began to cry and left the place at a run. The sun slowly mounted, the hours went on increasing. Bindu went about from room to room, restless, doing nothing and finding fault with others. Somebody in her hurry had put some plates and dishes on the floor. Bindu threw them all into the court-yard in order to demonstrate how plates and dishes should be kept. Somebody's clothes were drying on the line when they touched the passing form of Bindu. She tore them to ribbons to show how clothes should be dried. Whoever came before her hurriedly dodged her in a panic.

The priest himself came into the house and said, "Well, well, the hours are advancing

more and more; but I don't see any progress anywhere—"

Bindu stood behind a door and told him rather rudely, "It is usual for things to be a bit late where there is plenty to do." Then she kicked a plate to one corner and sat down on the floor like an inert mass. About ten minutes later a familiar voice made her jump up suddenly. She looked out and found Annapurna out in the courtyard.

Bindu wept in sorrow and wounded pride. She wiped her eyes, came noisily up to Annapurna, put her sari round her neck as a mark of submission and said, "It is nearly eleven Didi. What more would you do to show me your enmity? If it will please you to have me take poison, then go home and send me a cupful." She then dropped the bunch of keys at Annapurna's feet and went to her room to roll on the floor in tears.

Annapurna silently picked up the keys and went into the storeroom after opening its doors.

In the afternoon there was little crowd in the house. People had departed after enjoying the feast. Still Bindu kept going in and out of her room restlessly for some unknown reason.

Bhairab came and told her, "Amulya-babu is not in the school."

Bindu looked daggers at him and said, "Wretch! Do boys remain at school till late at night? Couldn't you go to the other house once and see?"

Bhairab said, "He is not there either."

Bindu cried, "He must be playing *gooli-dang* somewhere with the children of low people. Has he any fears in his heart any longer? Now if he loses one of his eyes, I believe, Bara Ginni will be thoroughly pleased. She would then be really happy—Go and find him wherever he may be!"

Annapurna was conversing with some other elderly women, sitting by the storeroom. She could hear the shrill voice of Chhotobou. About an hour later Bhairab came back and informed Bindu that Amulya was in the house, but would not come. Bindu could not believe it.

"Wouldn't come, did you say? Did you tell him that I was calling him?"

Bhairab nodded and said, "Yes, I did, but still he wouldn't come."

Bindu kept silent for a moment, then said, "It is not his fault. He is only his mother's

son! I am taking an oath that I would never even look at the pair of them."

Late at night, when Annapurna was preparing to go home, Madhab came in to escort her. Bindu hurriedly came up to her husband and cried: "You are seeing her home; but do you know that she has not even taken a drop of water in this house?"

Madhab said, "That is for you to know. I went and fetched her in the morning to save the situation; now I am taking her home."

Bindu said, "Well and good. Then, you too are one of them."

Madhab did not answer her. He addressed Annapurna, "Bouthan, let us go, don't delay any more."

"Come along Thakurpo." So saying Annapurna proceeded on her way. At her first step, however, Bindu roared, "A bad enemy is truly compared to a relation who has turned enemy! She herself told a bunch of well-arranged lies—took oaths one after another, did not let me see my son for four days and four nights—God will judge her!"

She stuffed her mouth with her sari to choke back her tears, marched up to the kitchen verandah, then fell in a faint. There was some noise, people shouted, Madhab and Annapurna heard it, Annapurna turned back and said, "Let us go and see what has happened."

Madhab said, "No, you needn't, let us proceed."

The story of the quarrel had been kept a secret these few days; but it came out now. The next day when the women of the house had assembled, Elokeshi said, "The two sisters-in-law have quarrelled, but what prevented the son from coming over once? Chhotobou has not been wrong, when she said the son was a chip of the old block! I have seen many boys in my time, but never one so ungrateful."

Bindu surveyed her once with a weary glance then looked down in contempt and shame. Elokeshi said again, "You love children, Chhotobou, take my Narendranath, I am giving him to you. Thrash him, strangle him, he will not say a word—we do not bear such children!"

Bindu was silent. Her mother gave the answer. She was aged, was the daughter of a Zamindar and wife of another and was an expert in such things. She smiled and said, "Is that a serious proposal! Amulya is entwined with her whole existence—no, no,

don't agitate her like that. Your quarrel will be over very soon, Bindu, and, whatever it may be, it cannot make your son a stranger."

Bindu looked at her with eyes ashine with tears and remained sitting in silence. In the evening she called Kadam and asked her, "Well, Kadam, you were present there; tell me, was my fault so great that she could take such a terrible oath?"

Kadam could not suddenly believe that Bindu of all persons had invited her to discuss this matter. She kept quiet in hesitation. Bindu still insisted, "No, no whatever it might be, you are older in age, I have got to listen to you now and then; tell me was my fault very great?"

Kadam shook her head and said, "Oh, no, not much of a fault." Bindu said, "Then why don't you go over to the other house? Tell her off nicely—you have nothing to fear."

Kadam found her courage and said, "No, not fear; but what is the good of keeping up a quarrel? What is done, is done." Bindu did not agree. She said, "No, no, Kadam you don't understand—Truth has to be told. Otherwise she will think all the fault is mine and she herself is perfectly innocent. Didn't she ever say, 'I shall send you out, drive you away', and words to that effect? And did I ever show anger at such words? Why did she give the money secretly? Why did she not even let me know?"

Kadam said, "All right, I shall go to-morrow, it is late to-day."

Bindu was displeased, "Where is it late? You talk too much, Kadam. It is appearing a bit late because it is winter time. Better take a man with you.—Bhairab, call Hebo, he will accompany Kadam."

Bhairab said, "The master is having the lamps cleaned by Hebo."

Bindu glared at him, "How dare you answer back at me!"

Bhairab ran away from the heat of her glances. Having sent Kadam, Bindu went about from room to room for a while; then entered the kitchen. The Brahmin woman was cooking at one corner. Bindu sat down and said, "Well, daughter.* I am citing you as my witness—tell the truth, daughter, who was more guilty?"

The cook could not understand what she

* A Brahmin's daughter. Addressed as daughter for brevity.

was talking about. She asked, "Of what, mother?"

Bindu said, "I am talking about what happened the other day! What did I say? I only asked, 'Didi, have you been giving money to Amulya recently?' Who does not know that one should not give money to children? She could very well have told me that Amulya had been crying and she had, therefore, to give him some money. That would have settled it. But where was the occasion for all this exchange of words and taking of oaths? If one keeps some plates and things together they knock against one another, and we are human beings. But what justification was there for such oaths. He is the sole descendant of the family—and the oaths were in his name! I am telling you, daughter, I shall never even look at her face while I am living! I might turn to my enemies but never to her."

The Brahmin woman was by nature not a great talker. She kept silent, not knowing what to say. Bindu's eyes filled with tears. She wiped them hurriedly and said, "Who is there who does not take oaths occasionally, when in a temper. But she wouldn't even touch a drop of water in this house! She wouldn't allow the boy to come here. Are these befitting an elder? I am after all her younger, I am not so wise. If I had been her own daughter, what would she have done then? But I shall pay her back; I shall never even take her name; you can rely on me for that."

The Brahmin woman still kept quiet. Bindu continued, "And it is not she alone who can take oaths. Don't I know it too? What will she do if I went to her to-morrow and asked her to send me a cup of poison, and told her that she would cause the death of her own son if she did not do so? I am

keeping quiet for a few days, but later on I shall either do this or take some poison myself and tell people that Didi had sent it to me. I shall see if people don't cry shame on her! If she does not learn a lesson thereby!"

The Brahmin woman was frightened. She said in a soft voice, "Oh, shame, mother—you must not have such ideas—quarrels do not last for ever—nor would she be able to live without you. Nor would Amulya. I do not know how he is passing his days without you."

Bindu said eagerly, "Say so daughter! She must be keeping him back by force and threats. May be, she is beating him. He could not sleep without me a single night and five whole nights have already gone by! One should not even see the face of that hag. Didn't I say, that I would rather look at my enemies than at her?" The cook showed her a black bruise mark on her own wrist and said, "See here, it is still all black and blue. That night you fainted, you do not know. Amulydhone rushed in from somewhere, threw himself on your bosom and cried such a lot! He had never seen you like that and said, Chhotoma was dead. He would neither let us sprinkle water on your face, nor fan you—I tried to drag him off, he bit me. He scratched, and bit Barama and tore her clothes, to ribbons. People forgot to attend to the patient in their vain attempts to pacify him. At last four or five people jointly dragged him away."

Bindu kept her eyes fixed steadfastly on the Brahmin woman's face and appeared to swallow every word she said; then she heaved a deep sigh, got up, went to her own bed-room and shut herself in.

(To be continued.)

THE NATURE OF INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.Sc., PH.D.

THE term "efficiency" means much more than mere ability to accomplish a thing. In every stage of social evolution, there develops, with the progress of science and

art, certain moral, intellectual and mechanical technique, which gives man a better control of himself and his environment. Efficiency implies the application of this growing

technique to the accomplishment of a thing, so that while the standard of the achievement might be maintained or even improved, there might be at the same time a saving of time and energy. In other words, efficiency is the ability to accomplish a thing by means of the best method known at a time and place.

The most significant connotations of efficiency are, therefore, that it is relative and dynamic. There is nothing absolute and static about it. It always implies that one method is better or more economical than another. It is always in the state of becoming. The efficiency of yesterday may appear to be the inefficiency of to-day, and what is most efficient to-day may prove to be most wasteful to-morrow. As soon as a new law is discovered or a new technique is invented, there arises an occasion for the appearance of a new standard of efficiency. The fundamental principle in the development of efficiency is, as in the case of organic evolution, adaptation or the constant adjustment of old methods to new conditions.

Efficiency is a general term which is applicable to all classes of activities, namely social, political, and industrial. It refers to the means of achievement rather than to the achievement itself. One can thus speak of the efficiency of machines, industries, institutions and governments with reference to the function which they have to perform. Industrial efficiency simply refers to industrial activities or productive energies.

The industrial efficiency of an individual is the ability to mobilise all the physical, intellectual and moral forces at his command for achieving results in a productive process. It consists of several elements :—First, health and vigor, which are the physical basis of efficiency. They depend partly upon the constitution, including the muscular and the nervous systems, and partly upon the proper development of the vital organs and their freedom from disease. Second, aptitude and adaptability, which are the psycho-physical features of efficiency and imply temperament and disposition. The former relates to one's liking for a particular kind of work in preference to others and the latter to the capability of adjustment to new conditions, including machines and surroundings. Third, application and perseverance, which, although psycho-physical in origin, refer to the moral qualities of efficiency, inasmuch as they imply one's power to control the body and mind.

The former is the ability to concentrate one's energies on a particular work and the latter is the capability to sustain this concentration for a desired length of time. Fourth, skill and ingenuity, which relate to the intellectual aspects of efficiency. Skill is the combination of speed and precision, the former adding to the quantity and the latter to the quality of work. They are achieved through education and training and perfected through repetition and experience. Ingenuity is the ability to meet a new situation or to design a new method in a productive process and is, therefore, the basic quality in invention. Both skill and ingenuity are the highest qualities in industrial efficiency.

When applied to an entrepreneur, industrial efficiency may best be defined to be the ability to organise and manage a business for profitable purposes. In the case of self-sufficing economy, it is the capability of producing the largest amount of commodities with the least expenditure of land, labour and capital. The efficiency of a housewife is similar to that of an individual engaged in household production. It is the power of economising or getting the highest amount of satisfaction out of the stock of goods and services at her disposal. But in this age of exchange economy, production takes place mainly for the market rather than for the household and efficiency in such cases may best be judged by the extent of profit, which in the final analysis is, however, nothing but one's command of other goods which one can obtain in exchange of one's own.

The organisation and management of a large business or corporate enterprise include several processes, such as location and installation of the plant, choice and utilisation of machinery and material, selection and organisation of workers and marketing of finished products, the object in each process being the decrease of cost and increase of productivity. The movement for the so-called scientific management of industries and business has also added some new phases to business organisation. The ability to co-ordinate land, labour and capital with a view to making the largest amount of profit in a given business enterprise constitute the efficiency of an entrepreneur or business manager.

The industrial efficiency of a nation has, however, a much larger connotation. First of all, national efficiency generally refers to the production of social wealth, while in-

dividual efficiency may imply merely acquisition for private gain. Second, a nation is more or less a permanent entity and its interest lies both in the present and future generations, while an individual is a temporary being, and his interest may end in himself or may at best continue for his immediate descendants. While making the best use of its resources for the present generation, a nation must also conserve them for future generations.

Prosperity is of course the prime object of industrial efficiency. It is, however, more or less a relative term. There is no end to human wants. In this age of growing aims and aspirations and of consequent increasing wants, it is hard to draw a line where poverty ends and prosperity begins. Beyond the supply of absolute necessities of life, the prosperity of a nation can best be judged from the viewpoint of its ability to maintain its economic standard among other advanced nations. But there is no necessary correlation between efficiency and prosperity. Wealth is the product of factors other than human energy or labour alone. The same amount of labour applied to two countries of varying natural resources would result differently in national wealth. In order to maintain its national standard, a country of poorer resources will have to increase its labour power or capital resources. Since capital is the product of past industry, the accumulation of capital resources is also determined by labour power or industrial efficiency.

The welfare of a nation depends not only upon the creation of economic values, but also upon that of other values, such as the ethical, esthetic and religious. While devoting itself to the pursuit of wealth, a nation must also pay attention to the moral and intellectual aspects of life. In fact, one of the principal aims of industrial efficiency is to release a part of national energy for activities other than industrial. Moreover, by facilitating the supply of the basic needs of life, industrial efficiency also creates opportunities for realising moral and intellectual ideals.

The industrial efficiency of a nation is, therefore, determined by several factors:—First, utilisation and conservation of arable land, forests, fisheries and mines in the light of modern science and art. Second, encouragement to savings and transformation of these savings into productive instruments of

the latest discoveries and inventions. Third, development of the physical, intellectual and moral qualities of the people for productive purposes. Fourth, preservation of a high national standard among other advanced nations. Fifth, cultivation of the moral and intellectual aspects of life for the welfare of society. In short, the industrial efficiency of a nation is its ability to conserve and utilise, in the light of the latest progress in science and art, all its natural, human and capital resources for both the absolute and relative wealth and welfare of its people,

2. SIGNIFICANCE OF EFFICIENCY.

Efficiency is the goal of all evolutionary processes. They all tend to the gradual differentiation and specialisation of the organism on the one hand, and the more and more interdependence and coordination of the parts to the whole on the other, resulting in increasing efficiency in functional process. While organic evolution furnishes one of the best examples of functional development, equally illustrative is social evolution, which, through the development of different institutions, such as the family and the state, has led to the progress of society. The function of industrial evolution is the augmentation of social wealth. The development of the factory system from hunting and pasturing, of the modern exchange from the primitive barter, and of international economy from the self-sufficing household or village have all tended towards the increase of national prosperity.

The significance of efficiency in national life is best indicated by its functions, which might be classified under two heads, namely, direct and indirect. The direct effect of industrial efficiency is threefold:—First, supply of the basic needs of life in the face of the proportionately decreasing natural resources, especially food supply, as a result of increasing population. Second, supply of increasing requirements of the growing individuality in the process of social progress. Third, preservation of the prosperity and prestige of a nation as well as its economic independence in the growing competition among different nations.

The indirect effect of industrial efficiency upon a nation is also very great:—First, the physical, intellectual and moral qualities constituting industrial efficiency also form the basis of national character. Second,

efficiency, by saving time for the supply of necessities and requirements, secures needed leisure for intellectual and moral activities. Third, both material prosperity and moral and intellectual development are essential for national liberty and social progress.

3. ESTIMATION OF EFFICIENCY

There is scarcely any standard by which the industrial efficiency of a nation can be measured with any degree of accuracy. Some rough idea may nevertheless be had from different systems of estimation. Since efficiency is a relative term, such estimates must be based upon comparison.

The per capita incomes of different countries might give some idea of comparative efficiency. But they refer to nominal or money income, which differs in different countries, and not to real income. Moreover, they give no idea of the relative importance of labour in productive processes, which forms the subject-matter of study in efficiency.

Attempts have been made to estimate efficiency by the productivity of an industrial unit. Thus the yield of crop per acre has been made the basis of relative efficiency. The defect of the system lies in the failure to take into consideration the relative importance of the other factors of production, namely, labour and capital. Similarly defective is the system of estimating the efficiency of labour from the products of factories using the same kind of machine. Such estimates disregard the differences in the conditions of work, nature of raw materials, rates of wages, and similar other factors.*

The relative efficiency of labour may also be estimated by employing different groups or gangs of workers in the different branches of the same industrial plant, such as factory, mine, farm or orchard, or in the same plant at different times. Such a method is quite practicable in the United States, where workers of practically all nationalities are available. The weakness of the system is that the age, health, education and training of the workers of different nationalities are

often disregarded. But as most of the immigrants are in the prime of life and the experience of the workers, is also taken into consideration to some extent such a method offers a very fair basis of comparison. But it is hardly possible to apply this method to a nation as a whole.

Another method is the estimation of the potential productivity of a country with the probable application of the latest industrial technique, including discoveries and inventions, compared with the actual productivity. Such methods would include the effect of machinery in the technique or labour proper. But the inability of a nation to apply the best machinery to productive processes is also a sign of its industrial inefficiency. This system is, however, too theoretical to be of any practical use.

A practical method is to take as base the average productivity of various industries in several advanced countries, including as many commodities as possible, and to compare the efficiency of a particular nation by index number. But the difficulty arises in the fact that there is no common basis of collecting statistical data in different countries. Moreover, exact data on a sufficiently large number of commodities are available only in a few countries. It must also be mentioned that a large number of commodities escape statistical calculation even in the most advanced countries.

There are several other methods by which the industrial efficiency of a country may be indicated. First, the general economic condition of a country. For, example, the starvation of the majority of the people in India cannot fail to indicate its industrial inefficiency. The presence of a few extremely rich people implies only a defective system of distribution rather than sufficiency in production. Second, absence of the latest technique and up-to-date machinery from the productive system of a country is another indication. Obsolete and antiquated tools and implements and century-old industrial system and methods in this age of world competition and international economy show that India is still far behind other nations in industrial development. Third, wastage of natural, human and capital resources is another indication. In a country like United States, where there is a superabundance of natural resources in comparison with man power, private economy has neces-

* This is the basis of calculation of the efficiency of Indian Labour as compared with the British. See, Das, R. K. *Factory Labour In India*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 107-25.)

led to a certain amount of wastage. But in a country like India, where famine is constantly present in some part of the country or other and where the majority of the

people are always on the verge of starvation, the wastage of the resources in any form is the direct result of her industrial inefficiency.

INDIANS ABROAD

SEGREGATION IN MOMBASA

IT is well known how the Government of Kenya Colony have always tried to live well up to the principle of racial segregation in which they believe heart and soul. Last year they tried to sell 21 residential plots in Mombasa with the restrictive clause "*To Europeans only*"; but were frustrated in their noble effort by the opposition of the Indians there. This year they are again offering 12 plots on similar condition. A memorandum published by the Young Men's Union, Mombasa, throws much light on matters as they stand. We are quoting from it below.

It seems the Local Government with the consent of the Colonial Office is determined to revive segregation in Mombasa Township.

It is contemplated by the Government to reserve the area bounded by Salim Road South, Railway Line, Tritton Road and Golf course measuring about 160 acres for the European residence only. Owing to the policy of segregation contemplated to be followed by the Government before 1923, few plots were sold by the Government in the said area in 1913 allowing any person without distinction of race or colour to buy the plots but with a condition that no Asian could reside or stay in the houses erected thereon except as domestic servants. Later on in 1916 and 1918 few more plots were sold restricting the sales to Europeans only. The total area alienated thereby is approximately 30 acres.

It must be borne in mind that at the time of all the said sales the Indian Community strongly resented the unjust and arbitrary restrictions put on sales and carried on their fight against that invidious policy till July 1923 when the Imperial Government published the White Paper and while doing injustice to Indians on all the points at issue definitely abandoned segregation in townships without any qualification. It was then considered by all competent persons that non-segregation in townships was the only point decided with equity and justice. Following is the text of non-segregation clause from the White Paper of July 1923:—

"The next matter for consideration is the segregation of European and Non-European races. Following upon Prof. Simpson's report the policy of segregation was adopted in principle and it was

proposed by Lord Milner to retain this policy both on sanitary and social grounds. In so far as commercial segregation is concerned it has already been generally agreed that this should be discontinued but with regard to residential segregation matters have been in suspense for some time and all sales of township plots have been held up pending a final decision on the question of principle involved. It is now the view of competent medical authorities that as a sanitation measure the segregation of Europeans and Asiatics is not absolutely essential to the preservation of the health of the community: a rigid enforcement of sanitary, police and building regulations without any racial discrimination by Colonial and Municipal authorities will suffice. It may well prove in practice that different races will by natural affinity keep together in separate quarters but to affect such separation by legislative enactments except on strongest sanitary grounds would not in the opinion of His Majesty's Government be justifiable. They have therefore decided that the policy of segregation between Europeans and Asiatics in Townships must be abandoned."

On 15th May 1926 a joint deputation of Indians and Arabs waited upon His Excellency Sir Edward Grigg who was then in Mombasa and submitted a memorandum representing to him how the proposed sale of plots was unjust, illegal and against the White Paper and requested His Excellency to do justice by abandoning the unjust restrictions upon sales. In reply to the deputation His Excellency expressed an opinion that the case of the signatories was strong but refused to discuss the legal aspect of the subject. His Excellency was very sympathetic to the case of the signatories of the memorandum. To explain why the restrictions on the sales were imposed he read the following extract from the letter of the Commissioner of Lands, Nairobi to the land Officer, Mombasa, "the Secretary of State for the Colonies has now agreed that the sale of plots in the area bounded by Cliffe Avenue and Salim Road can not legally be unrestricted but must be confined to Europeans only," and stated that the proposed restrictions were due to the legal decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. His Excellency promised to supply a gist of correspondence passed between the Government and Colonial Office and extend time of sales in order to allow signatories to put their case before the Colonial Office and he also promised to represent the views of the signatories to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Not only that the gist of the correspondence was never supplied but the Colonial Secretary never gave information to the Secretary of the Indian Association in spite of various requests. In short no definite ground on which the restrictions were based was ever disclosed by the Local Government to the Non-European Communities and the representatives of the Non-European Communities failed to understand what grounds they should meet by putting forward a further memorandum. But it could be safely presumed from the extract of the letter of the Commissioner of Lands and particularly the words "has now agreed" that the Secretary of State for the Colonies sanctioned restrictions after more than once representations were made by the Local Government to the Colonial Office and sanctions was asked for.

Though the Local Government has not disclosed the reason why the unjust policy is proposed to be followed it can be ascertained from the following extract from the reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonies given to Col. Wedgewood on the 10th June 1926 that the restrictive covenants entered into with previous landholders is the only ground given on which the present policy is based. The following is the reply. "I have been asked to reply. The information in possession of my Rt. Hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies does not enable him to identify the particular plots referred to in the question but the facts are very probably as stated. It should be borne in mind that the transition from the policy of segregation to one of non-segregation involved some difficulty and it was pointed out by the Government concerned that in certain cases the land was legally subject to restrictive covenants entered into under the former system. After careful consideration it was decided that where it was not possible to waive such covenants without incurring legal proceeding entailing the probability of an injunction against the Government it would be necessary to retain the restrictions. The sales mentioned by the Hon. member no doubt fall within this category.

But any one who would care to read the leases made between the Government and and previous landholders and registered in Mombasa registry will find that no restrictive covenants are incorporated as regards unsold adjoining plots. Those leases only contained covenants that the leased premises cannot be transferred to nor can be used by Non-Europeans but do not contain one word about adjoining unsold plots.

It is interesting to know that certain Japanese tenants were occupying one building in the said area since 1924 and the Government has now given notice to the landlord asking him to eject his Japanese tenants from the premises otherwise proceedings for forfeiture of the lease will be taken by the Government against the landlord. It is also remarkable that the application by the Japan Cotton Trading Company Ltd., a well-known Japanese firm to purchase a house in that area has been refused by the Government on the grounds of racial discrimination only.

From the minutes of the District Committee of February 1927 it could be seen that the Government has now definitely decided to enforce the restrictive covenants in the old leases and also to restrict the future sales in that area to Europeans only. It should be noted that that even now no

ground for adoption of such policy have been disclosed and the Government even does not care to define the area within which such restrictions will be extended.

It must be borne in mind that the said area is the healthiest part of Mombasa Township. It should also be understood that under the proposed policy Non-British Europeans including ex-enemy aliens and others will be given preference over British Indian subjects of His Majesty as regards the acquisition of property in a British Crown Colony.

We are not surprised at the conduct of the Kenya Government. We do not expect anything better from them ; but we expect our Indian brethren over there to put up as great a fight as possible against them and wrest from them what they will not give with good grace.

Indians in Fiji

We have received the following Communication from Fiji.

Lautoka Fiji.
19th November, 1926.

The Editor,
The Modern Review
Calcutta

Dear Sir,

Seven years ago the Government of Fiji appointed a Commission to inquire into and suggest ways and means in respect of Indian Franchise. Since then there have been numerous representations appealing the Government to grant the right and privileges promised to Indians as far back as in 1879 by no less a person than the Secretary of State but all have been in vain, and the Government remains as callous as ever.

The Government of India appointed and sent a Commission known as Raju Commission to Fiji in 1922 but so far its report have not seen the light of the day nor is it likely to. It is believed the Commission demanded equal representation in the Council which the Government of Fiji is not prepared to accede.

Mr. Shastri's resolution of Equal Status in the Imperial Conference, of 1922 and Dr. Sapru's subsequent proposal in the Imperial Conference of 1923 combined with the appointment of the Colonies-Committee has been set to naught.

The following correspondence has passed between the Young Men's Indian Association and the Fiji Government which throws a flood of light on the present situation and it would be read with interest.

LETTER FROM THE "Y.M.I.A." TO COLONIAL SECRETARY

16th September, 1926

Sir,

I am directed by my Association to write and respectfully ask you for informations regarding the decision of Imperial Government on the momentous question of Franchise to Indians in Fiji and the intention of the Government of Fiji to nominate an Indian to the vacant seat in the Legislative Council

for such period as the question of our Franchise remains under consideration.

The deprivation of the seat in the Council caused by the resignation of the nominated member Mr. Badri Maharaj is greatly felt by the Indian Community and His Excellency the Governor is quite aware of the anxiety of our community on these questions.

If no decision is reached on the former question will you be so good as to represent to the Rt. Hon. The Secretary of State the pressing need and the feeling of our community on the subject with a view to expedite the decision.

GOVERNMENT'S REPLY

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant regarding the question of Indian Franchise and to inform you that His Excellency is in communication with the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the Subject of the nomination of an Indian Member to a seat on the Legislative Council for such period as the question of the grant of the Franchise remains under consideration and is recommending that the request made in the last paragraph of your letter be acceded to.

I am to add that His Excellency hopes to be in a position to send your Association a definite reply in the course of a few weeks.

Sgd. Acting Colonial Secretary.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT By

YOUNG MEN'S INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

Mr. C. CHATTUR SINGH, President.

Mr. RAMSAMUJH PRASAD, Secretary.

Lautoka

5th October, 1926.

The Hon'ble

The Colonial Secretary
SUVA.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of your letter of 26th ultimo.

The Young Men's Indian Association deeply appreciates the prompt action taken by H. E. the Governor in respect of our request as contained in my letter of 16th September last and I should deem it a favour if you would be so good as to convey our feeling of gratitude to His Excellency.

If it is not out of place my Association desire to suggest the name of Dr. A. Deva Sagayam M. B. for nomination to the vacant seat in the Legislative Council in preference to Mr Badri Maharaj or any other who is not sufficiently conversant with the language in which the Council is conducted.

My Association wishes to emphasize the fact that knowledge in English is very essential to this important matter and it therefore requests urgently that our suggestion may be accepted in spite of Dr Sagayam's short residence in Fiji.

LETTER FROM THE COLONIAL SECRETARY TO Y.M.I.A.

Sir,

Referring to my letter of the 23rd September last, I am directed by the Governor to inform your

Association that His Excellency has, with the Secretary of States approval appointed Mr Badri Maharaj to be a Nominated Un-Official Member of the Legislative Council to take his seat at the session of the Council meeting to-day.

I am to inform your Association that the Secretary of State has intimated to the Governor his intention to advise His Majesty the King to provide for the grant of a measure of Franchise to Indians in the Colony, The Government of India having accepted proposals to that end made by His Majesty's Government measures to give effect to that intention are at present under consideration. Further information on the subject will be published in due course.

The appointment of Mr Badri Maharaj to the Legislative Council is for the period pending the issue of writs for the election of Indian representatives to the Council, unless the Council be sooner dissolved.

(Sgd) Acting Colonial Secretary.

It is unfortunate that the Government did not accept the suggestion, of the Y.M.I. Association, to nominate an Indian sufficiently conversant with the English language but since we have no choice, it is no good crying after the spilt milk.

Yours faithfully,

C. Chattur Singh.

America Prohibits Lascars

The following press news demands our closest attention.

It is understood that Britain is preparing a formal protest against the terms of the new Immigration Bill which would exclude from American ports all foreign ships employing seamen of other countries who are ineligible to enter the United States as immigrants.

Under the Bill which has already passed the Senate, lascars would be prohibited from coming to America on any vessel except one flying the flag of India. Similarly no ship employing Chinese seamen could come to an American Port unless it was Chinese.

Britain has never been so keenly alive to any injustice done to Indians anywhere. Rather she has often encouraged other nations to go against Indians. In this case her shipping industry stands to lose heavily by any such exclusion of cheap Indian labour. Hence her protest. If the above news be true; we shall be glad if the Americans stick to their point; for will it not force British ships to lower their own flag and fly one which they will call the Indian flag?

NOTES

Mr. Gandhi on Sister Nivedita

The following passage occurs in Mr. M. K. Gandhi's "Story of My Experiments with Truth" part iii, chapter xix:—

"I then ascertained the place of residence of Sister Nivedita, and saw her in a Chowringhee mansion. I was taken aback by the splendour that surrounded her, and even in our conversation there was not much meeting ground. I spoke to Gokhale about this and he told me that he did not wonder that there could be no point of contact between me and a volatile person like her.

I met her again at Mr. Pestonji Padshah's place. I happened to turn up just as she was talking to his old mother, and so I became an interpreter between the two. In spite of my failure to find any agreement with her, I could not but notice and admire her overflowing love for Hinduism. I came to know of her books later.

The mention of "the splendour that surrounded her" without any other details conveys a wrong idea of Sister Nivedita's mode of living. The fact is, at the time when Mr. Gandhi saw her, she was the guest of Mrs. Ole Bull and Miss Josephine MacLeod at the American Consulate, and, as such, was not responsible for the "splendour." Her ascetic and very simple style of living in a tumbledown house in Bosepara Lane, Baghbazar, is well-known to all her friends and acquaintances.

We do not know whether Mr. Gokhale spoke to Mr. Gandhi in English and actually used the word "volatile" to describe her;—for what has appeared in *Young India* is translated from the Gujarati *Navajivan*. But whoever may be responsible for the use of the word "volatile," has wronged her memory. Sister Nivedita had her defects, as in fact even the greatest of mankind had and have, but volatile she was not in any sense of that word. As English is not our vernacular, we have consulted two dictionaries on our table to find out its exact meaning as applied to human beings. The Pocket Oxford Dictionary defines it to mean, "of gay temperament, mercurial." In Webster's New International Dictionary the explanation given is, "light-hearted; airy; lively; hence, changeable; fickle." Sister Nivedita was a very serious-minded person, noted for her constancy and steadfast devotion to the cause of Hinduism and India.

The reference to "her overflowing love for Hinduism" is quite just and accurate.

Germans and the League of Nations Secretariat

A report of the proceedings of the Council of the League of Nations, December Session, 1926, received from the League Secretariat, contains the information that

The Council approved several appointments of German members of the Secretariat. The principal appointment is that of M. Dufour-Feronce, from the German Embassy in London, as Under Secretary-General. The British representative, Sir Austen Chamberlain, congratulated the Secretary-General on his choice, and Dr. Stresemann expressed his appreciation of what Sir Austen said.

When the present writer was at Geneva in September last, he heard at the time of Germany's admission to the League that some good posts were to be created in the Secretariat for Germans and that Germany was also to have some "mandates." The first part of the rumour proves to have been well-founded. "Mandates" cannot be so easily created and given as posts. For no mandatory state is likely to give up its "trust property" to accommodate Germany.

We have repeatedly pointed out that justice demands that there should be more Indians in the League Secretariat and the International Labour Office. But India, though one of the original members of the League, is a subject country, and so there is nobody to fight for her. At the last plenary meeting of the League Assembly in 1926, M. Hambro, Norwegian delegate, urged, with reference to the Budget of the League,

"the necessity for all small and distant nations to foster a better representation on the Secretariat and on the International Labour Office.....In appointing the new higher officials of the League and the Under-secretaries and Chiefs of Section, the Council must take care not to give the world at large the impression that only the citizens of great Powers should have an opportunity of filling them."

But Norway is not a great Power. Therefore no need has been felt by the bosses of the show to placate her. Do they act according to the spoils system?

Persia and Opium Production

Another statement received from the League Secretariat contains the following paragraph:

Connected with the general opium question was the report of the League's Commission which went to Persia to study the possibility of substituting poppy growing by other crops. This report is referred to the next Assembly. The Persian representative told the Council that his Government would agree, after a delay of three years, to reduce its opium production by 10 per cent. a year for three years; its policy after that would be governed by the general situation and by what other countries were doing. Poppy growing land diverted to other uses would be exempt from land taxes and the Government would make special loans to help cultivators who gave up poppy growing.

As India is an opium producing country like Persia, it may be asked whether the League's Commission visited India also to study the possibility of substituting poppy growing in this country by other crops. If not, why? If it did, has the Government of India agreed to do anything similar to what Persia has agreed to do?

"A Mandate and Its Moral"

Under the above heading, *The Manchester Guardian Weekly* has the following paragraph:—

There has just been published the texts of the Conventions, ratified in July, between the United Kingdom and the United States respecting national rights in the territories of Africa mandated to the former Power—the mandates are most explicit about the obligation to promote "the material and moral well-being and social progress" of the inhabitants. One of the districts under mandate is Tanganyika Territory, which is the immediate neighbour of Kenya Colony, and the United Kingdom as mandatory of the one and possessor of the other, cannot logically impose one form of administration on one side of the border and another on the other. In Kenya there is the crushing hut-tax, which drives the native to leave his home and become a wage-earner in white employ and there is the use of forced labour for public works; thus the British record does not in the least conform with the duty to safeguard social progress. Is Tanganyika to become a model of administration to Kenya, or is Kenya to give a vicious example to Tanganyika? The mandate for the latter does, it is true, allow forced labour for "essential public works," and it is a serious evil that the authority of the League should be given to any trust containing a clause so liable to abuse. But in the last resort the mandatory is responsible to the League for its administration of the trust, so that there is some external check on the power to impose a modified form of slavery. In Tanganyika the native is encouraged to become a cultivator not for his own needs only, but for the market; in Kenya the opposite is the case. It is the business of the League to see that in Tanganyika the invasion of native rights in land and liberty, which has gone so far in the neighbouring country of Kenya, is not imitated by the

white settlers. Kenya needs a preceptor rather than accomplice at its side.

Good Examples Set By Public Men

When, four years ago, Mr. Ganesh Dutt Singh was one of the Ministers for Bihar and Orissa, he promised to devote three-fourths of his salary to a public cause. In fulfilment of that promise he has founded the Hindu orphanage at Patna with an endowment of one lakh of rupees.

Mr. Patel, president of the Legislative Assembly, has also promised to send Mr. Gandhi a specified portion of his salary to be spent by the latter for some public cause, and has already begun to make remittances.

These praiseworthy examples deserve to be followed by other public men.

Supply of News from China

What news we get from China through Reuter's agency is one-sided and cannot be depended upon. Many lies and half-truths are transmitted to all parts of the world through the cables, which are entirely under non-Asiatic control. For these reasons, there does not seem to be anything intrinsically wrong in the suggestion made by the honorary secretary to the Indian Journalists' Association in Calcutta that our Indian journals should combine to send one or more correspondents to China to gather correct information and send the same by telegraph or by post, whichever may be practicable. It may be that such correspondents would not be allowed to proceed to China, or that, even if so allowed, their cables would not be accepted for transmission. There may be other difficulties, too. But we should not allow the thought of such contingencies to paralyse our efforts. The attempt is worth making.

Seeing Things "Whole and Undivided."

Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. have been publishing a series of small volumes under the general title of "To-day and To-morrow." Among the authors are some of the most distinguished English

thinkers, scientists, philosophers, doctors, critics, and artists, such as Bertrand Russell, J. B. S. Haldane, F. C. S. Schiller, etc. One of the volumes is named "*The Dance of Siva*" by "Collum." By the dance of Siva the author means the Indian conception of the continuous cosmic process "which is both constructive and destructive at one and the same time." A considerable portion of this book is taken up with a critically appreciative interpretation of the scientific work done by Sir J. C. Bose. Says the author :

Let us turn to another department of human activity, to the current tendencies of critical science. Here it is no longer a matter of tentative queries. A portent has appeared which is of the greatest significance. Shadows that we took for substantial barriers are being dissipated by the painstaking method of scientific experiment, and a whole collection of categories that we had come to accept as facts have been revealed as being but mere fictions born partly of our ignorance, partly of the characteristically "Western" inability to see anything whole and undivided. The achievement has been a triumph for that Western "intellectual curiosity" and Western critical and experimental method which first became characteristic of Europe in the Renaissance—but it has not been achieved by the West. East and West had to come consciously together to achieve the result. An Eastern mind, seeing Nature whole, and working with the critical experimental science of the West, was needed and in the fulness of time was forthcoming when Indian genius found itself in full and practised possession of Cambridge scientific method in the person of Jagadis Bose, the Bengali physicist. Centuries hence men may point to Bose as a conveniently identifiable point from which to date the dawn of the new thought just as to-day we put our finger on Socrates when we wish to focus our view of the beginning of that new thought which inspired the West for centuries and to say: "Here is our landmark; here the new can be said to have been first recognisable as something that was characteristically different."

A brief glance at the significant results of this Indian researcher's discoveries will illustrate better than any attempt to define it, what is implied in the Oriental conception of the Dance of Siva which I have taken as the symbolic title of this essay to discern the continuous thread running through the apparent tangle of to-day linking yesterday with to-morrow and to-morrow inevitably with yesterday.—*The Dance of Siva*, pp. 59-61.

These introductory observations are followed by page after page of eloquent interpretation and comment.

Chinese Cadets in Japanese Military College

A recent Tokio despatch says that the Japanese Government has decided that

admission of Chinese students to the Military College in Tokio must hereafter be limited, following an unprecedented number of applications for admission. There are now 250 Chinese students in the college and 140 more are seeking admission.

China has her own military colleges where thousands of officers are trained by efficient instructors. China is torn with Civil War. Yet the Chinese Government and people could make such arrangements that hundreds of Chinese students could secure admission into the military colleges of Japan and other countries. Under the benevolent British rulers, who say that the Indians cannot be given self-government because they are not competent to take charge of their national defence, there is not a single well-equipped military college for Indians in India ; and only a few Indians are annually admitted to Sandhurst. This is how Indians are trained to take charge of their national defence !

Latest News on Hindu Citizenship Fight in America

Dr. Taraknath Das wrote to us from Baden-Baden, on March 22, 1927, that he had received cables from responsible Americans in Washington, D. C., to the effect that the United States Supreme Court has denied the application of the United States Solicitor General who petitioned that Court to review the decision rendered in favor of Mr. Sakharan Ganesh Pandit, Attorney-at-Law of Los Angeles by the circuit of appeals, at San Francisco, California. This means that Mr. Pandit, who was naturalized as an American citizen in 1914, and whose citizenship has been contested by the United States Department of Naturalization, on the ground that he is not a "white person" and is thus ineligible to citizenship, and that he secured his citizenship illegally and fraudulently, has won the case against the United States by the verdict of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Pandit's victory in the contest has been secured purely on the legal ground of "res adjudicata", and the Court has not decided that the Hindus are "white persons." Thus Pandit's victory would not establish any precedent for other Hindus to become citizens of the United States. But it will

establish a precedent in favor of all those Hindus who were naturalized before and whose cases are still pending before the court.

Independent News from China

We have received the following for publication. —

"As representing the British Labour Council for Chinese Freedom, we desire to inform the British Press and the Public generally that whilst deploring the loss of lives of foreign nationals at Nanking and the insults and other lamentable occurrences alleged to have taken place there recently, the other side of the question must be brought to the notice of the British people.

"A cable received from Shanghai and published in the Continental Press on March 28th says :—

An hour ago our representative returned from Nanking. The bombardment has stopped after destroying more than half the city. The British and American warships fired incendiary shells. The whole of the Pukow quarter is still in flames. Heaps of half-burnt corpses fill the streets and squares. Over 2,000 of the population have been killed.

The Native population and the National troops had nothing whatever to do with the looting, which was done by disbanded Northerners encouraged by White Russians.

Some Americans and one Englishman were killed. The British Consul was wounded.

"The above statement is one which the British Government must not be allowed to ignore. Pukow is on the left bank of the Yang-tse River, and has been bombarded as well as Nanking.

"Insults to the British Flag or to British Nationals, deplorable and regrettable as they must be to everyone, cannot blind anyone to the fact that the bombardment of an undefended city is an outrage on that which is called civilisation.

"The British Labour Council for Chinese Freedom calls upon all those who care for the good name of the British people to at once demand that the British Government shall consent to this matter being referred immediately to an International Tribunal upon which the Chinese nation should be effectively represented."

"7, Staple Inn Buildings,
High Holborn, W. C. I.
31st March, 1927."

Alfred M. Wall.
R. Bridgeman."

European Monopoly of Baths in Africa

The following interesting tale appears in the *Indian Opinion*, Natal.

A universal matter was raised in the Rand Division of the Supreme Court, when Michael Towell, of Amphyll Avenue, Benoni, applied to Mr. Justice Greenburg for a temporary interdict pending litigation prohibiting the Benoni Town Council from refusing him admission to their swimming baths.

Towell is bringing an action against the municipality seeking to enforce his rights, to enter the baths, but being advised that the hearing of such action could not be obtained for some months, and as he was desirous of using the baths in the meantime, he applied for the interdict as a temporary measure.

Towell in his petition stated that he was born in the Mount Lebanon district of Syria of Christian parents, and was himself a Christian. On February 6 he went with four other Syrians to the baths, which he had used regularly each Sunday, and some times on weekdays, for the past three years. The Superintendent of the Baths however, asked him what was nationality, to which he replied, "Syrian." Whereupon, it was stated, the Superintendent said : "You know Syrians are not a European race, and you are not allowed here." Shortly afterwards a police-sergeant arrived and ordered Towell and his friends to leave the baths, which they did.

The following day Towell complained to the Syrian (Lebanon) Christian Association, which was formed for the protection of the Syrian community, and on the succeeding Sunday, together with some friends and three members of the Association's Committee, he again proceeded to the baths and sought admission. The Superintendent, however, said the petitioner, again refused him admission, stating that Syrians were not allowed inside, and adding that he was acting on the instructions of the Town Engineer.

Affidavits from Towell's friends were put in, and his Lordship granted the interdict.

Next the "Whites" will petition God for a separate atmosphere to breathe in.

Delegates to International Economic Conference

The firm and dignified representation which the Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, has sent to the president and officers of the International Economic Conference at Geneva on the subject of the Government of India's choice of India's delegates to that conference, is worthy of all attention. A maximum of five members could have been sent to Geneva. But the Government of

India has chosen only three men. Experts, though not entitled to speak or vote, could have been sent in addition, but none, it appears, have been sent. According to the requirements laid down by the Economic and Financial Section of the League, "the Members [who are to participate in the Conference] should not be spokesmen of the Official policy," i. e., they should be non-officials. But one of the three delegates, Sir Campbell Rhodes, is an official, being a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India in London and a paid servant of the Government. The Indian Merchants' Chamber points out in addition that

Sir Campbell Rhodes is not an Indian and cannot therefore be expected to put before the Conference the Indian point of view upon the economic problems to be discussed by the Conference. The proper Indian representation at the Conference is thus reduced to less than half, consisting as it now does of only two Indian Delegates as against the total of five delegates for India. The loss of India is, however, turned to the gain of England. The Englishman representing India naturally urges the English point of view and acts in concert with his English conferees, thus leading to overrepresentation of England at the Conference. Such disregard by the Government of India of the wishes of the Indian public as also of the rules laid down for various Conferences either by the Treaty of Versailles or by the League of Nations has now become chronic.

In the matter of these meetings the Government of India appear to make their selections more with a view to British interests than to the interests of India. Last year this Chamber had to protest against the nomination by the Government of India of a representative of British ship-owning interests to represent India at the 8th and 9th International Labour Conferences. The composition of the Indian Delegation to the sittings of the League of Nations has so far never been satisfactory to Indian public opinion.

Some of the questions to be discussed at the Conference are :

(1) Liberty of trading, including economic and fiscal treatment of foreigners and foreign companies ; (2) indirect methods of protecting national commerce and shipping, including discriminating legislation ; (3) International Commercial treaties ; (4) International agreement regarding national industries ; (5) International action in collaboration in agriculture.

In most of these subjects British interests clash with those of India. Hence a full quota of five well-informed non-official Indians, with expert advisers, ought to have been sent to the Conference, which has not been done.

Bengali Homage and Tribute to Shivaji

As the tercentenary of the birth of Shivaji is to be celebrated all over India this month, we should utilise the occasion to promote a study of his life and achievements, as well as of the causes of the decline and fall of the Maratha confederacy. Such study is sure to help us in our efforts at national regeneration. Bengal has done something to draw attention to the greatness of Shivaji. There is the late Romesh Chunder Dutt's Bengali novel 'Maharashtra Jivan Prabhat', or 'The Dawn of Maratha Life'. There is the magnificent poem in Bengali by Rabindranath Tagore, in which occur the words.

"জয়তু শিবাজী"

"Victory be to Shivaji".

During the days of the antipartition agitation there was a Shivaji festival in Calcutta in which Lokamanya Tilak participated. There is the standard biography of Shivaji in English by Professor Jadunath Sarkar, whose timely article on the hero and statesman we are privileged to publish in this number. A considerable portion of that work appeared in this Review. There are at least three biographies of Shivaji in Bengali. There is an epic poem on Shivaji by the poet Jogindranath Basu. It is an illustrated volume. Recently Professor Surendranath Sen has contributed to *The Calcutta Review* an article on Shivaji, being a translation of Portuguese materials. Shivaji and Ramdas Swami have furnished subjects to Bengali artists for some of their paintings. Dramatic pieces based on incidents in Shivaji's life are not infrequently staged in Bengal. All this shows that Bengalis have to some extent honoured Shivaji in several ways—mostly of course with the pen and the brush and sometimes with the voice on the stage.

We learn from *The Indian Social Reformer* that an appeal has been issued "to the Hindu leaders in every province in India to organise in their own town or city a festival in memory of the great event, and in a manner worthy of the same," "signed by, among others, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit M. M. Malaviya, Sir Sankaran Nair, Messrs. M. R. Jayakar, N. C. Kelkar, J. M. Mehta, Harchandrai Vishindas, A. S. Asavale, S. N. Haji, Raja Haran Singh, Dr. Moonje and others." We support this appeal wholeheartedly.

edly, if we may. As we have not seen the appeal we do not know whether there is among these "others" persons belonging to Orissa, Bihar, Assam, Rajputana, the Central Provinces, Bengal, etc. Bengal may be ignored on this particular occasion, as being unwarlike, but some of the other provinces have honoured Shivaji more than Bengal, not only with voice and pen and brush as Bengal has to a little extent done, but with Shivaji's favorite weapon also.

The Hindu Mahasabha

The definition of the word "Hindu" adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha is very wide. It would be in keeping with that definition if among its members and office-bearers and in its executive committee there were members of the Jaina, Buddhist, Sikh and Brahmo communities, and if the latter communities took increasing interest in its proceedings.

In the abstract, the Hindus have as much right to convert or re-convert people of other faiths to Hinduism as the followers of any other religion. But many people, while admitting this right in the abstract, raise the objection that the Hindus are making a new departure for political reasons. These men assume that Hinduism is not and never was a proselytising religion in any sense. This is not true. Its missionary methods differ from those of Semitic faiths. But it is a proselytising religion all the same. Apart from the absorption of numerous aboriginal tribes by the Hindu community, which is still going on, and also from the inclusion in the Hindu fold of many invading peoples and tribes from beyond the bounds of India, even within recent historical times several groups of Musalmans have been converted or reconverted to Hinduism. This took place long before Shuddhi or Sangathan was heard of. More than once in some of our previous issues we gave details, which will be found in the Bombay Census Report for 1921. In still earlier times, after the Musalman conquest of Sindh, there was an active movement in existence in that province for the reconversion of Hindu converts to Islam. Those who were reconverted had to perform certain expiatory rites. These are to be found in the *Devala Smriti*.

Therefore the assumption that Hindus are now for the first time in history converting

or reconverting people of other faiths to their own is entirely unfounded. But supposing the Hindus had really made a new departure, why should that be objected to? Every body of men has the right to adopt whatever non-criminal and moral methods it considers necessary in its own interests, particularly when similar methods pursued by other bodies of men are considered legitimate and unobjectionable. Therefore, we strongly support the movement for the conversion or reconversion of non-Hindus to Hinduism, using the word Hindu in the sense accepted by the Hindu Mahasabha. We also equally strongly support the movement for the organisation of the Hindu community so that there may be greater solidarity in it. We are not, however, to be understood to support the name of the *Shuddhi* movement or to accept as unobjectionable the purificatory rites and all the tenets and practices to which the converts adhere. But we do not at all suggest that these are un-Hindu. What we say is that the kind of Hinduism which we follow is different.

This is not the first time that we criticise the name "Shuddhi". It means purification. But we do not believe that non-Hindus are necessarily impure or unclean because they are styled Jews, Christians, Muslims etc. Similarly a Hindu is not necessarily pure because he is called a Hindu. It is the life and character of a man that make him pure or impure. There are many non-Hindus who are pure in their lives and there are many Hindus who are not. For this reason we would earnestly request all advocates of "Shuddhi" to adopt some other name for Hinduization which is not offensive. The resources of the Sanskrit language are sufficient to make the discovery or coinage of such a word feasible. It may be added here by way of illustration that the word "baptism" used by Christians has no offensive meaning or implication.

The present writer is a believer in strictly monotheistic, non-idolatrous Hinduism. He does not, moreover, believe in any infallible revealed scriptures as the orthodox followers of many religions do. He does not believe in *havan*, in the worship of images, in animal sacrifice, and the like. At the same time he admits that some kinds of Hinduism recognise and enjoin these beliefs and practices. He does not call in question anybody's right to practise or propagate such kinds of Hinduism, though if he him-

self had the leisure and the inclination to preach Hinduism he would hold up before Hindus and non-Hindus alike the best that is to be found in its scriptures. That is what Rammohun Roy did. It is this kind of monotheistic Hinduism which we believe to be not only true but the most likely also to promote the cause of inter-communal unity in India. But, as we have indicated before, we have neither the desire nor the power to interfere with the right of other Hindus to follow their methods and doctrines.

Some persons talk of doing away with the present system of numerous castes and reverting to the ancient ideal of *Varnashrama Dharma*. Without trying to discuss historically the real character of ancient *Varnashrama*, one may ask who has sufficient authority, impartiality and power of "soul-reading" to assign to each Hindu man and woman, boy and girl a place in one or other of the four ancient castes according to his or her *guna* and *karma*. Let us avoid all loose talk. Caste may be gradually destroyed and Hindu society may certainly continue to exist and have a vigorous life without caste. But a reversion to the four ancient castes is a dream which will never be realised.

Some persons want that there should be intermarriages and interdining in Hindu society. We have not the least objection. We advocate such social changes.

But those who think that there cannot be any progress towards what has been called Hindu Sangathan without interdining and intermarriage seem to be unduly pessimistic. In orthodox Hindu Society there is no intermarriage in Bengal among the Brahmans, Vaidyas and Kayasthas, and no interdining also among them on orthodox socio-religious occasions, except, perhaps, in big cities. But in spite of that fact, there is no such cleavage or wide gulf between these three castes as there is, for instance, between Brahmans and Namasudras. We think, therefore, that for all practical purposes there may be sufficient solidarity in Hindu Society, if there be the same mutual feeling between, say, Namasudras and Brahmans as there is between Vaidyas and Kayasthas and between Brahmans and Vaidyas. For bringing about such a state of things, the economic condition of the backward classes should be improved and there should be wide diffusion of education among them. And of course, untouchability should be entirely done away with.

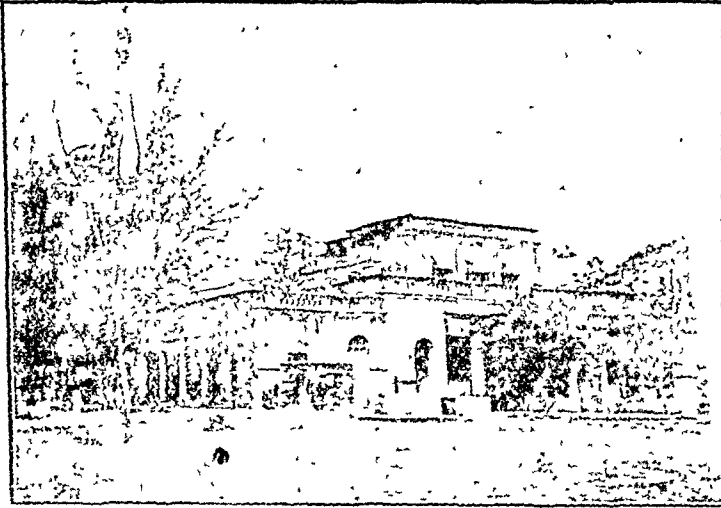
While saying all this, we should also record our conviction that complete solidarity would be possible only when there is fusion of all castes by means of free interdining and intermarriage.

Just treatment of women and just treatment of the backward classes are the two ideals that are most difficult to realize. In order that women may be able to command respect in society and lead useful lives, they should all be properly educated. The Hindu Mahasabha should do its utmost in a practical way for the cause of the education of girls and women. Orthodoxy will not offer much active opposition to such efforts, but great apathy and inertia will have to be overcome. Greater difficulty there will be in preventing child marriages and in raising the age of marriage of girls. If girls are married after the attainment of youth, the problem of the child widow will be to some extent automatically solved. But years and decades may pass before child marriages become things of the past. In any case, girls who have become widows in childhood should be re-married. Their due protection, their proper education, etc., are good and necessary measures. But there is no reason why they should not also marry if they want to. Reason, justice, scriptural authority do not stand in the way. This year the Hindu Mahasabha has passed a resolution relating to widows one part of which seems in a covert way to allow the remarriage of girl widows. It enjoins the adoption of all such steps as would prevent their going astray and indirectly swelling the number of non-Hindus. Their re-marriage is such a step. If our interpretation of the resolution in question be correct, the Hindu Mahasabha must be said to have made some progress towards adopting a social reform programme.

If untouchability had been attacked and *suddhi* and *sangathan* advocated before any political necessity had been felt for doing so, the leaders of the Hindu Community, including Mahatma Gandhi, could have been given credit for acting solely from considerations of humanity and justice. But better late than never. Every item in the programme of the Brahmans and other social reformers for which they have been criticised and reviled is being adopted one by one by their critics. That is a matter for satisfaction.

Bankura Medical School

The main building and grounds of the Bankura Medical School founded by the Bankura Sammilani, were given to the institution by Mr. Rishubar Mukherjee, some-



Main Building of the Bankura Medical School.
The building with 23 acres of land are
free gift of Mr. R. Mukherjee, ex
chief judge of cashmere

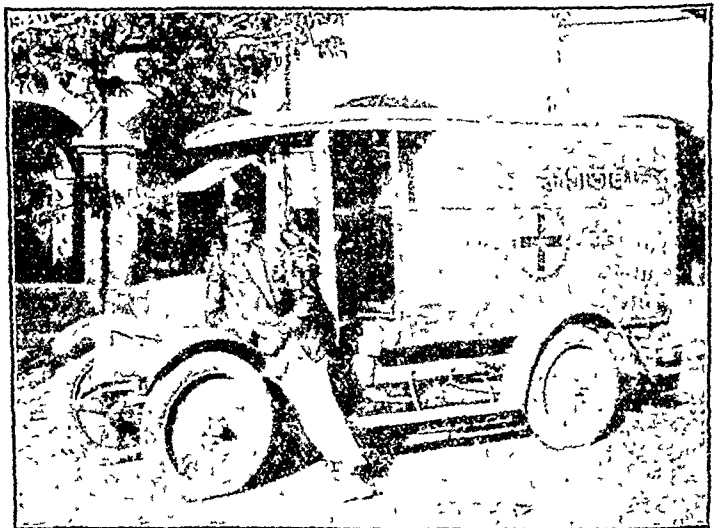
time Governor of Kashmir. We are glad to learn that Messrs. A. Milton and Co. of Calcutta have recently given it a completely equipped motor ambulance. This will greatly facilitate the conveyance of patients from villages to its hospital, which is being increasingly utilised by the people owing, among other things, to the provision of separate cottages for some patients on payment of a very small rent. The institution has recently been provisionally recognised by the State Medical Faculty up to its Intermediate standard.

This Medical School is situated on high and dry ground in a suburb of Bankura. While this is a great advantage from the sanitary point of view it, increases the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply

of water for the students and the hospital patients in summer, when the wells dry up. It has been proposed, therefore, to dig a deep well in the sandy bed of the adjacent river and bring water from there by laying pipes. This has been estimated to cost about six or seven thousand rupees. Seeing that Messrs. A. Milton and Co., have given the school an ambulance of about the same value, we hope that some other benevolent person or persons will generously donate what is necessary for the adequate supply of water. Donations will be thankfully received by (1) Rai Bahadur H. K. Raha, Deputy Director-General of Post Office, Council House Street, Calcutta who is honorary treasurer to the Bankura Sammilani, or (2) by the editor of this Review, who is Vice president of the same association.

Nibaran Chandra Mukherjee

Babu [Nibaran Chandra
Mukherjee of Bhagalpur, who



The Ambulance Presented by Messrs A. Milton & Co Ltd. for the use of the Hospital attached to the Bankura Medical School

has passed away at the ripe old age of 81, was an entirely self-made man. He was born of very poor parents. In boyhood he was too poor to buy oil for a lamp when he wanted to read at night. So he used to prepare his lessons in the light of the street lamp in front of his house. He was a good student, and prosecuted his studies at college with the help of scholarships and the financial aid given by some relatives. He was an M. A. and B. L. of the Calcutta University. At first he took to the vocation of a teacher and became headmaster. When "he found that as the head of an institution he was getting rather arrogant and power-loving, he resigned his headmastership and joined the bar in 1874 so that he could practise just like an ordinary lawyer without enjoying any special privileges.



Nibaran Chandra Mukherjee

Later on he found that the legal profession was not congenial to his temperament...Consequently we find him giving up his profession as a lawyer and his lucrative practice in the year 1886".

He was a Brahmo, and was married according to Brahmo rites. "The idea of true brotherhood among the new Brahmos of those days was so real that it inspired them to live up to it. With a view to realise this ideal, Julla Kothi in Bhagalpur, with its very

spacious grounds measuring several acres of land, was purchased in the name of Nibaran Chandra, and was subdivided into plots; and several Brahmo families purchased them and built houses of their own on them".

"He was prominently connected with the Tej Narain Jubilee College, Girls' School, Young Men's Theistic Association and Debating Society, the Band of Hope, the temperance movement, Bhagalpur Workingmen's Association, the Moral Training class and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. He was for some years the elected Vice-chairman and, later, Chairman of the Bhagalpur Municipality, and also of the District Board. He discharged the duties of these honorary offices to the entire satisfaction of the ratepayers."

Every day before beginning his day's work, he regularly performed his daily devotions. "Since the days of the partition of Bengal in 1905, he was a firm believer in Swadeshi enterprise and used Swadeshi articles as far as possible. His Bengali book "Manava-Jiban," written for young men, has been made a text-book in Assam. He has written other books also. "Even on the eve of his death he had been revising a manuscript on comparative philosophy both in English and in Bengali."

Dr. Moonje's Utterances

In a different note we have discussed some of the questions on which Dr. Moonje has recently spoken. We need not, therefore, repeat any of our observations with reference to his utterances. He has an original way of putting things which arouses and rivets attention. We are entirely at one with him in the firm attitude which he has taken up with regard to the bargaining *cum* dictatorial spirit perceptible in the terms proposed by some Musalman leaders for a united endeavour for the attainment of Swaraj. The limp and too yielding Hindu temperament requires stiffening up. Only, we may be permitted to observe that the Hindu cause and the Indian cause would perhaps be better served if he always spoke *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*. We do not think he means any offence to the Musalmans or wants to irritate them. He does not want to encroach on their just rights or deprive them of any privilege of Indian citizenship. It is because we think so that we have

suggested more circumspection. That is not synonymous with less firmness.

Hindu Moslem Unity

We desire Hindu-Moslem unity from the bottom of our heart, but not the show of such unity at any cost. But so far as Bengal is concerned—we have no direct personal knowledge of the state of things in other provinces—real Hindu Moslem Unity would be utterly impossible in this province so long as outrages on women are not openly and actively discouraged, condemned and put a stop to by the Musalman leaders and the Hindu Swarajist leaders. These outrages are an unspeakable shame for both Hindu Bengal and Musalman Bengal. Recently several Hindu leaders from outside Bengal have cried shame upon us for these in public meetings. We should thank them for doing so, though some of them may not have shown by their words and their manner that our shame was theirs, too, in more senses than one. *Verb. sap.*

So far as Muslims are concerned, Indian Swaraj may be of two kinds: either it would be Hindu-Moslem raj, or it would be Moslem raj. Those who want the latter and want our assent to it, should prove practically that it would be better than British raj, so far at least as the honour of women and Hindu temples and images are concerned. Many Moslem publicists speak and write as if Hindus aimed at establishing a purely Hindu raj. They have no such aim. Moreover, even where Hindus, as in Madras, are in an overwhelming majority, there are no such atrocities practised on Moslems by Hindus as have been perpetrated by Moslems on Hindus in East and North Bengal, Sindh and N.-W. F. Province. Therefore the fear of an imaginary Hindu raj is entirely fictitious and groundless. But the fear of the predominance of Moslems of the type to be found in large numbers in the aforesaid regions is very real and well-founded.

Some or most Moslems want the creation of at least one new administrative province where they are to be in a majority. We cannot be consenting parties to such a proposal; but as we have no political power, we cannot prevent the Government from doing such a thing if it wants to. But we may point out to those of our Musalman countrymen who support such a proposal,

that two similar proposals could be made which, if they had any regard for consistency, they would be bound to support. One is the inclusion in the administrative province of Bengal of some adjoining areas which formerly formed part of Bengal, thus reconstituting it. This might be so done as to reduce the Moslems in Bengal to a minority. The other is the inclusion in the Punjab of some adjoining districts of the United Provinces, which are really parts of the Punjab. This would reduce the Moslems in that province to a minority. What have Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues to say to such possible proposals? Two or more than two can play at the same game.

As regards the introduction of the "Reforms" in (and consequently giving provincial autonomy in the long run to) the N.-W. Frontier Province, there is great force in Dr. Moonje's observation that such a proposal cannot be considered by the Hindus until the Army comes completely under Indian control and is also thoroughly Indianised. Under the system of recruitment followed at present, the people of the North-western parts of India—the Musalmans in particular, form a disproportionately large part of the army. Any administrative arrangement which would be likely to place a still larger power of defence, passivity or aggression in the hands of those people, cannot be assented to by the Hindus, who not only form the majority of the people of India but are also Indians first and last in all possible senses.

As for "leaving the Moslems severely alone", we do not think any sane person can propose a boycott of Moslems in the daily transactions of life or in ordinary neighborly intercourse. But so far as political bargaining is concerned, so far, that is to say, as the paying of any price to the Musalmans for purchasing their consent to a united struggle for Swaraj is concerned, we are absolutely opposed to such transactions. Swaraj would be good for Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and all other inhabitants of India. If a combined effort for its attainment cannot be made without practically giving the Moslems a stranglehold and converting them from a minority into practically something like a majority, we are certainly for each community pursuing its political goal separately in the best way it can. There is an entirely unfounded belief prevalent among some people that, as soon as there is a united Hindu-Moslem demand

Swaraj, however brought about, the British people will give it to us at once. But the truth is, they are such adepts, in finding or inventing excuses, that they will never agree to our being self-ruling unless they are driven to a corner. That would be possible only if there were *real* national unity, not a patched up substitute for it.

The smallest of minorities in India are the Parsis. Yet by their capacity and public spirit, members of that small community have won the position of leaders. Such leadership is possible for Moslems and other communities, too. But an artificial prominence or predominance ought not to be conceded to any community by any pact. That would be unjust to other communities and cause heart-burning and jealousy.

Subhas Chandra Bose

The Government of Bengal and the Anglo-Indian Press perhaps think that they have been able to convince the public that if Subhas Chandra Bose is still in jail it is his fault. But they are mistaken. The Indian public in any case think that the terms offered to Mr. Bose are mean, wily and wanting in common humanity. At present Mr. Bose is interned within the walls of some jail or other. If the Government's offer were accepted, he would be exiled from India and interned in a larger area, named Switzerland or Europe or the world outside India. The loss of complete liberty of movement is common to both kinds of internment. At present Subhas Chandra obtains food and shelter and clothing at the expense of the Government. If he were to go outside of India, he would, we presume, have to pay his own expenses. That is very generous of the Government. Government professes to believe that, even when Mr. Bose is very seriously ill, his release would be a danger to the State. Such profession cannot but excite laughter.

Mr. Bose's rejection of the offer of the Government even at the risk of a lingering death, shows the stuff he is made of. It has heightened the respect felt for him.

We do not think his conduct would be misunderstood by any honourable persons—those of his enemies who are mean-minded may be left out of account, if he were now to consider a possible request of his countrymen that he should go out of India

and place himself under the treatment of some eminent expert to get cured. We suggest that such a request should be sent to him without any avoidable delay, signed by as many of his countrymen as possible. Many patriotic men, of countries other than India, too, banished from their countries or self-exiled, have done good work abroad for their motherlands and the world. Subhas Chandra may also be able to do so in foreign countries undoubtedly.

The Kakori Conspiracy Case

At the trial of the Kakori "Conspiracy" case, which has resulted in so many staggering sentences, the accused do not appear to have had sufficient legal help. If they appeal or have appealed, it would be the duty of their relatives and friends and of the public to see that they are ably defended. Neither the guilt of any accused nor the enormity of his guilty should be taken for granted.

Trial of "Conspirators" and Murders of Witnesses

Though in the Press and in the Legislative Assembly it has been shown repeatedly that the plea, that Government is prevented from bringing alleged revolutionaries to public trial by the fear of the murder of prosecution witnesses, has no legs to stand upon, yet it continues to be trotted out whenever the occasion demands it. But the Kakori "Conspiracy" case has proved once more the falsity of this plea. "This case was one of the biggest conspiracy cases in India. Over 250 witnesses were produced on behalf of the prosecution before the Court of Sessions." The trial lasted more than a year. Yet not a single witness has been murdered or subjected even to a pin-prick. It is to be hoped that the witnesses in this case will continue to be safe even after attention has been drawn to this fact.

Skeen Committee's Report

Indian self-rule implies that Indians are to be completely free to decide whether they are to have any foreign employees, whether civil or military. Consequently it

also implies that the British garrison of white troops in India, officered by Britishers, is not to remain, that the sepoys are to be led only by Indian officers, and that all arms of our military forces are to be open to Indians of all provinces, races, sects and castes, under only the necessary physical, moral and intellectual tests. The principle that national defence should be undertaken by the nation involves all the above-mentioned conditions. Therefore, even if all the recommendations of the Skeen Committee were given effect to, which is unlikely, we would not be a party to their acceptance. We want a scheme whose fruition within a measurable distance of time—say, not more than twenty-five years, would enable the Indian nation to undertake the defence of its country. And, of course, it would be optional for us to have foreign soldiers or officers or trainers, if necessary.

Some countrymen of ours are for accepting whatever can be got, and pressing for more. But as acceptance or non-acceptance does not lie with us, as the Government will carry out its plans whether we be a consenting party or not, why be guilty of accepting anything which falls far short of our just demands?

The Skeen Committee leaves the white garrison entirely untouched, and makes recommendations which, if carried out, would under the best of circumstances make only 50 percent. Of the officers of the Sepoy army Indians in twenty-five years. Nobody denies that that would give us more Indian officers than now. But as nothing is said as to when, if at all, the remaining 50 percent. would be Indianised; when, if at all, the white garrison would be withdrawn; when, if at all, the air force, the artillery, etc., would be thoroughly Indianised; and whether the white garrison would not be increased parri passu with the increase in the number of Indian officers; and as the proposed dribble of military "boons" would practically prevent the reopening and consideration of a complete scheme of national defence by the nation; we are against the acceptance of the recommendations of the Skeen Committee even in their entirety.

British politicians and publicists are masters of the trick of enhancing the value of their proposed "boons" by setting up a cry that they are overgenerous, that they would produce a revolution, that they would mean the end of British rule, and so on. We

should not for ever remain gullible. We should learn by experience. Whenever the above mentioned cry is raised, we should not begin to demand that the "boons" must be given to us in their entirety as recommended, that not a jot or tittle should be taken away from them, and so forth. On the contrary, we are for continually placing our full demand before the world and trying to get what we want, leaving the Government to do what it likes. Of course, if it wants to take away any right which we possess at present, we must oppose any such attempt with all our might.

Governors from the Indian Civil Service

So long as the system of government remains what it is in India and so long as at least full Home Rule is not won, it makes no substantial difference whether we have governors direct from England or from the ranks of sun-dried white bureaucrats in India. Experience has not shown that the direct imports from Great Britain have all or in the majority of cases been better rulers than the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats.

We must confess this protesting and petitioning in favour of a particular brand of foreign masters makes us ashamed.

Sir Charles Innes goes to Burma as its Governor. He knows much about commerce and railways, etc. Will he be able to connect Burma with India by rail and thus facilitate commerce, or will he play into the hands of the British India Steam Navigation Company and leave to them the monopoly of the traffic between India and Burma?

Calcutta to Rangoon Steamer Service

A correspondent has described in a daily paper the abuse and insult to which he was subjected in Outram Ghat by an official of the B. I. S. N. Co., and the assaults and insult which fell to the lot of some deck passengers when trying to board a steamer. We have ourselves witnessed such shameful things.

The Company ought to prevent such insults and assaults. No doubt, so long they practically have a monopoly, they may not care to. But they should understand that politeness and humanity are sure to increase the traffic and bring them more money. The majority of the Company's passengers are Indians. But they do not provide Indian food. The bathrooms

lavatories, too, are not such as Indians are accustomed to use.

From the Indian side, the remedy for the insults and assaults lies in the growth of manliness. But the penal laws in India and their administration are not such as to promote such development. A "European" assailant of an Indian, even when the assault is fatal, is more likely to escape scot-free or with a small fine than otherwise. But a price has to be paid for the growth of manliness.

Visvabharati Scholarships

The attention of our readers is drawn to the details of two scholarships offered by the Visvabharati, printed in our advertisement pages.

Promotion of Some Allahabad Industries

The Allahabad Municipality is entitled to praise for trying to promote the copper, *phool*, an brass ware industries of that town.

The Bengal Provincial Conference at Maju

The inhabitants of Maju, which is a village in the Howrah district, arranged for the holding of this year's session of the Bengal Provincial Conference in their village. They sunk tube-wells for the supply of good water to the delegates and visitors and also made arrangements for electric lights and fans for their comfort and convenience. All the other arrangements were equally praiseworthy. The pluck and public spirit shown by Maju are highly commendable. The attendance, though not as large, as was expected, was not small. Had there not been personal jealousies and quarrels among the Swarajist leaders and had not one party of them dictatorially asked the Conference to be postponed, there would have been a record gathering. But as the people of Maju had done their best, they cannot be held responsible for the Conference not being a complete success in every respect. The President, Mr. Jogindranath Chakrabarti, also did his best for its success.

The So-called Indian Navy

The so-called Indian Navy Bill has been passed by the British House of Commons.

It is Indian only in the sense that India will have to pay for it. It is not at all officered by Indians. Great Britain would be able to use it in any waters for purposes other than India's defence, and even when so used the cost would fall on India. The Indian Legislature is not to have any voice in determining the strength of the Indian Navy or where and for what purpose it is to be used.

During the debate in the Commons on the third reading of the bill,

The final spokesman for the Government was bold enough to suggest that this measure was really a concession of more self-government to the Indian people, who by means of it would be able to take more and more interest in their own affairs. This claim was derided by the Opposition, whose last speaker, Mr. Barker, described it as the most hypocritical statement that could possibly be made. They were creating this navy, he said, because it was a long way from this country to Singapore. They had Japan in mind more than India when they brought in this Bill.

By passing this bill Great Britain has been able practically to increase her naval strength without breaking the letter of the international agreement by which the respective strength of the navies of Great Britain, U.S.A., Japan, France, etc., was fixed. It is in this way that international conventions are respected.

The Hours of Labour Convention

The Hours of Labour convention agreed upon by the powers at Washington, known as the Eight-Hour Day convention, has not yet been ratified by the foremost industrial countries. Great Britain, the U.S.A., Germany, France and Japan have not yet ratified it; Austria, Italy and Latvia have ratified it only conditionally. But the British Government of India ratified it for India so long ago as the year 1921.

The French Senate has adopted a Bill with an amendment (approved by the Government) providing that *ratification shall take effect only when the convention has been ratified by Great Britain as well as Germany*. Germany's declaration of social policy includes the following :—

"The next step in this direction is to create an extensive body of law for the protection of the workers, special consideration being given to miners. Such legislation, while based on German conditions, should fix hours of work, including Sunday rest, in accordance with international

agreements. On the basis of such legislation, the German Government is prepared to ratify the Washington convention at the same time as other industrial countries of Western Europe."

The states which have ratified the convention are as follows:

State	Year	States	Year
Greece	1920	Austria	1924
Roumania	1921	Italy	1924
India	1921	Latvia	1925
Czechoslovakia	1921	Chili	1925
Bulgaria	1922	Belgium	1926

We read in the Calcutta, *Guardian* :—

The overtime abuse has increased so alarmingly of late in Germany that a general movement for the refusal of overtime work is necessary and has already begun. In certain industries the number of hours of overtime worked runs into millions—and this in spite of the large unemployment! The resistance of employers and government to social reform is stronger than ever.

As for Britain, the British Government is obstinately persisting in its policy of setting a bad example by refusing to ratify the Eight Hours Convention. This fact aroused the warm indignation of Poulton, the British workers' representative at the recent meeting of the Governing Body of the I. L. O. Poulton, supported by Oudegeest and Jouhaux, accused his government of having been trying for 7 years to find reasons for refusing to ratify and of having receded further and further from the conception of co-operation which inspired the Washington Conference of 1919

The *Manchester Guardian* observes that

The Government's betrayal of the cause of the is at study Washington Convention on Eight Hours the moment one of the chief obstacles to reform all over the world."

We desire that our labourers should not be sweated and dehumanised. But if the sole or principal motive of the foremost Christian countries of the West in fixing the hours of labour be philanthropy, how is it that their hearts were filled with pity for Indian labourers so long ago without their own fellow-Christians and fellow-countrymen yet obtaining the benefit of that pity ?

Servants of the People Society

The Servants of the People Society, founded by Lala Lajpat Rai in December, 1920, has been doing much good work. It was founded with two main objects :—

To make provision for those interested in the of Politics, Economics and other Social Sciences and to create an interest in such studies amongst young men in general, and to start an order of Life Membership for those willing to devote their whole time to the political, social, educational and economic uplift of the country.

The Tilak School of Politics was started for achieving the first object. To it the founder gave his library and his residential bungalow, with attached lands, and made provision for scholarships of the value of Rs. 15 to 20 to be given to deserving students. It carried on regular teaching work for some time. When the National College came into existence, both teachers and students joined it.

The Society has at present six full members, five members under training, and four associates.

It is open to persons of all communities and all political parties whose aims and objects are identical with those of the society.

Besides propaganda, it has done relief work in Orissa and work for the backward classes among themselves as well as among the "higher" castes. It has its own organ in "The People," which is one of the best English weeklies in India. It is also a principal shareholder of the Punjab Newspapers and Press Company which own the *Bande Mataram*. This is not an exhaustive enumeration of the activities of the Society. It has deserved well of the public. And, therefore, its appeal for Rs. 50,000 for a Lecture and Library Hall ought to be responded to liberally and promptly.

Convocation Address at the Osmania University.

In the course of his convocation address at the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Nawab Sadar Yar Jung Bahadur said :

The word 'University' has been translated into Urdu as 'Jamiaa.' This little word exactly conveys the grandeur and extent of the conception of a university. A real university has a dual existence, or to be more explicit, it has two sides, external and internal. The external appearance of a university depends on its imposing buildings, vast libraries, well-equipped laboratories and an immense concourse of teachers and students. A university can be likened to a human body and as such can be as proud of its external appearance as a man of his strong and well-proportioned body. Then there is the internal or spiritual side, which is the only real one, in the same sense as the real existence of a man is bound up with his soul. If the soul is dead or dormant, his splendid body has no real existence. The real existence of a University is the accumulative result of the joint and ceaseless efforts of the teachers and the taught.

Calcutta's Old-new Mayor.

Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta has been elected Mayor of Calcutta for a third term. His position gives him and his party the opportunity to do great good to the City and indirectly to the country. But for right use of this opportunity he and his party would require to knock on the head anything smacking of a spoils system. Can they do it?

"White Slave Traffic."

Summaries of the first part of the report on the wicked international traffic in women and children, which has been made to the League of Nations by a special committee of experts, has appeared in the papers.

The inquiry, it is stated, was mainly concerned with the American Continent, Europe, the Near East and certain countries on the southern shores of the Mediterranean. The inquiry has scarcely touched a large number of other countries, such as those of the Far East. The Japanese member of the Committee prepared a special report on the conditions in the Far East. Owing, however, to differences of race, religion, and custom, the problem appears in a different aspect.

The Council of the League has decided to refer the whole matter of this report to the Advisory Commission for the protection of the welfare of children and young people which meets on the 25th April.

A similar inquiry should be made in India. One of the points to which special attention should be directed is whether the abduction of women and girls in Bengal, Sindh, etc., has any "business" organisation behind it. As this is not a political or industrial or economic matter, in which British and Indian interests may clash, the Government of India should not hesitate to ask the League's special committee of experts to visit India and help in the inquiry.

The Sad Death of a Detenu

The case of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has received great attention because of his personal distinction. But there are numerous other cases which are equally sad, if not sadder. Here is one:—

Sj. Shib Shankar Chakrabarti died at the Campbell Hospital, Calcutta, on April 17 at 5 p.m. He was arrested at Panna under the Bengal Ordinance in October, 1925, and was interned first at Hanskhali in the district of Nadia, and subsequently in Jalpaiguri and Rangpore. In January last he was transferred to a village in Maldah, where he had an attack of paralysis. Practically no steps were taken for his medical treatment at first, but

after repeated representations, he was removed to Sambhu Nath Pundit's hospital in March 13. There he had an attack of small-pox and was transferred to the Campbell Hospital on the 14th instant. It is strange that, although he had been suffering from paralysis for some time, the police authorities did not think it worth their while to communicate the fact either to his friends or relatives and it was only four days before his demise that they informed his father about his serious illness.

His dead body was carried by the members of the Congress Karmi Sangha in a procession, with national flags flying, to the Nimtola Ghat, where the funeral ceremony was performed. His old father accompanied the procession and bore his bereavement wonderfully well.

The Condition of Two State Prisoners

The following appeared in some Calcutta Indian daily papers in the first week of April last, and has remained uncontradicted:—

State prisoners Purnananda Das Gupta and Nalin Ranjan Ray, confined in Feteagarh Central Jail (U. P.), are suffering from various ailments. Both are suffering from indigestion, headache and dysentery, accompanied by pain in the abdomen. Das Gupta is, moreover, down with fever since his coming and has lost by about 10 lbs. For want of any provision of physical exercises, even that of walking, the diseases are showing daily signs of aggravation. They have been confined in a small space where they are to remain all day and night. In spite of their repeated appeals to the Superintendent for provision of physical exercises and fresh air in the Jail compound, they have been refused permission, though there are quite a number of good open spaces in the Jail area. It is said that the local officials complain that their hands are tied by an order of the Government of Bengal which says that, though provision is to be made to allow the detenus free air, games and exercises, they should never be given except with the consent of the Government of Bengal, and the consent is not forthcoming, though numerous petitions and reminders have been sent hitherto.

The passage relating to the Government of Bengal's order seems incredible. It is like passing an order that certain prisoners are to be given food and water, but not without the previous permission of the Government of Bengal, and then withholding that permission! But has anybody who may arrogate to himself the authority of the Bengal Government really passed such a stupid and inhuman order like the one quoted above?

Outrages on Women in Bengal

We have not hitherto referred to this topic in this Review. What we have to say on the subject we do in our vernacular magazine *Prabasi*. But as from what we

have heard from some distinguished visitors to Calcutta from some other provinces of India we find that they do not know some facts relating to it, we shall mention some of them.

There are very many non-Swarajist Bengalis who are quite ashamed of the state of things in Bengal. Therefore, so far as they are concerned, the process of rubbing it in is unnecessary. We cannot speak for the Swarajists. It is probable that they, too, feel like others.

We told a very distinguished visitor from Madras that real Hindu-Moslem unity in Bengal would be impossible so long as these outrages continued. To put a stop to them, all leading Moslems must openly and actively try to make them a thing of the past, and the Hindu Swarajist leaders must do likewise. Our visitor enquired whether the outrages were appreciable in number. We told him that they were very much more than that. His very question made us suspect that some Swarajists, with whom he is most in touch, must have tried to convince him that the matter was of no importance. When the late Mr. C. R. Das was asked orally by a leading office-bearer of the Women's Protection Society in Bengal to join it, he refused. Nor did he himself do anything for the protection of women from outrages. We have heard from more sources than one that Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta said in the presence of Dr. Kichlew and others that the women and girls who were alleged to have been molested were all or mostly of loose character. We do not know whether he really made such a shamefully false statement. It should be presumed that he did not. But we mention his name in order that he may contradict the rumour if he did not. Up till recently the leading Swarajist organ, and probably other Swarajist organs, too, paid very little attention to the subject. These are our reasons for suggesting that the Hindu Swarajist leaders should bestir themselves to put a stop to the outrages. The *Karmi Sangha* should also do more than it has done.

Our vernacular papers, particularly the weekly *Sanjibani* and the daily *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, have shown greater earnestness, zeal and activity in this matter than the papers conducted in English. The *Sanjibani* has been publishing serially a statement, covering the period of the last five years, in which are given the names, religion and

civil condition (married, unmarried, or widowed) of the women and girls molested, the names and religion of the accused, and the result of the trial, if any. An analysis of these statements shows that only in a very few cases Hindus molested Muslim women, that some Hindus molested some Hindu women, that in the majority of cases the offenders were Muslims and the women assaulted were Hindus, that in a few cases Hindu and Muslim ruffians combined to commit the offence, that the cases of abduction or assault committed by Moslems on Moslem women are not negligible in number, and that it is not merely widows who are treated in this brutal manner, but that a considerable number of unmarried girls and girls and women with their husbands living are also victimised.

The Society which has done most to rescue abducted women and girls and bring the offenders to trial is the Women's Protection Society. Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitter, the fearless, active and almost blind septuagenarian editor of the *Sanjibani*, has been the honorary secretary of this Society from the start. We have had occasion to criticise his politics, because in politics we differ; but we must give him credit where credit is due. When the Society was established, Mr. S. R. Das, then Advocate General of Bengal, was elected its president. He has always taken active interest in its work and has spent money for helping it forward. With his politics also we have not much in common. An old gentleman of the name of Mr. Mahesh Chandra Atarshi goes about actively and fearlessly for propaganda and other work. Pandit Sitanath Goswami, a Vaishnava gentleman, related to the saint Vijaya Krishna Goswami, is very active in the cause of women. He did most to get the accused punished in the Barada-Sundari case. There are other active workers whose names we are unable now to mention. We have learnt from the honorary secretary that the Society is always in need of money and that poor men give more freely for its work than well-to-do people. It has several branches in North and East Bengal.

There is another society, *Shishu-Sahay O Matri-Mangal Samiti*, with Srimati Sarala Devi as its president, which also does some work occasionally to help women and girls who are victimised.

There is a small book in Bengali, named

"Bharat-Narir Sat Sahas O Biratva," "Moral Courage and Heroism of Indian Women", which describes actual incidents in which women have defended or tried to defend themselves. It is to be had of Mr. A. C. Das, Moradpur, Patna : price five annas.

The re-marriage of Hindu girl-widows is steadily increasing in number. Comilla gives a list of ninety such marriages Midnapur district has shown much activity. Elsewhere, too, the cause is making progress.

Moslem Origins in Different Provinces

According to the Census of India, 1921, the Muhammadans number nearly 69 millions and form about one-fifth of the population of India. More than one-third of the community were enumerated in Bengal and rather less than one-fifth in the Punjab. In each of these provinces they form over half of the population. In the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan about 90 per cent of the population are Muhammadans, in Kashmir over three-fourths, in Sindh less than three-fourths and in Assam between one-fourth and one-third. Elsewhere the Muhammadans form only a small minority of the provincial population. "While the Muhammadans of the eastern tracts and of Madras were almost entirely descendants of converts from Hinduism, by no means a large proportion even of the Punjab are really of foreign blood, the estimate of the Punjab Superintendent being about 15 percent. The proportion advances of course as one proceeds further north-west." (*Census of India*, 1921, Vol. i, part i, p. 116.) In a recent speech, delivered in the Calcutta Albert Hall, Lala Lajpat Rai said that the large proportion of Muhammadans in Bengal showed the existence of Hindu-Moslem conflict in the province, thus proving that such a conflict was not imported into it by upcountrymen. It is true so far as his interpretation of the facts go. And in that sense there has been Hindu-Moslem conflict in the Punjab also. Considering that, according to the official estimates 85 per cent of the Panjabi Musalmans are descendants of Hindu converts, it has perhaps to be admitted with regret by Hindus that, as in Bengal so in the Panjab, the Hindus came out second best in the conflict.

Draper has stated in one of his works that one of the means by which the number

of Musalmans increased in North Africa and some other regions was "the confiscation of women", by which is meant abduction and the like. That in India Islam gained many converts by the life and character of some of its saints, is undoubted. What proportion of converts was made by force, and what additions were due to the abduction of Hindu women and indirectly to outrages on Hindu women who were out-casted by unrighteous and shortsighted orthodoxy, it is difficult to say. But it is probable that all the processes and means of conversion have been at work, more or less, all over India, particularly in those provinces where the Moslems are in a majority.

The Turks have found, inspite of their independence and martial valor, that the oppression of women (Armenian and other) and the subjection of women do not in the long run pay. It is for the enslaved Hindus of Bengal, Sindh, the Punjab, etc., to convince the enslaved Musalmans of India that under British subjection, too, it does not pay. That it is unrighteous and inhuman is, of course, a truism. But even truisms may not be understood, realized and recognised by some people without some appropriate help.

Wanted Institutes of Journalism

Some persons connected with the University of Madras have shown that they are wideawake by making a serious proposal that arrangements should be made in connection with it to teach journalism and grant diplomas and degrees in it. As journalism is one of the most influential professions in the world and may be a most potent instrument of public good in the hands of competent men and women of high character, institutes of journalism should be founded in the principal university towns, either in connection with or independently of universities.

Democracy in some form or other has been established in many countries and it is likely to be the most widely prevalent system of government in the world. Whether that be so or not, the two most effective and quick means of influencing people are public speaking and journalism. Both the arts should, therefore, be cultivated. Those regions or provinces where they are not, are sure to occupy back seats in public life.

Sir Atul Chatterjee on the League of Nations

Among the Great Powers Great Britain exercises the greatest influence in the affairs of the League of Nations. Britishers hold most of the appointments and some of the most responsible ones in the League Secretariat and in the International Labour Office. Sir Atul Chatterjee is a paid servant of such a Power, and he has never indulged in the dangerous game of twisting the British Lion's tail or brushing its hairy coat the wrong way. He is, moreover, connected with the League's International Labour Organisation in an important capacity. When such a man criticises the League even in a very mild way, the criticism has a significance of its own. In the course of a lecture delivered by him in London on March 12 last, he is reported to have said :—

India had not lagged behind other countries in taking an interest in world problems and in co-operating whole-heartedly with other parts of the world to give effect to the decisions reached from time to time at Geneva. But there was no denying the fact that in India there was a very distinct impression amongst the leaders of public opinion and also amongst the people who took an interest in subjects outside India, that the League of Nations did not devote as much attention as they had every right to look for to questions which affected countries or parts of the world outside Europe. There was a feeling that the views and actions of the League were to a large extent coloured by European prepossessions, difficulties and problems, and he could not say that this impression was always entirely unjustified. For instance, although the health organisation of the League was doing extremely useful work, very little attention was devoted until quite recently to questions that naturally arose regarding public health in countries outside Europe. He was glad to say, however, that the delegations from India had succeeded in interesting the health organisation of the League in Eastern problems.

But why did not Sir Atul as an Indian come to the point ? Instead of referring to Eastern problems in general, he ought to have pointed out what the League's health organisation had done for India. We showed recently in a long article in *Welfare* that it had done nothing for India. Recently, it has been announced that there is to be an interchange of public health officers in India. But there is nothing to show that anyone else except the Government officers of India will take part in it. When will the Government of India have the courage and the humanity to ask the League to send the best experts available to examine what the State

has done in India to extirpate or combat epidemics and generally to improve public health ?

Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes.

There have been some pretentious and well-advertised schemes for doing good to village people, some of which have mainly furnished opportunities to some professional patriots to pilfer public money. No wonder, then, that so beneficent and honestly conducted a society as the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes of Bengal and Assam should not be adequately known and supported. Its *sixteenth* annual report, for 1925-6, is before us. The following facts may give some idea of its work :

"On the 31st March, 1926, the Society had 406 schools in 20 districts of Bengal and Assam. Most of these schools are intended for, and are attended mainly by, the backward classes. Of the total number of children, both boys and girls, receiving tuition in these schools, viz., 16,274, the largest number, 5,588, come from the Namasudra community, and the next largest number, 2,584, from the Muhammadan community. This is a significant fact. The Muhammadan and Namasudra cultivators constitute the backbone of the village population of Bengal, especially in the Eastern districts of the province, and the Society always measures its success by the closeness of its contact with the real children of the soil. Amongst pupils from the so-called backward classes, the next in order of numerical strength are Podes (903), Muchis or Chamars (678) and Kapalis (503).

"The resources of the Society being limited, its efforts have up to the present been directed almost solely towards the spread of education among village people, and possibly for many years to come this will continue to be its main work."

But it has been recently able to extend its activities in several new directions of a more practical nature, namely, lantern lectures, public libraries, boy scouts, industrial work (sowing cotton seed, spinning, weaving), kitchen-gardening, and nursing and free medical aid.

We are concerned to learn that recently there has been a decrease in its annual income to the extent of about ten thousand rupees. We bring this fact to the notice of the generous public, with the assurance that every pie of the society's income is well and honestly spent. Donations and subscriptions are to be sent to Rai Sahib Raj Mohan Das, 14 Badurbagan Row, Calcutta. He will be glad to supply information sought and also copies of annual reports.

A Vice-Chancellor on Varieties of Education

Rai Bahadur Lala Moti Sagar, Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, while recognising the need of technical and technological institutions, does not join in the prevalent sweeping condemnation of our existing Universities. He observes in his convocation address :—

It is high time to reconsider the entire scope of University education in India and to make it conform to the rapidly changing conditions of the country and the growing stress of competition in every path of life. There is a demand everywhere for vocational and technical education. It is true that a number of technical and technological institutions have been established in different parts of the country, but it is felt that their scope is not sufficiently comprehensive and they have not materially helped in solving the problem of the unemployment of our educated young men.

At the same time, I have no sympathy with the sweeping condemnation of our existing Universities by a certain section of our critics. Whatever the defects of our Universities, it cannot be denied for a moment that some of the greatest names in modern India stand on the rolls of Indian Universities. With no lack of famous men among the graduates of Indian Universities, it is unfair to designate them as failures.

Racial Discrimination on Indian Railways

The presidential address delivered by Rai Saheb Chandrika Prasada at the seventh session of the All-India Trade Union Congress held at Delhi, is replete with information of absorbing interest. Justice cannot be done to it in a brief note. We intend to turn to it again. In the meantime we shall make a brief reference to the position of Indians in the state railway service as brought to light in it.

"Europeans and Anglo-Indians, who were 11.42 per cent. among the total population of literates in the English language in India, held 75.68 per cent of the appointments [of the upper subordinate staff drawing Rs. 250 and over on the twelve state railways] in 1924 and 73.46 per cent of the appointments in 1925; whereas Muslims and non-Muslims, who were 88.57 per cent. in the same population of literates in English, had 24.32 and 26.54 per cent of those appointments, respectively, in the two years."

The details of the Gazetted Officers on 31st March, 1926, show that 73.4 per cent. of them were Europeans, 14.3 Hindus, 2.7 Muslims, and 9.6 other classes. In India the minimum and maximum railway salaries are in the ratio 1:444; in Japan 1:22; in China 1:32; in Germany 1:11; in France 1:

22; in Denmark 1:5, and so on. In no country do the lower officials get such cruelly inadequate salaries and the pampered high officials such fat pay as in India.

Number of High Schools in Bengal

In his report on public instruction in Bengal for the year 1925-26 Mr. Director Oaten observes: "At the risk of being accused of being an opponent of educational expansion, one must emphasise the fact that there are too many high schools in Bengal." We do not agree. It is not that the high schools are too many; it is the primary schools which are too few. And money is required for improving both.

Mr. G. D. Birla on Indian Mercantile Marine.

In the course of the statement made to the Hon'ble Sir George Rainey, Commerce Member, Government of India, on behalf of the committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, on 13th April, Mr. G. D. Birla said :—

The Committee of the Chamber are grieved to find that no action has been taken by the Government of India to carry out the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee even though three long years have elapsed since the date of the publication of their report. The Committee are still more amazed at Earl Winterton's recent statement in the House of Commons to the effect that the Government of India are opposed to the recommendations of the Mercantile Marine Committee regarding the reservation of coastal trade to Indian Shipping. It has been urged on behalf of the Government that the reservation of the coasting trade introduces the principle of flag discrimination. But the International Shipping Conference which represents the leading shipowners of all the important maritime countries of the world, recognised in clear terms that the principle of flag discrimination did not affect the right of any country to reserve its coasting trade to the national bottoms. It is, therefore, difficult to appreciate the objection levelled against a proposal of reservation of coastal trade to indigenous shipping on the ground of flag discrimination. The fact that the principle of flag discrimination is not applicable to the coasting trade of a country is further recognised by a recent treaty reported between Great Britain and Greece, admitting the right of Greece to reserve her coasting trade.

As a sharp contrast, as it were, to the dilatoriness on the part of the Government in encouraging water transport as above, we have of late witnessed the expedition with which the Government have taken steps in regard to the Road Transport problem, and the Committee of the Chamber see no

reason why a subject of such supreme national importance like this should be thus unnecessarily shelved any longer.

Mr. Birla's contention is unanswerable.

Girls' Education in Bengal

Hindus in Bengal think that they are more progressive and enlightened than Musalmans. We are not going to examine this claim in all spheres of life. But so far as the education of girls and women, particularly in the elementary stage, is concerned, the following figures do not support the Hindu claim:—

On the 31st of March, 1926, the number of girls at school in Bengal were 332,099. Of this total 137,050 were Hindus and 187,977 Muhammadans; the rest came from other communities. The Muhammadan pupils outnumbered the Hindu by 50,927. Unrecognised schools for girls, which numbered 254 during the year under review, had an enrolment of 6,588 pupils—2,876 being Hindus, 3,412 Muhammadans and 300 belonging to other communities. The number of Muhammadan pupils increased by $5\frac{1}{2}$ percent; that of the Hindu pupils by $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Hindu parents and guardians are evidently not doing their duty to their daughters and girl wards properly.

League of Nations "Intellectual Co-operation"

A pamphlet published by the Information Section of the League of Nations states:—

A careful choice of work has been necessary within the limited funds of the Committee. One of its first steps was the institution of a general enquiry into the conditions of intellectual life in different countries, and a series of monographs has been issued on the subject. Efforts were made to bring assistance to those nations whose intellectual life was specially affected through economic conditions; suggestions were made to universities, academies, and learned societies throughout the world to organise the exchange of books and scientific instruments, and a large number of institutions responded. Books were sent from America, England, India, etc., to those in need of them, and gifts made by the Japanese universities made it possible to award two scholarships to Austrian students. Certain publications have been obtained for the Polish Academy, the Budapest Observatory, the School of Mines at Sopron, the universities in

Roumania, etc., and exchanges have been organised between the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in London and institutions at Athens, Dorpat, Vienna, etc.

The general organisation of intellectual life has been promoted by the formation of a number of national committees for intellectual co-operation working closely in touch with the International Committee, and twenty are now in existence.

We are not aware that any enquiry into the conditions of intellectual life in India has been made by the League, or any monograph on India published. India's intellectual life has been affected through economic conditions brought about by British rule. But the League has not brought assistance to India. India needs books more than any Western countries. So it is a cruel joke that whilst books were sent from India, none have been sent to India. Phenomenally illiterate as India is, she requires scholarships more than Austria or any European country; and she pays the League much more than Austria, much more in fact than any European country except Britain, France, Italy and, recently, Germany. But India has not been given any scholarships. Publications, too, of all descriptions India requires more than the Polish Academy and the other institutions named, but none have been given to her. No exchange has been organised with any department and institution in India. And, lastly, no national committee has been formed in India.

The Mandate System

The following information is supplied by the League of Nations pamphlet on mandates about the different classes of mandates:—

1. *The "A" Mandates*—This type of Mandate is applied to certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire (Mesopotamia, Syria (1), and Palestine), which have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be "provisionally recognised", subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until they are able to stand alone. At present they are allowed a

(1) The word "Syria" is used throughout this pamphlet to designate the whole of the country under French mandate in the Near East (Syria and the Lebanon). These mandated territories comprise the "States" of Aleppo, Damascus, Alauites, Djebel Druse and Lebanon, of which the four first-mentioned are now combined in the "Federation of Syrian States".

certain measure of self-government while at the same time obliged to accept the "assistance" given to them by the Mandatory, in the selection of which the wishes of the peoples must be the principal consideration.

2. *The "B" Mandates.*—For the territories in this category (comprising the Cameroons, Togoland, and former German East Africa) it is recognised that *self-government would be impossible* and that the Mandatory must be responsible for their administration. This administration must, however, be carried out for the benefit of the native communities and with due respect for the interests of the other Members of the League of Nations. Article 22 imposes certain conditions which must be fulfilled by the Mandatory. Freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are to be guaranteed; abuses such as the slave trade, arms traffic, and the liquor traffic are to be prohibited. The establishment of fortifications or military or naval bases, and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of the territory, are to be prevented; equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League are to be secured.

3. *The "C" Mandates.*—The third group of territories (South-West Africa and the former German possessions in the Pacific) are to be administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the same safeguards as apply to the "B" Mandates in the interests of the indigenous population. The distinction in the method of administration is made (in accordance with the Covenant) on account of the sparseness of the population or their small numbers, their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, or other circumstances.

All the world, except the mandatories, know how the existence of Syria, for instance, as an independent nation has been recognised, and how "administrative advice and assistance" were showered on the Syrians from aeroplanes and machine guns, etc., in the shape of bombs, bullets and shells!

Negro slaves and their descendants have produced in America distinguished men in all walks of life, though they did not get full facilities for education, and they enjoy the franchise, too. In South Africa, in some regions the natives have some kinds of franchise. These facts are enough to show that it is the height of racial arrogance and impertinence to assume and assert that "self-government would be impossible" in any particulars regions in Africa.

If the "C" mandates are to be administered by a mandatory "as integral portions of its territory," why use the word mandate at all? Why not use the brutally frank but honest word "conquest?"

If the "B" and "C" class mandates are to be administered for the benefit of the native inhabitants of the territories, the League ought to lay it down as one of the obligatory conditions that agricultural and industrial schools, along with those for general elementary education, must be established and maintained in every village and town of the mandated territories.

Indians and the Air Force.

Replying to a question from Mr. George Lansbury, Earl Winterton said in the British house of commons that Indians were not recruited for the commissioned ranks of the Royal Artillery or the Royal Air force, wherever serving. What more just and natural? Here is free and compulsory universal education in *ahimsa*!

Professor Radhakrishnan's Presidential Address

Professor S. Radhakrishnan's address as president of the All-Bengal College and University Teachers' Association has deservedly received attention all over India. His criticism of the educational policy of the Government cannot be called unfair. Says he:—

The educational policy of the Government has been restricted in aim and scope. While it has succeeded in training men into efficient but docile tools of an external authority, it has not helped them to become self-respecting citizens of a free nation. Love of one's native land is the basis of all progress. This principle is recognised in all countries. But in our unfortunate country it is the other way. A conquered race feels its heart sink. It loses hope, courage and confidence. Our political subjection carries with it the suggestion that we cannot consider ourselves the equals of free nations, Indian history is taught to impress on us the one lesson that "India has failed." The worst form of bondage is that of despair and dejection, which creeps on defeated peoples, breeding in them loss of faith in themselves. The aim of true education should be to keep alive the spark of national pride and self-respect, in the midst of circumstances that tend to undermine them. If we lose our wealth and resources, we may recover them to-morrow, if not to-day; but if we lose our national consciousness, there is no hope for us. The dead cannot be raised but the poor can.

The difficulty of developing the idea of nationhood in the vast population of India, including as it does a multitude of diverse races, castes and creeds, is great, but it is not impossible. It has not been tried. The American schools are highly successful in Americanising heterogeneous European elements that flock into the United States year after year. There is no reason why we should not succeed in this task, if our schools and colleges focus the emotions of our youth on the national ideal, if they imbue our young men with a fixed determination to be content with nothing less than control over their own destinies and a burning passion to remove the conditions which prevent the realisation of this ideal. They must sternly silence all sectional tendencies and foster opportunities for developing the sense of unity and feeling that we are all parts of a whole destined to swim or sink together. When we are all voyaging in one vessel, we cannot hope to keep afloat or win through to port, if there be mutiny aboard or if one man's hand be turned against another's. Communal warfare is another name for national suicide.

His complaint that state support for scientific studies is meagre is true. Nor can it be said that, with a few exceptions, our rich men have given liberally for such studies. Yet, it cannot be denied that

Science was not neglected in the vigorous days of India. India was not backward in mathematics and astronomy, chemistry and medicine and the branches of physical knowledge practised in ancient times. The scientific achievements came to a halt somewhere about the thirteenth century. In recent years we have recovered much lost ground thanks to the workers of the University College of Science among others. May I, in this connection, offer our felicitations to Dr. Meghnad Saha who has been recommended by the President and the Executive Council of the Royal Society for admission to its Fellowship? That the Royal Society should have bestowed its highest award on Indian scientists means that in the making of new scientific knowledge the work of our men is deemed worthy of respect even by critics who are not ordinarily prone to enthusiasm for Indian talent. While much of the work that is being done in our University is of a high order, the general level is low and the State support for scientific studies is by no means generous.

We are pleased that Prof. Radhakrishnan has declared himself in favour of University

reform. We do not make a grievance of it that his reforming zeal should have manifested itself now, instead of about half a dozen years ago. Philosophers have as much right to be prudent as other people.

On this subject, he is not in favour of slavishly following the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. Says he:

While a great and progressive University should be in active touch with the life of the nation, we have to remember that it exists primarily for the advancement of learning and research. It should therefore consist of a decided majority of academic representatives. They will be quite competent to deal with administrative questions. The idea that academic men are not suited for administrative work is peculiar to our country. So far as I know, the Universities of Great Britain and America are controlled by academic men. I am afraid that the Court, if constituted so as to include every important element of the public opinion of the areas which the University serves, will become a ceremonial body where discussions will be of an unpractical character. While the Senate should include a few representatives of the public at large, it should not be degraded into a durbar. Even in the present Senate, there are some gentlemen for whom a university fellowship is a mark of distinction or recognition of public importance. They do not trouble themselves about academic affairs but attend annual meetings to favour a friend or resist a rival. As a corporation of learning, the University should be under the authoritative direction of experts.

Prof. Radhakrishnan has put his case in as cogent a way as he could. What he has said of the claims of academic men is theoretically quite true. It is also true that a Senate should not be degraded into a durbar. We hope, therefore, that he will suggest some means by which academic men like those members of the Calcutta postgraduate departments who on a recent occasion converted the Howrah station platform into a durbar hall may be excluded from his proposed senate. And is it the special failing of non-academic men alone to attend meetings "to favour a friend or resist a rival"?



Hara-Parvati

By the Courtesy of the artist—Simati Pratima Devi.

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218

POVERTY AND PROGRESS

By MANU SUBEDAR,

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FROM the time of the Greek philosophers the idea of money has been held in contempt and decried by those who dwell on the higher aspects of life. Somewhere it has been called "filthy lucre." In India the first place was assigned to spiritual and moral guides, and next to that to the warrior class or the defenders of the race. Trade, commerce, industry and other economic pursuits were placed next and well below, and there is every indication that the distribution of social honour and prestige did not depend on the idea of money, but was determined by notions of service. Wealth was not, therefore, the most desirable of all possessions and there were at least as good other fields for satisfying man's ambition as the possession of jewels and other valuables offers. There are few records to show how far this attempt to give the third place to wealth succeeded, but it is not improbable that the lower side of human nature broke through on many occasions the moral fabric which had been with great forethought and skill built up. The precedence of wealth has been resented by cultured men and Sanskrit Subhashit abounds in cynical references to "Sarve Gunah Kanchanam Ashrayante." In the Mussalman era there was no marked condemnation of worldly things as such, and as a matter of fact there would be found by various poets verses praising wealth as such. In recent times the widespread boast of India about the possession of spiritual merit as a justification for the disregard of business and other enterprise securing economic advance has not in reality prevented serious efforts

being made. Schemes of social alleviation, programmes of political parties and the place in the hierarchy of power of different classes have been made or marred by the financial resources available to push them forward or otherwise. The estimation of the individual amongst fellowmen has also been growing in proportion to his bank balance. In this connection, it is indeed sad to reflect that neither skill in handicrafts nor the possession of considerable learning in any direction secures that degree of precedence or honour which they should secure in any properly organized society. The possession of wealth undoubtedly dominates these considerations and the search for high incomes has absorbed the best talent of the country. Ideals of service, which ought to prevail, do not supply the same incentive, because the stage on which an individual works out his life's activities, does not provide the necessary background, and a perverted public opinion makes it impossible to secure whole-hearted devotion to the finer side of life. It was the late Mr. Gokhale, who deplored the absence of "full time workers" and predicted that political advance of the country was not possible until such men were forthcoming. The India of to-day can boast of more than one full time worker in every province and in every class, and yet so long as the centre of social thought is misplaced in Society (spelt with a capital S) guided by second-hand notions emanating from Government Houses, these patriotic men do not command either universal respect or following. To the extent, to which their

incentive is weakened, their task is made more difficult. How to bring back pursuit of social service including in its fold search for knowledge, art, literature and music, would be one of the problems for those who devote their mind to the evolution of schemes of social reconstruction.

Taking the world of India, therefore, as it is to-day, it is obvious that the fact, which overshadows every fact is that of general and universal impoverishment. There may be differences of opinion between the official school of thought and non-official economists as to the origin of this malady, but evidence of such poverty is staring one in the face everywhere, and if some of the consequences of this condition were clearly understood, it will soon appear that almost the only problem that needs attention is to stem the advancing grip of this disease. All advance in science or art and in the things, which are sometimes regarded as constituting civilization, has to be financed from the surplus left to the community after feeding those who are engaged in productive activities. The reflex effect of all such advance on future production may be great but at any particular moment it may be a burden on the community which the community may be unable to bear. Then they incur the reproach of being "backward" and incapable of looking after themselves. In the philosophical theory of history there is one school, which maintains that political revolutions are brought about more often by communities that have prospered than by communities that have been impoverished. It would be hardly disputed that a variety of accomplishments, arts and useful knowledge at one time in vogue in India have been lost, because the community was unable to make any continuity of effort or contribute towards it. There was much that was beautiful which has been thus destroyed,—much that was hygienic and much that went to relieve the burdens of life at negligible cost.

The problem of poverty has not been authoritatively investigated. The demand for this investigation has been resisted in a manner which must provoke considerable suspicion, and results of even partial enquiries held through official agencies in the past have been in most cases suppressed, but it is obvious that production in India in any direction is not going up either per man or per acre. In many parts of the country, it has been remarked that the soil is being impoverished, because manure materials are

being exported from this country and some of the elements taken from the soil are not returned to it. An expensive Agricultural Department has been running model farms for some years without being able to show a single acre of ground under any crop, which can compare over the same outlay with land under similar cultivation in European countries or in Canada. The efficiency, which the British Government have aimed at is purely negative. The outlook of the average British statesman is that of the policeman, whose interest in the life of the humanity around him is that of mere curiosity, and his aim is not to advance things but to prevent any disturbance of the present order. While the bulk of the people have no opinion except on subjects immediately affecting their daily activities, those who have cultivated the reflective faculty are being deluded and misled by an enumeration of false symptoms of prosperity such as the increase in Government revenue, the increase in export and import trade, the increase in railway traffic, the increase in bankers' clearing-house return. No attempt is being made even in these directions to show the increase per head of population. On the economic side, India as it is administered to-day, presents a picture more like the shop of a huckster dealing in old iron than anything else. There is a lot, which may have been valuable and which may be useful, but there is absolutely no connected line of activity directed to secure a continuous and constantly improving state of prosperity.

Since wealth is a surplus, it is quite as important to scrutinise consumption as to increase production. Are we using as a community the purchasing power available to us to improve the productive capacity of our own people? A temporary period of price comparisons favourable in the purchase of imported article in preference to an article of local manufacture leads to the short-sighted policy of destroying local industries and with them the savings of the community invested in those industries. It is almost like a thirsty man giving a kick to the pitcher which contains life-giving fluid, and the irony of the situation is that foreign firms established in India and British Chambers of Commerce and English officials come forward to defend the interests of the Indian consumer against what they call the exploiting tendency of the Indian producer, as if there were no consumers in any other

country and as if the producer is somebody different and apart from the consumer. Leakages of wealth and savings in other directions may have been noticed by many leaders. The nett result of all this is that the country becomes poorer and incapable of holding its own on common ground in industry or trade, in art or science or politics. The French Finance Minister, Monsieur Clemental, indicating French Government's attitude in the matter of public debt and general economic situation said, "Government must do its utmost to develop France's productive capacity *while diminishing purchases abroad*". India, which has not a twentieth of the recuperative capacity of France, finds little effort from the top in these directions.

It is impossible to indicate in a short space the harm which financial maladministration can do to the wealth-producing capacity of a country. Those, who are familiar with the currency and exchange policy of this country would know how the ruinous policy of securing a high exchange cost India crores of rupees in 1920 when the Government sold Reverse Councils and how for years on the entire crops of India the farmers have been receiving less through an artificial era of high exchanges, which simultaneously crippled capital and labour devoted to productive work in industries by making it possible to put down foreign products cheaper in the Indian market. The grip, which the shipping interests have got on governmental and banking machinery, is responsible in no small measure for this state of affairs. Because they have no incentive for serious effort, Government officials in charge of finance are unable to resist the demands made upon them for endless multiplication of offices and of administrative machinery leading on to larger and larger demand being made from the people just when their resources are on the decline. While the cost of Government is growing heavier, the taxable capacity of the country has long been exceeded and every symptom of the evil known as over-taxation with deterioration of physique and the standard of life is to be seen in most parts of the country. More wealth can be produced from industry only under the law of increasing returns, but the attitude of the Government towards industries in India can hardly be characterised as encouraging. Unemployment is on the increase everywhere, and yet the savings of the country lured into Government coffers by attract-

ive terms are being spent in more and more labour-saving devices, which add to the army of the unprovided.

The late Mr. Gokhale wanted a modest loan of three or four crores of rupees for the introduction of compulsory education. If that had been done fifteen years ago, there will have been no room for the complaint that India could not have a properly representative constitution because of the paucity of voters. If it had been attempted after the war when crores of rupees had been borrowed, there would have been at all events a genuine step taken towards drilling a much larger section of the community for disciplined work in productive fields. This has not been done. On the other hand from more than one sign it is evident that the investment of foreigners in this country is on the increase, and the amount of vested interests does not represent altogether new capital brought to this country but in many cases capitalised profits and in still others capitalised good-wills and concessions. There is no doubt the increase of foreign investments in India may be in the same (if not greater) proportion as the increase of the public debt of the country and this increase is actually comparable to the increase in some belligerent countries which were engaged in war.

INDIA'S PUBLIC DEBT

	(In crores of rupees.)	
	31st March 1914	31st March 1924
Total funded debt in India (rupee loans) ...	145'69	360'93
Total funded debt in England (largely sterling loans) ...	265'60	395'70
Total unfunded debt (Post Office, etc.) ...	34'10	72'21
Total unfunded debt (Capital value of terminable annuities) ...	105'90	90'14
Total debt ...	551'29	918'98

In this debt a sum of Rs. 49½ crores of Indian Treasury Bills held in paper currency reserve is not included. According to Government themselves; the unproductive debt went up during this period from 26'58 crores to 243'52 crores. In the last ten years, the total increase of indebtedness was 367'69 crores, or including the Treasury Bills referred to above, 417'19 crores. India has thus been adding to its public debt at the rate of 40 crores of rupees a year, of which more than 20 crores have been for unproductive purposes. This is hardly the

place to deal with the question whether all this money has been properly spent. The major question, which arises, is, will India be able to repay these large vested interests at the end? Should she not be able to repay, her entire future is irrevocably mortgaged.

The argument for increased wealth in a community does not necessarily mean more cities and more factories, though the growth of these is inevitable. The trouble arises, because the population moving towards the city comes while there is as yet no preparation for absorbing them in industry. Prosperity would be equally well indicated by more prosperous farms, homesteads and cottage industries. The increase of these conditions is not possible without a more intelligent application of labour to the conditions of production and without more strenuous exertion than hitherto. It would be disastrous if this incentive for more work were prematurely weakened by ideas of communism, which as a doctrine could be spread in India, if desired, as swiftly as fire

would spread in a mass of dried leaves. The socialisation of wealth, while it offers morally a sound principle for adjusting personal outlook towards humanity, should be only secured after there is considerable wealth to socialise. Money, which has been regarded as an order on the community for commodities and services, is really a medium which is abused when it is unfairly secured, when it is secured not in return for actual service rendered to the community, or when it is secured disproportionately to the function performed. Some day, perhaps, India may reconstruct economic life, in which service would be the standard for distribution of wealth. In the meanwhile the actual situation in the country with low physique, low wages, with over-taxation, with enormous public debt and very extensive foreign investments is serious enough to merit an immediate and close examination at the hands of all who desire some kind of future for India.

A MEMOIR OF OLD DELHI

By C. F. ANDREWS

CHAPTER III

ZAKA ULLAH'S EARLY LIFE

ZAKA Ullah, when quite young, was a very beautiful child and a great favourite among the ladies of the Moghul Palace within the Fort. When he was six or seven years old, he used to be taken, on festival occasions and at other times by his father, who was Tutor to the Royal Princes and Princesses, within the Palace in his embroidered dress and gold-laced cap to see the reworks and to be welcomed with little presents by the ladies who had asked for his attendance. He had very vivid recollection, in after years, of those occasions and used to describe the splendid illuminations of the Palace. His grandfather used, from time to time, to exhibit his grandson's wonderfully bright intelligence, and the royal ladies used to admire him and ask to have

him brought to see them. He would go back home to his mother very excited and show the presents that had been given him. In our conversation, he would sometimes refer to those very early days, and contrast the Delhi he saw then with the Delhi of later times. It was impossible for him ever to forget the kindness of the royal families to him.

There was a fund of personal loyalty which formed a very strong side of his character and had a beauty of its own. In later life, he was able to transfer this without any conscious effort to Queen Victoria, whom he idealised in his Urdu History, called *Victoria-Nama*. This loyalty to those whose salt he had taken was undoubtedly a family tradition inherited from many generations of ancestors. It has a singular value of its own, and it will be a sad thing, if the modern world can find no place for it.

There can be no doubt that his father,

'Sana Ullah, acted wisely in sending him at an early age to the daily discipline of school and college. Too much of the court-life might soon have spoilt him and enervated him with luxury in his childhood itself, while the atmosphere of the Delhi school and college, together with the daily companionship and bracing rivalry of his equals, gave him exactly the stimulus that was needed to develop all his talents. Yet the effort that had to be made and the opposition that had to be overcome, before he was able to enter the new English school, were by no means negligible factors. We can only with difficulty realise today what a struggle it must have been both for his grandfather and for his father, men so deeply and punctiliously religious in their own characters, to give up their child, of whom they were both passionately fond to the new education, which was already being openly called 'Kafir' or infidel and was said to produce 'atheists'. On the mother's part also, it showed great strength of mind and firmness of purpose. No doubt, they were helped in their decision by the famous words of the Prophet: "Get knowledge wherever it is to be found, even as far as China." These great words have been the means in every age of breaking down the barriers which separated Islam from alien cultures, and they account for the fact that assimilation of knowledge has been one of its distinguishing works throughout the course of its long and varied history. It is evident to me, from all that I have seen of the family, of which Zaka Ullah was a member that there was a true family tradition of liberal culture, which went back to the remote times when their ancestors lived in Central Asia where Islamic learning flourished.

Zaka Ullah was only twelve years old when he entered the college, and his father from whom he inherited his brilliant intellect used to go over his lessons with him each afternoon, when he had returned from his classes bringing with him some new wonder of modern science to disclose with all the excitement of a child. Concerning his professors at the college, he used to speak with the greatest reverence and affection in after years especially of his Persian and Arabic teacher, Maulvi Imam Baksh, whose *nom de plume* was Sahabi. This Maulvi was a distinguished gentleman of Delhi, a man of high moral character and liberal culture. He gave help to Sir Syed Ahmed when he was writing his *Archaeology of Delhi*. No pro-

fessor was more greatly loved by all his pupils, and his personality made such an impression on young Zaka Ullah, that thirty years after, when he himself was lecturing as a Professor of Persian literature to the students of the Muir Central College, at Allahabad, he used to say to his pupils that he felt as if the presence of Maulvi Imam Baksh was with him as he spoke.

In the terrible scenes which followed the capture of Delhi, during the Mutiny, when the wildest passions were let loose, some military firing took place in that quarter of the city, where this old professor lived and his house along with others was rased to the ground. The Maulvi himself, and most of his relatives were killed and now his family is almost extinct. Zaka Ullah used to mourn deeply his loss. It was one of the bitterest memories to him of the Mutiny itself.

As Zaka Ullah grew older, he specialized in Mathematics. While engaged in that study, he became the most brilliant and promising pupil of Professor Ramchandra and a warm affection sprang up between the two. This intimate companionship in study led at one time to a painful misunderstanding; because the rumour got abroad that Ramchandra's own favourite pupil, Zaka Ullah, was about to follow his tutor's lead and openly profess himself a Christian. But this was not the case. Their friendship was one of the intellectual type, common among scholars who are solely devoted to learning and engaged in the same search after scientific truth; and to both Ramchandra and his brilliant young companion, the first approach to western science and mathematics was full of excited interest and wonder. It did not mean in this instance religious discipleship, although religious questions must have been discussed between them. No doubt, this early and intimate companionship with a non-Musalman gave to young Zaka Ullah a width of vision in religious matters and a spirit of tolerance which made his character so beautiful in its powers of sympathy in later years.

Professor Ramchandra was a man of fearless sincerity and very strong convictions. The fact that he had been obliged to break with all his Hindu relations, and to undergo much persecution when he became a Christian, had made him somewhat stern and abrupt in manner and often harshly controversial towards others; but he had a deeply affectionate heart and was upright in his actions. His love for Zaka Ullah was very deep indeed

and there was no sacrifice he would not have been prepared to make for his young friend.

At the time when the Mutiny broke out and the city of Delhi fell at one blow into the complete possession of the mutineers, Professor Ramchandra's life as a Christian convert was in the greatest possible danger. Dr. Chimmam Lal, a fellow Christian, a man of sincere piety and given to good works, was at once killed by the rebels. Rai Piyare Lal Sahib, of Delhi, one of the very few survivors has told me how on the morning that Delhi was occupied by the mutineers from Meerut at about ten o'clock he met Zaka Ullah hurrying towards the Delhi College, at the imminent risk of his own life, to endeavour by some means to save Professor Ramchandra. He reached the college, but found that the Professor had already been warned beforehand by another of his pupils. After remaining for some days in hiding in the heart of the city he managed to escape in disguise to the open country and got safely away, enduring in the interval terrible anxiety and suffering. When the Mutiny was over, Professor Ramchandra was able to return some of the kindness of his young friend and pupil who had saved his life by his timely warning. He obtained military passports both for him and for his family to enable them to come back into the city and did him many other acts of service.

To return to the pre-Mutiny days. Zaka Ullah's college friends at this time were Nazir Ahmad, who has written the preface to this memoir, Maulvi Karim Baksh. Piyare Lal, Chandu Lal, Kanhya Lal, Mir Babar Ali, and Zia-ud-din. Each one of these has been in some degree famous in his day. Nearly all of them passed away before Zaka Ullah himself.

His closest friend, however, though not a contemporary at the college, was Maulvi Sami Ullah Khan, who in latter life was made C. M. G., for distinguished services in Egypt. He retired from Government Service when he was District Judge in Oudh. This most intimate friend of all died some three years ago; and Munshi Zaka Ullah spent his own closing days of literary activity in writing, in Urdu, his friend's memoir.

Some three weeks before Munshi Zaka Ullah's death, another life-long friend, Khwaja Altaf Hussain, one of the greatest of the band of poets in the Urdu Renaissance of the Nineteenth Century, came over from Panipat to visit him. Zaka Ullah embraced him and held him with the utmost affection and the

two old friends sat long together side by side. While they were talking, Zaka Ullah presented 'Hali' (to use his literary title) with a copy of his own memoir of Maulvi Sami Ullah Khan, who had been a friend of both of them. Turning to Hali he said: "Writing this has been my last work: it has killed me." What he meant was that it had so pained him to revive all the memories of his old friend and had so exhausted him that it had brought on his final illness. When Hali was taking his farewell, Zaka Ullah said to him quietly: "This is our final meeting in this life; may God keep you in all your ways."

The prophecy became true. The two old friends never met again on earth. During that last fatal illness Dr. Nazir Ahmad, his other life-long friend, was lying on his own bed of sickness, enfeebled and often tortured with rheumatism. He used to send almost daily messages to Zaka Ullah by me and I used to carry back messages in return. Thus I was able to see personally how very deep and strong these great friendships were which Zaka Ullah made. It would be impossible to judge truly his character and life without taking into account the remarkably large part that was played by such friendships. As we shall see later, he was a very domestic man, devoted to his wife and children and home. But almost equally strong with him, right up to his closing years, were these affections towards his friends.

The more one realises the situation of Delhi in those days, one thousand miles from Calcutta, with no connecting railway at all, the more remarkable appears this sudden outburst of brilliant intellectual life, which came with the establishment of the Delhi College. No such period ever came again in the history of the city during the Nineteenth Century. For many years, I had to teach there, at a still later period, from the year 1904 to the year 1913. My own experience of the intellectual life of the city of Delhi was utterly unlike that which we read about in these early days. The commercial atmosphere of the whole district today lies heavy upon it. The old culture and refinement and intellectual alertness now appear to be rapidly passing away. We have had no brilliant array of students, in modern times, such as existed in Zaka Ullah's days. The contrast is so great, that I used to ask him about this very point. He would tell me that what I said was correct. There had never been anything like it again. He put down a great deal of this extraordinary

efflorescence in the early Nineteenth Century to the newness of the English learning. It was, he told me, like entering some magic and enchanted land. No one could tell what would be revealed next. The scientific experiments, above all, held their imaginations spell-bound and the anticipation of new knowledge was always with them. They felt themselves to be pioneers of a new age and dreamt dreams and saw visions.

Among his own contemporaries, Zaka Ullah had a great reputation for being able to solve all mathematical problems that were set before him. It was quite a common experience to find that he alone had been able to obtain a correct solution to some questions which had been put before the whole class. While he was still a student, at the early age of seventeen years, he had brought out his first mathematical work in Urdu. The Delhi people were greatly surprised and delighted at a mere lad undertaking such a difficult task, and the first edition was sold out in three or four days. Zaka Ullah took the whole of the profits, amounting to thirty-two rupees, the first sum of money he had ever earned by his own writings, and purchased some gold ear-rings for his sister. One of the uncles of Sir Syed Ahmad, a Nawab of Delhi, whose house was looked upon as a strange place of mathematical and astronomical learning, full of scientific in-

struments with pulleys hanging from the roof and astral globes and charts and astronomical tables scattered about, sent for the lad who had dared to bring out a book on Mathematics at the age of seventeen. He said to him: 'Well, young man, I hear that you are a second Euclid.' He then added: 'I will give you three days to solve a mathematical problem for me.' At the end of the three days Zaka Ullah came back to him and said that the problem was insoluble, because at the final stage it was necessary to trisect an acute angle, which no one had yet been able to do geometrically. The Nawab was greatly surprised and pleased and said: 'My dear lad, you have solved the problem, because you have arrived at the final stage beyond which there is no solution'.

The whole atmosphere in those early days was electrical. Stories like those which I have just told were passed on from one house to another and treasured up in the family. The Urdu literary Renaissance at Delhi gave a sudden illumination to the age, before it sunk back into dullness. There was also the great tradition of the past glory and lustre of the Moghul rule. The light flickered and leapt up for a brief momentum before it died out. More than any other single cause, the Mutiny killed it.

(To be continued)

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE BUDDHISTIC AGE—III*

WE have already in the previous articles dwelt on the morals of the people in the times of the Jatakas. Further glimpses on the subject may be obtained from Vols. V & VI, from which mainly we shall cull the materials of the present article. In V. 512, we are introduced to five hundred women of Sravasti, drinkers of strong drink, at a drinking festival. The evils of strong drink are here dilated upon, e. g., he who drinks falls into a pit, is lost to decency and will talk of things that are obscene, it proves

the ruin of wealthy homes, &c. In V. 537, we read of a young Brahmin drinking strong drink in the company of other young men. The king of Benares, surrounded by 1600 dancing girls, and his ministers and other officers, held a drinking feast for seven days (VI, 543). In VI, 546 we read of soldiers who become angry because they had lost the chance of a free drink. In VI, 547, the king proclaimed a festival by beat of drum: 'Procure garlands, scents, and perfumes, and food and drink, and keep seven days' holiday. Let the people stay where they will, drink deep, sing and dance and make merry.' In the Vidura Pandit Jataka (VI, 545) the king celebrated a festive occasion

*The second article of the series appeared in M.R. May, 1924.

by setting free his captives and ordered the people to hang up their ploughs and have a month's holiday.—'Let them drink in private and still seem total abstainers with their cups flowing over.' These extracts prove that drinking was condemned by public opinion though very prevalent, and not only among men, but the gentler sex as well. From the same story we find that Brahmins ate flesh, to which indeed there are many other references in the Jatakas, (e.g., V. 547) some of which have been quoted in the previous articles of the series.

The laxity of sexual morals and the low opinion of women already referred to may be further illustrated from the following: In the Kushavati Jataka (V. 531) we read that the king of Kushavati who had no sons, desiring to have one, sent out to the streets a band of his dancing girls, then a company of other girls, of good, and next of the highest, rank, and last his queen consort Silavati, so that they might take their fill of pleasure and conceive and bear him a son. The queen conceived and bore two sons. The Kunala Jataka (V. 536) is intended to illustrate the vices and follies of womankind, their lust, unchastity, and immoderate passions. The queen of Benares, seized and married by the king of Kosala, misconducts herself with a Brahmin youth. 'Ox, cow nor car to neighbours lend, nor trust a wife to house of friend.' Poverty, sickness, old age, and drunkenness are among the eight grounds on which women despise their husbands. All women are equally immoral, they are all sinners alike; they are poor fickle creatures ungrateful and treacherous; no trust should be placed on them; one might as soon catch wind with the net as hold women in sway; for the sake of money they will run after vile outcastes; they are unrestrained in lust, common as a landing-place on the Ganges; women, like kings and Brahmins, can never be sated. 'Women like flames devour their prey, women like floods sweep all away.' 'Women are pests, like thorns are they, women for gold oft go astray.' And all this stuff, rising in a crescendo of vile abuse to the shrillest pitch of coarseness imaginable is put in the mouth of the Master who, in the guise of the bird Kunala, expounds the follies of women from the heights of the Himalayas.

As we have said in our previous articles, prostitution had a recognised place in ancient Indian society, as also in the royal courts, and processions of prostitutes graced every

festive and ceremonial occasion, from the birth of a prince to the celebration of a victory. The same was the case in Europe in the Middle Ages. Says Karl Pearson in *The Ethic of Free Thought* (1901, p. 402):

"Prostitution began to play a great part in the social life of the mediaeval cities.....The prostitute in the mediaeval city played a singular part; she was alternately honoured and contemned. She was used to grace the banquet of the town-council or the reception of the emperor; but she was often compelled to wear a distinctive dress, or was deprived of all the legal rights. Nothing is more characteristic of the absolute subjection of woman than this treatment of prostitutes..." In V. 522, king Dandaki deposed from her position a courtesan whom he greatly honoured and afterwards he restored her to the same position. In V. 525, we read of the seven hundred royal wives of the king of Benares and sixteen thousand courtesans. These numbers are frequently repeated in other stories (V. 531, VI. 538, 543, 544, 545), and, somewhat reduced, might serve as a true picture of some princely courts of modern India.

The monastic order founded by Buddha soon lost its pristine purity. In V. 523, we read of a Brother tempted by the wife of his unregenerate days. A backsliding Brother, going his rounds for alms at Sravasti, meets a fair lady and falls in love with her at first sight (V. 531). In the Kunala Jataka (V. 536), a white nun, Svetasramani, being the worse for liquor, misconducts herself with the goldsmiths.

To the numerous illustrations of sea-voyage already given, the following may be added. In V. 518, we read of five hundred trading folk of Benares who took ship and set sail and on the seventh day they were out of sight of land and were wrecked in mid-ocean and all but one, who by favour of the wind reached port, became food for fishes. In the Mahajana Jataka (VI. 539) the son of the king of Videha got together his stock-in-trade and put it on board a ship carrying some merchants bound for Subarnabhumi. There were seven caravans with their beasts embarked on board.

Allusions to charitable institutions are numerous. The son of Sankhapala, king of the Nagas, had alms-halls erected at the four city gates and by his almsgiving made a stir throughout the land (V. 524). The treasures of the king of Benares had alms-houses built and practised almsgiving on a grand scale (V. 535). The evils befalling a miser who does not give alms are narrated in the same story.

Literacy prevailed among women, though to what extent cannot be ascertained. In VI. 516 the queen writes a letter with her own hand. A sixteen year old daughter of a rich merchant, very handsome but still unmarried, (V. 527) warrants the inference that child-marriage was not prevalent in those times. The longings of a pregnant woman were carefully attended to (V. 531), as we know from the more familiar story of Sudakshina, queen of Dileepa, in the *Raghuramsa* of Kalidasa. In the *Kunala Jataka* (V. 536) it is mentioned that in Kapilavastu women married their brothers. This kind of marriage, we know, was not confined to ancient Egypt, but everywhere preceded the more developed form of marriage in which certain prohibited degrees in order of propinquity were recognised. The *Kusa Jataka* (V. 531) relates the story of the family at Benares with two sons, of whom the younger, being unmarried, continued to live with the elder, which would seem to suggest that as a rule, married brothers set up separate establishments. It would appear that widow marriage was not unknown. In the *Bhuridatta Jataka* (VI. 513) a Naga widow is married to the son of the king of Benares. In the *Vesantara Jataka* (V. 547) among the ten boons prayed for by the princess, we find the following: (1) to be chief queen, (2) to have a son, (3) to have a slim figure, (4) to have firm breasts, (5) not to become grey-haired, (6) to have soft skin. How little has female human nature with its instinctive hankering for beauty, changed in these two thousand years and more, and how the customs and ideas of those days, e. g. polygamy with its natural concomitant, jealousy of co-wife, and preference for male progeny, persist to this day! From the same story we learn that the feelings with which an old husband is regarded have not materially changed since Buddha's time.

"A hateful thing your life must be, as youthful as you are, with an old husband to be wed: nay, death were better far. Painful a spear-thrust, full of pain the serpent's fiery bite; but a decrepit husband is more painful to the sight."

But the picture of widowhood, as painted in the same story, is the most harrowing of all in its realistic detail, showing that her condition in our society has been the same through the track of centuries.

"Terrible is widowhood: the meanest harries her about; she eats the leavings of all; a man may do her any hurt, unkindly speeches never cease from brother or friend; a widow may have ten brothers,

and yet is a naked thing; oh' terrible is widowhood."

Though the lot of a woman was thus anything but happy on the whole, still hen-pecked husbands were not wanting who were so much under the influence of their wives as to be ready to kill their parents at the bidding of their spouses (V. 522; see also IV. 416). Even a maid-servant used to put shoes on (cobblers were a recognised caste, though among the lowest—VI. 542) which she had to remove when sweeping her mistress' chamber (*Kusa Jataka*, V. 531). And yet so simple was the organization of society, that in the same story we find the princess Prabhavati, daughter of the king of Madra, going to fetch water with eight slave girls, each carrying a waterpot. Disputes over the waters of boundary streams which irrigate the lands on either side were not unknown (V. 536). Indeed, the need for irrigation was as great then as now, for there are allusions to famines consequent upon prolonged droughts. Once for a period of three years there was no rain in the kingdom of Kasi, the country became scorched up, and people under the stress of famine crowded the palace-yard and reproached the king, as they did Louis XVI at Versailles on the eve of the French Revolution (V. 526). It would appear that when people were overtaxed, they would emigrate. In the kingdom of Kampilla, there was a king named Panchala, whose subjects being oppressed by taxation took their wives and families and wandered in the forest like wild beasts (V. 520).

The different kinds of slaves are described in the *Vidura Pandit Jataka* (V. 545):

"Some are slaves from their mothers, others are slaves bought for money, some come of their own will as slaves, and others are slaves driven by fear. These are four sorts of slaves among men."

In VI. 547, the prince gave his son as a slave to a Brahmin, and told him that if he wanted to be free he must pay the Brahmin a thousand pieces of gold. The grandfather intervened at this stage and said: 'Come, my boy, I shall buy you with a price, and you shall be a slave no more'.

Characteristic Buddhist teachings emphasising the ethical aspect of life occur here and there. 'By knowledge, justice, self-restraint and truth, a man at length achieves his high purpose' (V. 518) Power is fivefold,—power of limbs, power of wealth, power of counsel, power of caste, and power of learning, each succeeding one being higher than the one preceding and the power of learning being

the highest of all (V. 521). Learning was greatly honoured, and learned men abounded. In the city of Champa, for instance, there dwelt a northern Brahmin of high family, a teacher famed far and wide, having 500 pupils (VI. 539). Even kings' sons became the pupils of such teachers, and paid the usual teacher's fee (VI. 537). A treasure-trove as in modern law belonged to the king. How true is the observation that a mother loves her son most in the hour of anger and what her mouth speaks she does not want at all (VI. 546). In the same story Senaka and Mahosadha had a discussion among themselves as to who of the two is to be preferred, the wealthy man bereft of wisdom or the wise man devoid of wealth—a subject which has not lost its practical interest to this day—and Senaka supports the rich, whereas Mahosadha supports the wise man. The arguments advanced by Senaka would go to show that wealth was always a mighty power in human society.

Of royal courts and courtly ceremonies, the Jatakas give occasional glimpses which are often highly interesting. At the Kartic festival, the king marched in solemn procession round the city at sunset, when the full moon had arisen in the sky, and torches were blazing in every quarter of the city, which was decorated as if it were some city of the gods. The king, mounted on a magnificent car drawn by thoroughbreds and escorted by a crowd of courtiers, made a circuit of the city (V. 528). The feeding of Brahmins formed part of the kingly duty. King Kusha of Kushavati fed twenty thousand Brahmins (V. 531). There were well-bred dogs in the king's palace (V. 536). The naming day of the king's son was evidently fixed within a month of birth. On that day great honour was paid to the Brahmins who read the different marks. Brahmins skilled in signs and omens were consulted when the boy did not cry for play-things, such as figures of elephants and the like (V. 538). The civilization, as we see, was entirely Brahmanic, and the customs and traditions of the later Vedic age continued in full vigour, and toleration of Brahmanic supremacy was the rule. In the same story we read of the four castes and eighteen guilds, fair women skilled in dance and song, and troops of slaves. The king's five counsellors used to sit in judgment in the king's court of justice, but they were often corrupt (V. 528; VI. 542). Here is a description of the king's court.

"The crowd of king's ministers sat on one side, on another a host of Brahmins, on another the wealthy merchants and the like, on another the

most beautiful dancing girls. Brahmin panegyrist skilled in festive songs, sang their cheerful ode in loud voices and hundreds of musical instruments were played."

Then follows a description of Mithila:

"Videha's far-famed capital, gay with knights and warrior swarms, its Brahmins dress in Kasi cloth, perfumed with sandal, decked with gems" (Mahajana Jataka, VI. 539).

In the same story, we have mention of slaughter-houses, and we find that elephants were killed for ivory, and the panther for his skin. In VI. 545 the drinking shops and taverns, the slaughter-houses and cookshop, the harlots and wantons of an imaginary city are mentioned. Before the royal court five hundred women performed all kinds of dances on their different musical instruments. In the Maha-Ummaga Jataka (VI. 546) the Great Being so arranged the hall that one part was set apart for ordinary strangers, one part for stranger Buddhist priests and Brahmins; in another there was a lodging for the destitute, in another there was a place for the lying-in of poor women, another place was reserved for stowing away the goods of foreign merchants and all these apartments had doors opening outside. There also he had a public place set apart for sports, and built a court of justice and hall for religious assemblies. When the work was completed, he summoned painters and having himself examined them, set them to work at painting beautiful pictures, so that the hall became like Sakka's (Sakra-Indra) heavenly palace. Then he constructed a tank with a thousand bends and a hundred bathing ghats. On the bank he planted various trees and had a bark made like Nandana. And near this hall he instituted a public distribution of alms for holy men, whether Buddhists or Brahmins, and for strangers and for people from the neighbouring villages. In the same story not only slaughter-houses, but a piece of flesh from the slab of a slaughter-house, are mentioned. Here we read of a tunnel, lined with chambers, each of which had the statue of a woman, very beautiful, so much so that without touching it no one could say that it was not alive. In the tunnel on either side, clever painters made all manner of paintings. In the next story (VI. 547) mention is made of a necklace, beautiful as if drawn by a painter. All this shows that the arts of the lapidary, and of painting, sculpture, architecture and horticulture were well developed, and poor houses, maternity hospitals, sporting clubs, orphanages,

warehouses, assembly halls, and caravan-serais were in existence.

We shall now deal with the institution of caste as we find it in the age of the Jatakas. We have already seen that the power of caste was reckoned as next in importance only to the power of learning (V. 521). We also find everywhere in the Jatakas that gifts to Brahmins and Sramanas, and the duty of feeding them, were enjoined on the king and the commoner alike (IV. 450. 484, 489, 497, 498; V. 528, 540; VI. 545) and even the Bodhisattva is himself reported to have said, 'I have given manifold gifts to monks and Brahmins, (Kunala Jataka, V. 536) But while Brahmins as a rule were thus honoured, as a result of Buddha's teaching, a rationalistic view of the caste-system came to prevail by and by, which undermined the whole institution and led to a more democratic organisation of society among large numbers of the people who embraced the new faith. In the Nimi Jataka, Sakka (Indra) says to king Nimi (VI. 541):

"Caste or no caste, the upright man I would attend at need, for every mortal man is bound by his own act and deed. Apart from righteousness, all castes are sure to sink in hell; all castes are purified if they are righteous and act well. Although holy living is more fruitful by far than almsgiving, yet both these are the thoughts of great men. Do you be watchful in both, give alms and practise virtue."

There is not a line in the above injunction with its preference for righteousness to birth, which one would expect from the mouth of the Pouranic Indra familiar to Hindu mythology. In VI. 542, Khandahala, the corrupt Brahmin judge, having induced the king to order his relations to be sacrificed at the sacrificial pit (which, however, did not happen), the king's son Chandra Kumara addressed his royal father thus:

"Kings give these Brahmins villages, choice cities are their appendage, on every family they feed, and gain a goodly heritage, and it is these benefactors, sire, whom they most readily betray. The Brahmin order, take my word for it, are always faithless and ingrate."

The minister Khandahala was then made an outcaste and relegated to the outcaste settlement. Elsewhere the Brahmins are held up to contempt and represented as proverbially greedy and masterful. 'Kings in their kingdom, and Brahmins in their work, are full of greed' (IV. 496). However powerful Brahmins and priests may be, womankind is mightier far. (III. 433).

Brahmins seem to have followed the most diverse occupations in those days. There

were Brahmin husbandmen, who ploughed their fields with oxen (V. 516; IV. 467; III. 354). Brahmin farmers cultivated their lands with hired labourers (III. 389). Brahmin villages are spoken of (III. 402). Brahmin carpenters gained their livelihood by making carts (IV. 475). Wealthy Brahmins managed their own estate (IV. 477). Rich Brahmin merchants traded in ships (IV. 442). Elsewhere we read of a Brahmin millionaire bearing the significant name Mahakanchana (IV. 488). There were even Brahmin goat-herds (III. 413) and snake-charmers (IV. 506). The Kshatriya caste, in which the Master was born, is represented as the highest of castes. Kshatriyas are always mentioned before the Brahmin order in the Jatakas, and this is intended to convey that they take precedence in the hierarchy of castes. Buddha is made to speak of a Brahmin who had showed him disrespect as a low-born fellow as compared with himself, who had sprung from an unbroken line of nobles (V. 529). At the same time, the Bodhisattva is not ashamed to have been born in the family of a man of the lowest caste, as in Satyadharma Jataka (II. 179). A Brahmin, Satyadharma, travelling together with him, and being short of rations, ate of the leavings of the latter, and bitterly repented of it thus: 'How have I disgraced my birth, my clan, my family!' In III. 309, we have Bodhisattva as the son of a pariah woman; but so pleased was the king of Benares with his exposition of the law, that he made him king by night, himself remaining king by day. The object of these stories is apparently to show that low birth does not matter, and 'a man's a man for a' that.' Brahmin ladies were not immaculate by reason of their birth. A young Brahmin of Benares acquired the liberal arts at Takshashila and attained proficiency in archery and having married his professor's daughter set out for home with his wife when he was attacked by a robber for 'whom his wife conceived a passion, and who killed the Brahmin with his own dagger placed by her in her lover's hands, who then carried her off' (III. 374). All Brahmins were not however to be treated alike. Elsewhere a Brahmin is mentioned who was regarded by the king with especial honour, beyond what was paid to other Brahmins. This worthy member of his caste placed virtue above learning and birth, and was of opinion that men of high caste and low, if virtuous here, would be equals in heaven (III. 362).

As a rule, however, the Brahminic order was proud of its high birth, and treated the low castes with great contempt. There were proud Brahmins like Swetaketu (III. 377) who, seeing a Chandala and fearing that the wind blowing from his direction would contaminate him, broke out; 'Curse you, you ill-omened Chandala, get to the leeward,' but the Chandala took him by the shoulder and forcing him down, put him between his feet. We need not be surprised that the rationalistic spirit of Buddhism was already at work, and the lower castes were beginning to assert themselves. The king's priest, of all persons, is made to say in the same story; "A thousand Vedas will not safely bring failing just works, or save from evil plight." Then the Vedas are a useless thing?—naturally questioned the orthodox Swetaketu. To this a somewhat evasive reply is given, and the Vedas are not absolutely condemned in view apparently of the respect universally paid to them, but emphasis is laid on conduct, self-restraint, and good works as the true means of attaining bliss. In the same story, false penances so common among sadhus to this day, e. g., hook-swinging, lying on thorn-beds, enduring the five fires, practising mortification by squatting or diving, are mentioned. The story of Uddalaka the bastard, (IV. 487) like that of Swetaketu, is intended to emphasise the superiority of self-control and right doing over the study of the Vedas and it lays down the remarkable dictum that all castes, including Chandalas and Pukkakas, can attain Nirvana; saints are never asked their birth. Below are given some instances to show with what utter contempt Chandalas were treated in Buddha's time; they had to live in settlements resembling the Ghettos of the Middle Ages and the Indian locations in South Africa and were subjected to unspeakable ignominies. If corroboration of these Jataka accounts is required, it will be found everywhere in the Yogavasistha Ramayana, that compendium of the Vedanta where the divinity of man and the equality of all souls as so many emanations from the Absolute are taught in popular language, to a people whose contempt for the lower castes it does nothing to mitigate (see, for instance, Book III, chapters 106-9). The effect of the revolutionary pronouncement that even Chandalas could attain the highest beatitude open to man, on a society founded entirely on the aristocracy of birth, can be better imagined than described. It was the first occasion in the history of caste-ridden India on which the outcaste

was placed on a footing of equality with the Brahmin in regard to the supreme goal of life. This great message of hope, this glad tidings of great joy, was the secret of the phenomenal success of Buddhism when it first appeared on the scene.

Pride of caste is deprecated in IV. 453. In the Amba Jataka (IV. 474) we have a Chandala village, Bodhisattva, a learned sage, being one of the caste. A young Brahmin learnt a charm from him, by which he could make a mango-tree yield fruit out of season. The Brahmin thought, "if I say a low caste Chandala taught me, I shall be put to shame and they will flout me. Be it Kshatriya, Brahmin (note the order of precedence), Vaisya, Sudra, Chandala, or Pukkasa, a teacher is always regarded as one's superior." In IV. 497, we have a graphic account of the social gradations of the times and see how the Buddhist birth-stories made light of the pride of birth. The Great Being (Bodhisattva) was born outside the city of Benares in a Chandala settlement and was known as Matanga. Dittha-Mangalika, daughter of a Benares merchant, coming to disport herself in the park with a crowd of companions, saw the Great Being from behind her curtain as he was coming to town, and learning that he was a Chandala, said, 'I have seen something which brings bad luck' and washing her eyes with scented water she turned back. The people with her cried out, "Ah vile outcaste, you have lost us free food and liquor to-day!" They then pummelled Matanga and left him senseless. By the force of his will, Matanga caused Dittha-Mangalika to marry him and by him she had a son Mandavya, who learnt the Vedas and became a great king. As Mandavya was once giving a great feast to Brahmins, Matanga arrived and was accosted by his son as a low-caste churl; whereupon he preached to his son the king the evils of pride of birth, and collecting a quantity of mixed victuals, ate it. In the sequel, Matanga's wife Dittha-Mangalika arrived on the scene and the Brahmins were made to taste rice-gruel sprinkled by her, as a result of which they were put out of caste by the other Brahmins. In the same story mention is made of another Brahmin Jatimanta who was inordinately proud of his birth and abused the Great Being as a vile outcaste, but the latter put down this pride by performing a miracle. In the next story, we have a Chandala village outside Ujjayini, where Bodhisattva and his mother's sister's son were born and were named Chitta and Sambhuta.

As in the last story, they were seen by a merchant's and a chaplain's daughters, and were belaboured by their attendants as evil omens. So they thought, 'All this misery has come upon us by reason of our birth', and disguising themselves as young Brahmins they studied at Takshasila. There the professor and his pupils were invited to a feast, where their origin was betrayed by the unguarded use of the Chandala dialect and they were turned out and became ascetics. Bowed down by grief, Chitta, baffled in his attempts to cross the bar sinister, cried out in the agony of his soul, "the lowest race are the Chandalas, the meanest of men."

One of the most important of the birth-stories, from the point of view of caste, is the Dasa Brahmana Jataka (IV. 495). It purports to reproduce what the wise Vidura told king Yudhisthira respecting the presence in the Brahmanic order, of men possessing the characteristics of the different orders of society, following all kinds of avocations, the inference being that their claim to be regarded as the exclusive custodians of spiritual worth is absolutely untenable. Vidura is made to say that (1) some Brahmins are like physicians, who gather herbs and roots and recite magic spells, (2) some are like servants, driving chariots and bringing messages, (3) some are like tax-collectors, importunate for gifts, (4) some are like beggars, with long nails and matted locks, (5) some are like merchants, selling fruits, honey, ointment, &c., (6) some are like Vaishyas and Ambasthas, following trade and husbandry, keeping flocks of goats, and selling their daughters for gold, (7) some are like butchers, fortune-tellers, gelding and marking beasts for pay, slaughtering kine and bullocks, swine and goats, (8) some like bandits or herdsmen, guiding caravans armed with sword, shield, and battle-axe, (9) some like hunters, building huts and laying traps in woods, and catching fish and hare and lizards, (10) others are like barbers, lying down beneath the royal bed at the soma sacrifice, the king bathing above their heads (the Brahmin plays the scapegoat in this ceremony, the king's sins being washed on to the Brahmin, who receives the bed and the ornaments by way of recompense). Observe the veiled irony of the whole story, and the duties appertaining to the different occupations in those days. But in fairness to the Brahmin caste it is also mentioned that there are wise and good Brahmins as well, who are free from the

deeds of evil lust, and eat an only meal of rice, and never touch strong drink.

The last story which we shall quote from is a long one, the *Bluridatta Jataka* (VI. 543), in some ways the most remarkable as an emphatic and open protest against the honour paid to the Vedas and Vedic sacrifices. Arishta having spoken eulogistically of them, the Bodhisattva said, "He is telling a legend of the past—a false legend," and proceeded to set him right by uttering the following Gatha (verses):

"These Veda studies are the wise man's toils,
The lure which tempts the victims whom he spoils....."

The Vedas have no hidden power to save
The traitor or the coward or the knave.....
If he wins merit who to feed the flame
Piles wood and straw, the merit is the same
When cooks light fires or blacksmiths at their trade,
Or those who burn the corpses of the dead.
But none, however zealously he prays
Or heaps the fuel round to feed the blaze,
Gains any merit by his mummeries.....
To worship fire, the common drudge of all,
Senseless and blind, and deaf to every call,
And then one's self to live a life of sin—
How could one dream that this a heaven

could win?.....
Doctrines and rules of their own, absurd and vain,
Our sires imagined, wealth and power to gain,
'Brahmans he made for study, for command the

Kshatriyas,
Vaishyas plough the land, Sudras are servants to obey the rest;'

Thus from the first went forth his high behest.
We see these rules enforced before our eyes,
None but the Brahmins offer sacrifice,
None but the Kshatriya exercises sway,
The Vaishyas plough, the Sudras must obey.
These greedy hars propagate deceit,
And fools believe the fictions they repeat.....
If he who kills is counted innocent,
And if the victim safe to heaven is sent,
Let Brahmins Brahmins kill.....
These cruel cheats, as ignorant as vile,
Weave their long frauds the simple to beguile.
'Offer thy wealth, cut nails, beard, and hair,
And thou shalt have thy bosom's fondest prayer.'
The offerer, simple to their heart's content,
Comes with his purse, they gather round him fast,
Like crows around an owl, on mischief bent,
And leave him bankrupt and stripped bare at last.
The solid coin which erewhile he possessed,
Exchanged for promises which none can test.....
A clever low-caste lad would use his wit,
And read the hymns, nor find his headpiece split.
The Brahmins made the Vedas to their cost
When others gained the knowledge which they lost.....

The obscurity [of the Vedas] but tempts the foolish mind
They swallow all they are told with impulse blind.
Brahmins are to cows and oxen near akin,
Differing outside, they are as dull within.....
The Brahmin's Veda, Kshatriya's policy
Both arbitrary and delusive be.....
Brahmins now in our degenerate day
Will gain a livelihood in any way."

The above extracts, long as they are, contain the most outspoken denunciation of the ritualism of the Vedas, and of the Brahminic pretensions to supremacy, that are to be found in the Jatakas, and their merciless logic reminds one of the rationalistic philosophy of the school of Brihaspati, where similar sentiments are to be met with.

From all that has been said above it will appear that while Buddhism attached no value to caste (Buddha himself being frequently represented in the Jataka stories as born in a low caste), it did not directly attack the caste-system, but preferred to weaken its foundations by the Master's own example, and by denouncing the pride of birth. Buddha's attitude towards the slaughter of animals at sacrifices was however, positively antagonistic and the whole theory of Vedic ritualism was subjected to the searchlight of rational criticism and held up to scorn.

As to the position of the different castes among themselves, we get sufficient indications in the Jataka stories to lead to the conclusion that 'cobblers, sweepers and outcastes, (VI. 542) ranked with Chandalas and Pukkakas

amongst the lowest castes of society. In regard to the position assigned to these castes or their prototypes, Brahminism seems to have changed little since those times. But the innumerable intermediate castes of which we read in the Census Reports are a comparatively recent creation, unknown in Buddha's time; had the caste divisions continued, on the whole, to be as simple as they were in the beginning of the Buddhistic period, all the complexities of our modern life, and the problems they have given rise to, such as those of intercaste unity and the reduction of the entire Hindu population to a homogeneous nation, would have been comparatively easy of solution, and they would not have presented the well-nigh insurmountable difficulties which now block our path. Buddha's rational code of ethics and his doctrine of the equality of man would now be of immense benefit not only to the social, but also the political regeneration of our country, and his teachings on the institution of caste have therefore a special value for us.

X.

NIGHT

By J. VAKIL

The darkness throbs, the Unseen Heart,
A Flower, bursts in the night.
In sudden pain its petals part
Out of a dream of light.

The secret rose of Beauty blows
In flame through your deep eyes,
Its odorous fire about you glows
And dyes my heart's deep skies



Rabindranath Tagore

MARRIAGE CEREMONY AMONG MAHARASHTRA BRAHMINS

By V. G. APTE

IT is well nigh a century since western education commenced to permeate the Maharashtra and it is interesting to notice if any reform has been achieved by the Brahmins in Maharashtra in respect of their marriage ceremony.

There are three main divisions of Maharashtra Brahmins, viz., Chitpavans, Deshasthas and Karhadas. They interdine but do not intermarry. Intermarriages among them are not prohibited by Shastras. They are moreover sanctioned by their religious head—the Sankaracharya. Yet such marriages have not become common.

Thanks to the progress of education and of social reform early marriages are now things of the past. The marriageable age for girls has been raised from 6 and 10 years to 14 and 20; and boys are now rarely married before 17 or 18.

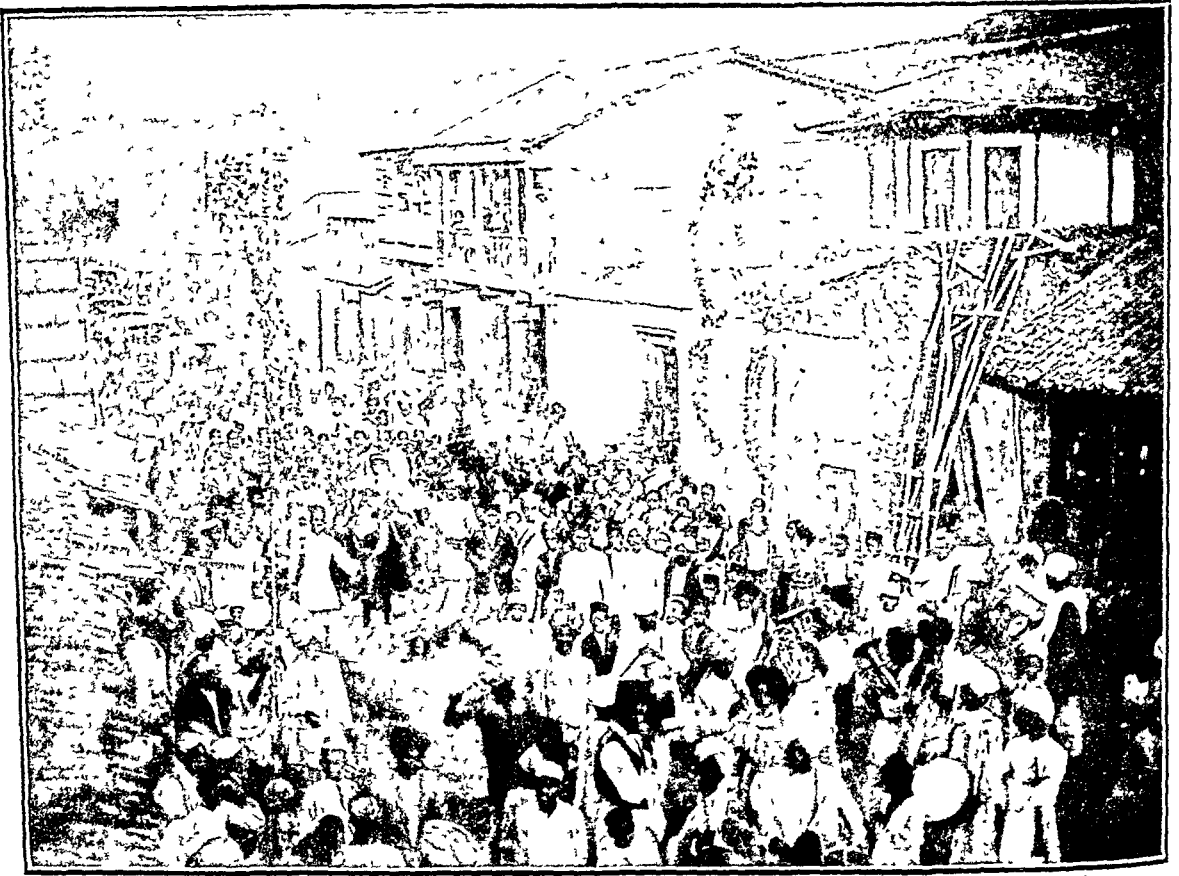
Horoscopes of marriageable boys and girls are still consulted and if they agree, their marriages are settled upon. But the agreement of horoscopes does not play the chief part in the settlement. The bridegroom's father has an eye to the main chance—the *Hunda* or the sum of money the bride brings with her. The purchase money of the bridegroom will be a more suitable term for *Hunda*. With the progress of education and the growing poverty of the people, it was expected that the custom of demanding *Hunda* would receive a check. But strange as it may appear, it has received an impetus and it is ever growing though it has not yet assumed such alarming proportions as to drive grown-up girls to find relief for their parents by committing suicide. So there are not yet cases among them like that of Snehalata. Girls in Bengal may well envy the lot of their sisters in Maharashtra.

Faith or no faith in religious rites to be observed in marriage ceremony, they are punctiliously performed, such as, *Akshat* or invitation to the family and local deities, the *Punyahavachana* or the giving of blessings for the holy day, the *Devaprotistha*, the *Laja Hom*, *Saptapade*, *Nakshatra Darshana*, etc. Many of these rites have no meaning

for the persons to be married, but still they are gone through by extremely orthodox people and the whole-hogger reformers alike.

When educated males find themselves unequal to fight the orthodoxy, it is vain to blame women for insisting on the scrupulous observance of several social and semi-religious functions, such as *Ushti Halad*, *Amba Shimpane*, the grinding of *Udid* pulse in a hand-mill by the father and the mother of the bride together, etc.—observances quite meaningless in these days of machinery. These only serve to prove that our women-folk are not behind their Mahomedan and Christian sisters in their fondness for strict adherence to customs of by-gone days.

But even they are at times found amenable to reason in respect of the observance of certain social functions and quietly yield to the spirit of the time. When child marriages were in vogue, there was nothing wrong in the eyes of the people to make the married couple sit together at a dinner party—wholly consisting of males and ask them to put morsels of delicious sweets in the mouth of each other, loudly announcing to the dinner party, the names of the opposite sex among the married couple—a custom called *Ghas-Dene* (giving of a morsel). It was a kind of exhibition of the literary wit on the part of the bride, as she had to announce the name of the bridegroom, not in a prosaic form but couched in a metrical banter, which often gave merriment to the dinner party and won their admiration for her ready wit. But this practice of *Ghas-Dene* was in ill accord with the bashfulness of the grown-up bride, who felt it very uncomfortable to sit by the side of her partner in life in the full presence of male elders and strangers and so the practice is now gradually dispensed with. *Vidi Todane* (chopping off by the bride with her teeth of the betel-leaf-roll held fast between the lips by the bridegroom and *vice versa*), *Supari Lapavine* (hiding by the bridegroom of a betel-nut in the folds of the clothes on the body and seeking it out by the bride and *vice versa*)—these and similar pastimes, which excited mirth in



A Marriage Procession of the Maharashtra Brahmins

times of early marriages are now given the go-bye they deserve.

One important reform, however, is a crying necessity and it is scarcely heeded. With all lucubrations of our educated people condemning extravagance in expenditure, marriage expenses are going up by leaps and bounds. With the high rates of cereals, ghee, and sugar facing us, shears ought to be applied to unnecessary expenses, but this is hardly the case. The love of pomp and seeming grandeur is unconquerable. The marriage procession must be in right royal fashion, however low may be the pecuniary condition of the bride's or the bridegroom's father. Marriage procession is not a thing to be examined with an economic or an artistic eye. The greater the hurly-burly and the incongruity, the greater the mirth. Here is a bridegroom dressed in a new turban with flower chaplets pending on both sides of his face, with his forehead

besmeared with red powder and his cheeks touched with lamp-black to avert the evil eye, riding on a horse, ever trembling with fear lest the animal may get frightened at the sound of the guns or the sight of fireworks and cause his fall. He is followed by a large galaxy of ladies richly decorated with ornaments and dressed in their best *sarees*, and a large crowd of men bringing up the rear. The procession is headed by a band of musicians playing Eastern tunes on their sweet-sounding flutes and by their side there are drum-beaters, who know only how best to make noise with their *Zashas*, and the never-to-be-despised *bandwallas* dressed in second-hand worn-out military dress with their serpentine brass trumpets and big drums, making alternate roaring and shrill noise—all these are the necessary, though incongruous, elements of a marriage procession. But the greatest absurdity is with the *Abdagir*—a circular flat, wooden

plank covered with rich silk interwoven with gold threads, supported on a long pole and intended to serve as an umbrella to ward off the cruel hot rays of the sun from the face of the bridegroom and so useful in midday noon if held across the path of the sun. Is it not out of place when it is the cool morning or the dark evening when the procession sets out? But no, sun or no sun the *Abdagir* must be there. It is indispensable. It is an emblem of pomp and what is marriage without pomp and extravagance? To enhance the grandeur and picturesqueness,

there are *Nakshatramalas* or star-wreaths made of tinsel and coloured paper hanging from high poles, as if to show that the procession is marching through heavens studded with stars and to make up the scene of this heavenly sight there is an artificial moving garden of variegated flowers made of paper and tinsel, vying in richness the well-known *Nandana-vana* of Indra. Who can say after this all that Maharashtra Brahmins are wanting in love of gaiety and can charge them with parsimony in marriage expenditure?

CONSERVATISM

BY ABDUL AZIZ, BARRISTER-AT-LAW

THE results of the General Election have just been announced, and although one could have foretold an easy victory for the Conservatives, after the gathering reaction against Labour and the long series of defeats (culminating in the dissolution of Parliament) which the Labour Government was heroic, or callous, enough to suffer, we must say that we were not prepared for such swinging Conservative majorities all around, nor did the country ever witness such a poor show of the Liberals, whatever the causes may have been.

The present time is an important one in parliamentary history: A huge Conservative majority over all the other parties combined affords food for reflection. In fact, such an event at this time of day, beating as it does the great Liberal victory of 1906, induces us to re-read English History in the light of recent events, and ask fundamental questions about Conservatism—what it stands for, its principles, its power, its possibilities and its destiny. Further we are tempted to study once more the English temperament and ask ourselves if we have not misread the British genius and character. Are the English people as a nation retrograde and reactionary, or else simply wise and self-complacent? But we must begin with Conservatism.

Conservatism is an age-long creed; this

must not however, prejudice us in favour of Conservatism, for a persistent error with a long history does not become truth. So we should judge every tenet of the creed on its merits, and keep it apart from its ancient lineage on the one hand (which is no recommendation whatever) and from a long service to the cause of human progress on the other (which has at best only a historical value).

On the contrary, the go-ahead folk are apt to think that Conservatism is purely a matter of heredity and tradition, and that an honest conversion to such an "outworn" creed is impossible or extremely unlikely. But the late Election gives the lie to this supposition. Nor have we any right to beg the question in that manner. Truth is never old, and we cannot imagine that a political creed which has supported the national existence of such a wise and successful nation as Englishmen for several centuries, and still commands so much influence in England, is really an outworn creed which has survived its utility.

We need not encumber ourselves with the historical antecedents of Conservatism, though these constitute a brilliant record, of which any party or nation may well be proud. But a certain amount of history is indispensable in discussing Conservatism.

Conservatism stands distinguished from

any other political creed in that it has a long pedigree, and has stood the test of time. That is precisely the first cardinal point in the conservative creed. What is tried is safe and reliable. There must be a special reason for an innovation. In science we don't freely experiment with the human body. It is more dangerous to experiment with a body of men. Not only are here a large number of men, but we are playing with minds instead of bodies—a far more complex affair. Exploration and discovery will often be accompanied by disaster. Yet it may be said that conservatives are either shortsighted and unimaginative or indolent. For there is no denying the fact that with careful observation, patient analysis and comparative study of men and conditions one can introduce change and reforms without dangerous consequences. Moderation and prudence and care are all that is necessary. On the other hand if we are too shy we shall *never* take a step forward.

As a brief formula we can say that Conservatism stands for established interests and vested authority: this formula would include adherence to the Church and the Throne, advocacy of landed and hereditary interests, and even the ambition and programme of imperial expansion, including Protection in trade and Preference within the Empire. These constitute the main planks in the conservative platform, for one cannot concede that the conservatives are really earnest in their proposals for poor relief (which is inconsistent with their other principles) though they claim credit for the same, and connect it with their advocacy of Establishment and Endowment.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth Conservatism was nothing. The Church-and-Crown party, from which modern Conservatism has descended, was nothing but a political move of the sovereign to gain secular power over the Church, and to "Nationalise" and consolidate its authority. There was nothing noble about this stroke of diplomacy.

But when we come to the real beginnings of Conservatism in the hands of Burke, we find much to admire. Perhaps we admire Burke more than the conservative policy which England espoused when the waves of the French Revolution lapped on English shores. Because while Conservatism only voted for a *status quo*, Burke, who had seen the wisdom of holding to his anchor in a typhoon, was yet ready to fight battles against the Crown if its conduct and procedure clashed with his ideal of a true democracy. One has no

hesitation in saying, however, that Conservatism, as far as it was a reaction against the ferment of the French Revolution, was a commendable expression of the nation's wisdom and sterling common sense, eminently justified by the results. But it must be admitted that here Conservatism was opposed to Revolution, not Liberalism. That is precisely why Burke was both a whig and a tory. There was no inconsistency in *his* attitude towards political affairs: it was the *parties* that were at fault: they placed wrong alternatives before the people. The parties went by shibboleths and formulae. Burke went by thinking and did not care if he cut across lines of cleavage between the parties. This shows incidentally how factitious party distinctions really are, and how the party system clogs the way to clear thinking and intelligent preference. Owing to historical accidents certain lines of policy have come to be associated with one party, and have in many cases become a matter of prejudice rather than principle.

Burke's speeches and *Reflections* must have come as a welcome revelation to many Conservatives of his time who probably congratulated themselves on the unsuspected beauties of the creed which they had happened to inherit from their forefathers. Burke is all for heredity, stability, sanity, and sound sense. Had it not been for Burke, England might have reeled, and the social ferment might have courted a political disaster.

In the 19th century Conservatism had a rather bad time of it altogether. This was due partly to the rising tide of political thought and progressive echoes and indirect influences of the French Revolution and partly to the short-sighted and obstinate policy of Conservative leaders like Peel. Any party or system with a shorter history or weaker foundations would have succumbed to the blows which fell successively [Roman Catholic Emancipation (1829), Reform Bill (1832), Repeal of Corn Laws (1846), Household Suffrage (1867), and the Fiscal Controversy (1903)].

The accident of birth gave to Conservatism a tinge of religious sanction, which has been exploited by its exponents to the full. It is difficult to see why there should be Establishment or Endowment at all, and more difficult to see why there should be Establishment and Endowment on any other basis but that of numerical majority.

There is, of course, something conservative in Religion, but there is nothing essentially

religious in Conservatism. To mix up the two propositions leads to confusion of thought. Conservatism supports only one particular denomination in a conspicuously partial manner, and all attempts at justifying the Establishment and Endowment of the Church of England are futile. In case of Disestablishment and Disendowment other denominations will have an equal chance. The conservative position in this matter seems to be even weaker than in matters of private property and taxation. If, as is alleged, the Church of England does no longer enjoy any real privileges, why fight over them? Why keep the semblance of preference—a shadow, when there is no reality? The fact is that there is still considerable prestige attaching to that Church, and privileges are not usually surrendered with readiness. One wonders on what grounds the (Protestant) Church of Ireland remained established till 1869! The Establishment of a religion, which is professed by an overwhelming majority is perhaps justifiable, though even then it would handicap freedom of thought and is not fair to Science and Philosophy. Altogether the conservative arguments for Establishment and Endowment are hopelessly unconvincing.

Nor is the Conservative position as regards Poor Relief any more satisfactory. The argument that Christian teaching as regards wealth is purely individualistic, and refers to spiritual rather than temporal welfare, and therefore the poor need not to be made rich, can be met by saying that Liberalism in relieving the rich of their wealth aims at their spiritual welfare, and wishes to relieve the poor from their poverty in the temporal sense. To argue that because St. Paul allowed slavery, therefore poverty has Christian sanction, is fatuous.

Next we come to Property and Taxation. It is urged that (a) the community creates the value of land, (b) land is a monopoly, and (c) landholders are best able to bear taxes; therefore all kinds of rates and taxes should be shifted to the landowners. It must be said in reply that while (a) is in part at least correct, land is not exactly a monopoly, and it does not seem fair to shift all the burden to the landowners. The burden must be shared between the landowner and the capitalist (or industrialist). The conservative arguments that there should be no taxation without representation and that one section should never be taxed for the benefit of another, seem sound for practical application.

According to the conservative principle that the State cannot inflict an undeserved injury (e. g., taxation) on any individual, the State cannot reward any person for good service either. This principle seems also inconsistent with the conservative claim for Government interference or authority. "A state which refuses to relieve the poor may be wicked, but is not unjust." This is not convincing, without some such doctrine as the exploded theory of "Natural rights". Nor does it prove the cause against poor relief by taxation of the rich. Poor relief can really be defended on ground of morals, charity and expediency, and in a way also of justice. Conservatives can deny it neither on theoretical nor on practical grounds.

In Tariff reform policy, Conservatism cares for the land-owner and the industrialist, not for the consumer. The connection between protectionism and imperialism is obvious. The landowning classes are too effete to compete with the foreigner.

Foreign and Imperial Affairs: While allowing for the difference between individual and state morality (the state being a trustee), the liberal doctrine of a high international morality seems to be large-minded and dignified. An Imperialism based on an immoral and callous hankering for national self-aggrandisement is not an inspiring creed.

One wonders on what principles, conservative or liberal, modern Europe's land hunger is to be justified. Invidious and artificial distinctions between states of civilisation, the talk about "Missions" and "Vocations" is the most transparent twaddle. Surely it ought to be possible to formulate a code with a decent approximation to definition of rights and obligations between class and class, and nation and nation. It may be a difficult task; but surely one cannot say that the subject matter is essentially, and will remain permanently, chaotic. An advance from individual to international morality is surely conceivable. Better education, wider sympathies, greater imagination will bring about a cosmopolitan morality. To hold any other opinion is to surrender this beautiful world to the force of evil.

Parliamentary constitution:

(1) *Kingship.* Conservatism has decidedly lost ground as far as the principle of divine right of kings is concerned. A more modern position is that a king who is above party should take a more active part in the administration, and kingship should of course continue hereditary.

(2) *House of Lords.* Conservatives of course insist on a hereditary House of Lords, but they say it should be made stronger on non-partisan lines, so as to represent all parties. This House stands for service only for honour.

(3) *House of Commons.* Much of Conservative criticism against the representative character of the House of Commons is quite valid, though it really affects the party system of government. But that only exemplifies the imperfection and limitation of human institutions. It is worthy of note that conservatives are unable to suggest any better system of representative government than the one characterised by a more powerful second chamber and a stronger and more active sovereign than we have at present. It is curious that the conservatives propose no substantial reform of the lower house; for the Referendum, in more important measures, is at best a clumsy, troublesome and unsatisfactory solution; and we have not only the House of Commons, which mirrors public opinion on all matters of importance fairly faithfully, but also the Press, which is a useful safety-valve when the Lower House shows sign of being arbitrary.

Perhaps one reform in the House of Commons is necessary, viz., that the franchise should be so distributed as to ensure expression of as many free individual opinions as possible, not opinions of interests; the right of suffrage should be freely exercised without pressure from landlords and capitalists. Else the present House of Commons will one day degenerate into a commercial oligarchy.

In conclusion one may remark that Conservatism and Liberalism (unhappy as these terms are) are obviously both necessary to human progress, like analysis and synthesis in science. Pure Conservatism is stagnation, pure Liberalism is revolution. Conservatism is characterised by a certain kind of narrow-mindedness, which is perhaps inseparable from its historical antecedents. But it is a useful check on the disruptive tendencies of a socialistic and revolutionary era; specially when we are slowly realising that the democratic form of government, with its bold challenge and extensive claims, has not redeemed, and is farther than ever from redeeming, the generous promises it has always held out.

Having made this rapid survey of the main lines of Conservative thought, the question recurs: what about a nation that remains

a rigid adherent of this creed and continues withal to lead the world through war and vicissitude to its great destiny? For now there is no Germany to dispute either its political supremacy or its intellectual hegemony.

The first idea that strikes one is the "solidity" of character, if one may use the phrase. The more we think over it the more we are impressed by the fact that English Conservatism as an article of political faith is only an effect of an underlying cause, viz., the English temperament. The real "Conservatism" that is to say, lies in the English character. We find abundant evidence of this temperament in the whole course of England's political history as well as in the history of her social institutions. It is not by chance that most of England's revolutions have been peaceful. We note that in England there have been changes, at times even radical changes, but there was never a violent break with the past. There is always present a tendency to introduce changes under the name of some thing old and familiar: theories are retained where practice has changed under pressure of new requirements. Stereotyped procedure continues even when new understandings are developed as a remedy against its undesirable consequences.

In the political field, the English have always wisely used the results of political experiments tried in other countries, such as France, Russia, etc. It is not by mere good luck that England has always escaped catastrophes, which have befallen successively all the powers around her (France in 1789-1815, and again in 1871, Germany and Russia in the last war). These miraculous escapes are in large degree due to her sterling good sense, her imperturbable sanity and her phlegmatic temperament. The English genius, for instance, rebels against all kinds of socialism, because the experiment has never been successfully tried. Even her "Labour" is not really socialistic. Notwithstanding all this, conservatism has never stood in the way of England's progress.

We find the same principles abundantly illustrated in the development of English Law, from such nebulous vapour as the Common Law of England through a living growth of case-law and precedent to a remarkably well-ordered system, disguised under complicated theory and procedure.

We may wind up by remarking that although we join issue with most of the positions taken up, by the Conservative politicians,

English Conservatism, so far from being a sign of decay and ossification, is actually a sheet anchor, a guarantee against ill-advised changes and violent methods. No other nation

has had similar conservatism; no other nation could so use it if it had it.

Nor 15, 24.

EARLY BUDDHISM AND THE LAITY

By DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH. D.

ANY one who tries to acquaint himself with the process of spread and development of Buddhism from its earliest beginnings naturally asks the question whether Buddhism in its earliest stages had a lay society of its own to support it; if not, what was its position in regard to lay society, without which it is difficult, if not impossible, for a religion to flourish in the way Buddhism did. It has been aptly said by Carlyle that

"The Ideal always has to grow in the Real, and to seek out its bed and board there, often in a very sorry way. No beautifullest Poet is a Bird-of-Paradise, living on perfumes. The Heroic independent of bed and board is found in Drury-Lane Theatre only. Many an Ideal monastic or other shooting forth into practice as it can, grows to a strange enough Reality; and we have to ask with amazement—Is this your Ideal! To avoid disappointments, let us bear this in mind."

It must not be supposed that Buddha committed a mistake of this sort by founding his Ideal upon no basis of what Carlyle calls the Real. The paucity of details as to the lay community in the Digha and the Majjhima Nikayas lends colour to such a notion, but it should be noticed that though Buddha did not try from the beginning to have a stereotyped Buddhist community of laymen, yet his monastic system was broad-based upon the Real. The reasons why he did not care to have at first such a community of Buddhist laymen are:—

(1) He looked upon all men, irrespective of their religion or society as badly in need of initiation into the Truths discovered by him; and whatever might have been their attitude towards him or his religion, they were never regarded as unworthy of his solicitude for their moral and spiritual welfare.

(2) There was in India at the time of Buddha a large number of Hindus who were

not strong in their faith, or were not satisfied with the social status to which they were rooted by their birth. Buddha could have a sufficient number of these people to embrace his religion and support the Buddhist monks.

(3) It was not perhaps possible for Buddha with his wide catholicity and infinite fund of mercy for the suffering humanity to limit the benefits of his religion only to those who belonged to a particular lay community of his own creation. On the other hand, however, the *nirvana* which formed the summum bonum of human existence could not, according to him, be attained except by the process of *sadhana* forming a part of the Truth discovered by him. To make the benefits of his religion available to as many people as possible, he prescribed only the sincere taking of refuge in Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha, and the observance of the five *silas* as the minimum requisite, and a sufficient indication of a mental attitude, which the followers of the Truth promulgated by him should have. The restriction of belonging to a particular lay community originated by Buddha for making them eligible to his spiritual ministration would have been to thrust into narrow limits a Personality that was yearning to rend asunder all limitations to uplift humanity.

(4) According to Buddha the initiation into the Buddhist order and the performance of the *sadhana* incident to it constituted the only door to *nirvana*. The laymen could rise higher spiritually by their moral ways of life but could not reach *nirvana* which, according to him, could be attained by the *sadhana* incident to the Buddhist order. It may seem to us that Buddha was very hard upon the lay community who could not, in his view, attain *nirvana*, whereas the laymen belong to other communities, e. g. the lay

could, according to their spiritual guides, attain salvation by their meritorious acts. But the reason for the holding of such an opinion by Buddha is not far to seek. Nirvana was attainable only by the Buddhist order over which he could impose the discipline through which alone a man could be fit for the same, while in the case of the laymen, over whom he exercised no such control for the reasons already stated, they could reach only stages of spiritual improvement lower than nirvana.

All these factors contributed to bring into being the following state of things, *viz.*, that it was chiefly to the monastic order that Buddha turned his attention, because it was in his view the only effective means of attaining the highest end of human existence. He was no doubt compassionate to the householders but as mere meritorious deeds could not enable them to attain nirvana during their life-time as householders, his ultimate aim was to persuade as many of them as possible to renounce the world and join the monastic order, live the disciplined life of a monk performing *dhyana*, *dharana*, *samadhi*, etc., and thus uplift themselves to the stage in which they could have nirvana. Hence Buddha tried by his speeches and discussions to attract people with their worldly turn of mind many of whom were, of course, householders, to become members of his order and when they were unable to advance so far, they could perform the five or eight silas, and thereby rise to the higher rungs of moral and spiritual development attainable by a householder. He did not care therefore whether the candidates for admission into the monastic stage belonged to the Hindu, Jaina, or any other community. What he cared for most was the entrance into the monastic order, which alone was the effective means of reaching the highest goal of life. There was, at the time of Buddha, a section of people opposed to Hindu orthodoxy, or smarting under the invidious differential treatment meted out to them under the Hindu social system. These people were very probably the first to be impressed most by the doctrines preached by Buddha and be enlisted as his followers: but yet there are evidences in the Nikayas to show that the opposition that Buddha had to overcome in the pursuit of his goal was strong and bitter on account of the presence of 'orthodoxy' characterising, I think, the major section of the Hindu community. Just before the advent of Buddha, Hindu society reached a time when a

reaction against the evils that had cropped up in it grew in volume and was seeking an outlet. The presence of so many sects on the fringe-area of Hinduism, or expressly opposed to it, testifies to the existence of this state of things. Mahavira had raised his flag of revolt, round which mustered perhaps a large number of adherents than round that of any other heretic sect of the time. Buddha came in the wake of these sects but with greater potentialities of growth and resistance than its predecessors. The opposition put forth against him from the strongholds of Hindu orthodoxy was naturally in proportion to the larger encroachments that this new religion threatened to make upon the domain of Hinduism. There are references in the Nikayas to the stigma attaching even to the paying of visits to Buddha, not to speak of conversion to his doctrines or showing him marks of respect. The learned brahmana Sonadanda was asked not to see Buddha on account of the loss of reputation he would incur thereby (D.N. I, p. 113). Similarly, the erudite brahmanas Kutadanta, Canki, and Pokkharasadi were reminded of the risk they were running by going to meet him. Instances of this sort may be multiplied. They show how difficult it was for the preacher of the new religion to win over to his side persons belonging to the orthodox community. But even this difficulty was overcome by him at times so easily that one may be led to think from such instances of conversion as if orthodox Hinduism allowed these conversions to take place without any grudge. We see, for instance, Assalayana (M.N. II, pp. 147ff) coming to Buddha for defeating him in a debate, but is defeated in the end, and the very moment takes refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. When renouncing the religion of which he was an adherent, he did not delay the least to think of the social disadvantages that might follow in the train of his conversion. Such sudden conversions depended upon the deep impression made by Buddha upon the minds of the persons who came into contact with him and felt the magnetic influence of his personality. It would not, I think, be correct to infer from the examples of such conversions that these converts were ungrudgingly allowed by the Hindu community to be at liberty to embrace Buddhism in pursuance of their unfettered conviction.

During the life-time of Buddha, the mark that distinguished the Buddhist laity was the taking of refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and

Sangha, and the observance of the five silas. This was, of course, the minimum requisite of a Buddhist layman. Those converts who wished to be more advanced in discipline and to prepare themselves for greater religious merit observed the eight silas, and tried to mould their lives as far as possible in accordance with the ideas set forth in several places of the Nikayas. To these we shall have occasion to turn later on. A Buddhist layman who thus went higher up the ladder of religious discipline prescribed in the Nikayas for the laity had naturally to come into frequent contact with the Buddhist bhikkhus, hear their discourses and discard gradually all those beliefs and practices which did not find favour with the Buddhists. For him, of course, who had crossed the door-sill of Buddhism very recently, no other restriction than that of the three refuges and the performance of the five silas was imposed. This gave him a good deal of freedom in regard to the holding of beliefs and the performance of rites and practices which might have been very dear to him before his conversion. It would be apparent that the Buddhist laity formed at first in this way must have consisted of people from whom uniformity of beliefs, rites, and ceremonies could not be expected. If Buddha or his followers would have tried to have the minds of the new converts shorn of their cherished beliefs, or their faiths in rites and ceremonies which were meaningless in the eye of the Buddhists, their attempt would certainly have been futile; for it is only the strong-minded people that can free themselves from their former faiths all at once.

An examination of the Nikayas shows that though the laymen were declared incompetent by reason of their mental and spiritual outfit to reach the highest stage of spiritual development, viz. arhathood, yet it was open to them to attain to the three lower stages, viz. *sotapanna*, *sakadagami*, and *anagami*. The method by which these laymen were made competent for these stages would be apparent from the passages in the Nikayas, where the removal of the *samyojanas* has been treated (cf. M.N. I, pp. 462-8, D.N. I, p. 92). The five *samyojanas* that the house-holders had to sever, viz. *sakkayaditthi* (the view of the existence of individuality), *vicikicchā* (religious doubt), *silabbataparamasa* (domination of the belief in ritualism) *kāma* (bodily passions), and *patigha* (hatred). Of these *vicikicchā* and *silabbataparamasa* are of

special importance, because by the first, a very strong adherence to the Buddhist faith is intended to be developed, while by the second, the influences of the former faiths and superstitions of the converts are meant to be counteracted. The development of the influence of these two factors on the minds of the new adherents of the Buddhist faith brings them more and more within the Buddhist fold and makes them out-and-out Buddhist. Implicit faith in Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha gradually asserts itself to the exclusion of the other faiths that may be struggling with it for the upper hand, and beliefs in the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies are by degrees denuded of their strength by the stimulation of the constant endeavour on the part of the converts themselves to achieve this object, as also by the hearing of frequent discourses of the Buddhist monks at the monasteries or outside, and the carrying out of their directions as to the mental and moral discipline. There are rules in the Vinaya providing ample facilities for the converts to come into frequent contacts with the Buddhist monks. They met at the monasteries on the 8th, 14th and 15th day of every lunar fortnight at gatherings in which the monks delivered religious discourses and dispelled doubts on the points about which questions were put to them. Every morning they came into contact with the monks begging alms from door to door. Though long religious discourses were not suitable to such occasions, they could have been easily utilized for imparting to them bits of teachings intended to wear off their attachment to worldly matters, and stimulate their eagerness to subject themselves rigidly to moral and spiritual discipline, — the path to salvation. The afternoons were allowed by the rules of the monasteries to be utilized by the house-holders by coming there and having spiritual enlightenment from the monks through conversation and religious discourses. The householders were also permitted to invite to meals the monks singly or by batches. These were, invariably, occasions for delivering suitable religious discourses. The *vassa* (the four months of the retreat from the full moon of *Asadha* to that of *Kārttika*) is a prolonged period during which the monks had to stay at a fixed place, generally a monastery. These four months afforded ample opportunities to the monks to mould the spiritual and religious life of the laymen as much according to the Buddhist ideal as practicable.

It was through these instructions and dis-

courses that the Buddhist house-holders could make moral and spiritual progress as evidenced in the many narratives in the *Nikayas*, *eg*, those relating to Anathapindika, Visakha, Nakulamata and Nakulapita. Some of the lay-devotees are mentioned with appreciation in the *Anguttara Nikaya* as adepts in *dhyana*; this shows that the house-holders were allowed much scope for self-improvement and spiritual culture, though the passage already cited may give rise to the notion that they could not rise much in the scale of spiritual culture until they joined the monastic order. That they could rise as far as the stage of *anagami* goes to show that the house-holders were given a good deal of latitude for improving themselves spiritually, not merely by the observance of the *silas* but also by the practice of *dhyana*,—a process of *sadhana* which may be misconceived to have been the monopoly of the monks and nuns. With the lapse of time there came into being a society of Buddhist laymen who could be distinguished from the laymen of other denominations not only by their distinctive faiths but also by their social and religious practices that became gradually stereotyped as Buddhistic. Marriage into such Buddhist families or perhaps commensality or mixing in other ways with the Buddhist laymen came to put the Buddhist impress upon the doers of these acts. The ancient Hindu community allowed wide range of religious views to its members, but it was very touchy in regard to two or three points, *viz*. (1) the supreme authority of the Vedas, (2) the observance of the caste-rules bearing specially on marriage and commensality, and (3) the observance of at least one or two sacraments. In consequence, those who deviated from the groove laid down by the Hindu community had to remain separate from the community and could not hope to be restored to their former status (which even was impossible in some cases) except by the fulfilment of certain expiatory and stringent conditions. To the Buddhist community this was an advantage, because the way to join them was made very easy and attractive, but

the way to return to the community to which they had belonged previously,—specially to the Hindu community, was not so easy and sometimes very difficult. Hence, though the distinctive external marks of the Buddhist laymen appear at first sight to be almost nil, a closer examination shows that there were such marks, some of which owed their origin not to the Buddhists themselves but to the peculiar social and religious environment surrounding Buddhism and the Buddhist lay society. At the time of Buddha, of which we are speaking at present, as the Buddhist lay society was receiving immigrants from quite a number of other sects and communities, it is difficult to find out at first sight its distinctive features concealed under its cosmopolitan character, but what I have said before will, I hope, show that though the state of things was nebulous at the time, the Buddhist society of laymen was not without peculiar features of its own. It was more upon this society of laymen that the Buddhist monks could rely than any other for help, patronage, and daily alms. It is natural that the Buddhist laymen should be more interested in the furtherance of the Buddhist ideals, and more devoted to the Buddhist monks than the laymen of other communities however great might have been the catholicity and the spirit of toleration that animated the people of ancient India. Narratives are found in the *Nikayas* describing how Buddha himself could not get a morsel of food as alms in a village where the brahmanas predominated. This gives but a glimpse of a state of things which could not but have prevailed at a time when the adherents of the diverse religions were struggling for supremacy in the religious struggle. It is therefore not an error to think that during the life-time of Buddha, there came into being the lay society of the Buddhists, upon whose help and co-operation the monks could rely with confidence in the midst of the stress and strain which they had to bear in their struggle with the supporters of the rival religious systems.

SHELLEY ON POLITICAL REFORM

By D. V. GUNDAPPA

POETRY AND POLITICS

ON the high summits of human life, Poetry and Politics, far from being the irreconcilables they appear to be in our work-a-day world, are seen to dwell as comrades inseparable from each other. All great poetry is, in truth, politics idealised; and all great politics is, equally, poetry realised. The poet is the eye through which men obtain glimpses of the beautiful and the good; and the statesman is the arm with which they strive to remove all that stands between them and the object of their vision. Or, to vary the figure, the poet produces the martial music which stirs and impels us to new and noble conquests, while the statesman supplies the leadership without which our hosts would be marching only to their ruin. Poetry not motivated by politics is mere vanity of words, and politics not inspired by poetry is nothing better than blindman's buff.

This description of the alliance between the dreamer and the man of affairs will perhaps meet with readier and wider acceptance if we make clear what we mean by the words by which we designate their work. Poetry, properly so called, is the expression of a passionate longing for whatever is lovable and lovely in the thought and feeling, and aspiration and endeavour of man. In other words, its office is to induce us,—to tempt us, as it were, by giving us a foretaste of the joy of the better world visualised by the poet,—to strive for improvements in the conditions around us. Such striving, it is the business of politics to facilitate and direct. The poet stimulates thought and effort in the direction of the good; it is the part of the politician to pave the way and provide the means for that effort. Politics, in its highest sense, is the art of materialising the ideals of individual and social welfare, which are fashioned and commended by poets and thinkers. The poet and the statesman alike concern themselves with the well-being and the well-doing of their fellow-men; the first outlines the plan and prepares the material which the second takes into his hand in order to leave behind a world better than the one

he first found. They are both collaborators in a large part of the same field. If the domain of poetry is much wider than that of politics which it includes, the dominion of politics makes itself felt more readily and more tangibly. Let us not then talk of the poet and the statesman as though they were antipodes to each other.

Evidences of the intimate and profound connection between poetry and politics are abundant enough in history. We know that the *Republic*, the far-famed treatise on the ideal state, is essentially the work of a poetic mind;—that Plato the political idealist has indeed been the philosopher dear to the poets, a veritable poet among political philosophers. We also know that Milton did not despise, "forsaking the 'quiet air of delightful studies', to play a man's part in the confusions of his time;" that he was a passionate advocate of civil and religious freedom as well as of national independence and was the inspirer and assistant of Cromwell. Dante was not inconspicuous in the political affairs of his country; and Goethe was no stranger to politics. On the other side, one has but to recall the names of Pitt and Gladstone, Burke and Mazzini, and Morley, to realise what an ample and fruitful part poetry has played in moulding the ideals and policies of great statesmen and political reformers. Indeed, to stand out as a reformer is to give evidence of an essentially poetic gift, namely, the vision of a society arranged better and a world made happier. The most important ingredients of the poet's mind and of the statesman's mind, are, in truth, the same, insight, imagination, sympathy, benevolence, though the proportions and the processes in which they are compounded in the two may be different. The material which both intend to handle is the same, namely, human life. They both have to deal with the passions, emotions, ideas and idiosyncrasies of men. They should, therefore, be both men quick to feel and quick to understand, with hearts and eyes ever wakeful to the possibilities of human nature as well as to the actualities of life around them. The same zeal for human improvement is the life-breath of both. What

through' one takes the form of lyric and epic and drama, takes through the other the form of law and court and council. Their means and methods of expression are different; but their prime motive is the same.

It should thus be no transgression of bounds in a poet to speak out a word or two concerning the practical affairs of the statesman, even as it may not be out of bounds for a man of affairs to plead for a higher poetic inspiration for his age and country. Of course the poet's discourse on political or social reform can only be speculative in method and tentative in import; for he must necessarily be lacking in that knowledge and experience which can come only from the actual handling of affairs. Nevertheless, his political utterance is of value to us, because it is prompted and touched by the same vision as gives value to his poetry. It is a philosophical prose-version, so to say, of his poetic dreams. If that be so, it may not be unprofitable, amid the political excitements and distractions of our day, to turn to Shelley, the great poet of the Revolutionary Epoch, and take note of his views on the vexed subject of political reform.

THE REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH

Wordsworth, Byron and Shelley are the three great English poets who represent to us the epoch of the French Revolution and Shelley, the youngest of the three, is admittedly the most devoted exponent of the spirit and meaning of that epoch. An aggressive intolerance of tyranny in whatever form was the gift bestowed on him at birth by the grim god of destiny. Every student is familiar with the story of how, while still at school, he made himself notorious as "Mad Shelley" and "Shelley the Atheist" by his resolute opposition to the odious system of flogging and by his cherishing what then were strange notions of justice and independence. A rebel at twelve and a heretic at nineteen, he braved the anger of his father and preferred to be banished from home and heritage at what must have been to him the most enjoyable period of life rather than yield to the despotism of blind custom. Shelley was in his twenty-first year when, in his first important poem, "*Queen Mab*", he declared:—

Kings, priests and statesmen blast the human flower
Even in its tender bud: their influence darts
Like subtle poison through the bloodless veins
Of desolate society.....
Let priest-led slaves cease to proclaim that man
Inherits vice and misery, when force

And falsehood hang even o'er the cradled babe
Stifling with rudest grasp all natural good.

The standard of revolt thus raised against "force and falsehood", with all the injudicious downrightness and the extravagant fervour of youth, was held aloft with unwavering zeal throughout the remainder of Shelley's life. In poem and play and song, of wonderful variety of beauty and richness, he stood up for the "perfectibility" of man and against the tyranny of the Established Order of things. In almost every noteworthy poem, we hear the same sigh for freedom, the same cry against oppression. In the last and the longest of his poems, "*Prometheus Unbound*", we perceive the same passionate discontent with existing social arrangements, but expressed in more chastened and balanced phrases:—

Hypocrisy and custom make men's minds
The fanes of many a worship, now outworn.
They dare not devise good for man's estate,
And yet they know not what they do not dare.
The good want power, but to weep barren

The powerful goodness want—worse need for ^{tears} them.

The wise want love: and those who love want ^{wisdom} them.

And all best things are thus confused to ill.
Many are strong and rich, and would be just,
But live among their fellow-men -
As if none felt.....

Indeed, the whole drama may be taken to be an allegorical representation of humanity's emancipation from the clutches of man-made convention and soul-suppressing custom.

"PHILOSOPHICAL VIEW OF REFORM"

This impassioned and dauntless child of the revolution has left, as legacy to those who care for him, a fragment of a prose essay on political reform which anyone today would readily acknowledge to be a sober enough document remarkably sober indeed if we remember the constant and consistent iconoclasm of its youthful author. The warm glow which the sight of the revolutionary flame had brought into the youthful heart of Wordsworth was gradually rendered soft and mellow by the sixty winters that passed over his head. Not so with Shelley. He was in the first bloom of manhood and at the very height of his mental powers when he recorded his thoughts on political reform. He called the tract a "philosophical" view of reform therein suggesting that it is a record of his deliberate and carefully expressed opinions. In fact, he said of it in a letter to Leigh Hunt:—

"It is boldly but temperately written, and I

think, readable. It is intended for a kind of standard book for the philosophical reformers".

The book is of much practical interest even today and it is particularly so for us in India. Let us therefore proceed to see what Shelley has to say on the many knotty points that try the skill of the political reformer.

The year (1820) in which Shelley wrote his tract,—which, let us not forget, was written solely with reference to his own country, was the year of the death of George III, the fifth year after the Battle of Waterloo, the year, we may also note, of the Cato Street Conspiracy. The shock of the great revolution in France was then still fresh in England. The Napoleonic struggles had brought about wide-spread economic distress everywhere. The middle classes were full of discontent and the upper classes full of apprehension and alarm. There was yet no sign on the horizon to announce the great days of Canning and Peel and Huskisson; and much less was there any pre-assurance of the great parliamentary reforms of a later day (1829-30). The whole atmosphere in England was one of profound and universal unrest, premonitory of change. It was at this juncture that Shelley, with the prevision characteristic of the poet no less than of the statesman, grasped the spirit of the times and sought to find proper accommodation for it in the institutions of his country.

He begins the essay with the remark that, excluding those personally interested in the maintenance of power as it was, "there is no inhabitant of the British Empire, of mature age and perfect understanding, not fully persuaded of the necessity of Reform." Then, attempting a brief history of the movement for Freedom in Europe, he characterises the Roman Empire as a "vast and successful scheme for the enslaving of the most civilised portion of mankind" and adds that it was succeeded by a series of smaller schemes operating to the same effect up to the epoch of the French Revolution. Incidentally, he pays his tribute to the founder of Christianity; it is interesting and worthy of note. He writes:—

"Names borrowed from the life and opinions of Jesus Christ were employed as symbols of domination and imposture; and a system of liberty and equality—for such was the system planted by that great Reformer—was perverted to support oppression. Not his doctrines, for they are too simple and direct to be susceptible of such perversion, but the mere names. Such was the origin of the Catholic Church, which, together with the several dynasties then beginning to consolidate themselves

in Europe, means.....a plan according to which the cunning and selfish few have employed the fears and hopes of the ignorant many to the establishment of their own power and the destruction of the real interests of all."

PROSPECTS OF REFORM IN EUROPE

After this remarkable acknowledgment of the value of the message of Christ, the poet sums up, in phrases not always judicious, the histories of the reformist movements in Italy and, in Central Europe, particularly Holland and Switzerland, betraying his republican proclivities in fugitive remarks. Coming to speak of the English Renaissance and the Revolution of 1688, he exults over the establishment of the doctrine of popular sovereignty once for all;—

"(William of Orange and Mary) acknowledged and declared that the Will of the People was the source from which their powers derived the right to subvert. A man has no right to be a King or a Lord or a Bishop but so long as it is for the benefit of the People and so long as the People judge that it is for their benefit that he should impersonate that character. The solemn establishment of this maxim as the basis of our constitutional law.....was the fruit of that vaunted event (the Revolution). Correlative with this series of events in England was the commencement of a new epoch in the history of the progress of civilization and society.....The Will of the People to change their government is an acknowledged right in the Constitution of England." (Pages 6 and 7).

After thus pointing to the Nation's inherent right of Self-Determination as regards the form of its government, Shelley proceeds to consider the philosophy of politics that grew up in England and in Europe through the speculations of Bacon, Spinoza, Hobbes, Montaigne, Locke and other thinkers. "Of this new philosophy, the system of government in the United States of America was the first practical illustration" "It has no king; that is, it has no officer to whom wealth, and from whom corruption flow. It has no hereditary oligarchy; that is, it acknowledges no order of men privileged to cheat and insult the rest It constitutionally acknowledges the progress of human improvement, and is framed under the limitation of the probability of more simple views of political science being rendered applicable to human life. There is a law by which the constitution is reserved for revision every ten years."

Shelley next has some words of sympathy and hope for the French whose Revolution he considers the second result of the new awakening of public opinion in Europe. He was by no means unaware of the imperfec-

tion and the resultant reaction in the work of the Revolution; "but reversing the proverbial expression of Shakespeare, it may be the good which the Revolutionists did leave after them, their ills are interred with their bones." This, we may note in passing, is a verdict that has since been upheld by philosophical historians like Morley and Lecky. Shelley then speaks of Germany's "rising with the fervour of a vigorous youth to the assertion of those rights for which it has that desire arising from knowledge, the surest pledge of victory." Having expressed his admiration for the intellectual tendencies and attainments of the German people, he observes:—

"Every great nation either has been, or is, or will be free.....The panic-stricken tyrants of Germany promised to their subjects that their governments should be administered according to republican forms, they retaining merely the right of hereditary chief magistracy in their families. This promise, made in danger, the oppressors dream that they can break in security. And everything in consequence wears in Germany the aspect of rapidly maturing revolution."

The prophecy had to wait till our day to come true. After Germany, Spain has come in for the poet-reformer's attention. In phrases of characteristic power and pungency, he depicts the struggle between Despair and Tyranny that was going on in that country, and winds up his vehement denunciation of the despots of Spain with a note of optimism in behalf of the people:—

"These events, in the present condition of the understanding and sentiment of mankind, are the rapidly passing shows, which forerun successful insurrection, the ominous comets of our republican poet (Milton) perplexing great monarchs with fear of change. Spain, having passed through an ordeal severe in proportion to the wrongs and errors which it is kindled to erase, must of necessity be renovated."

After making a very sanguine reference to the prospects of republicanism in South America, Shelley turns to Asia and observes:—

"The Great Monarchies of Asia cannot, let us confidently hope, remain unshaken by the earthquake which is shaking to dust the 'mountainous strongholds' of the tyrants of the Western world."

REFORM IN INDIA AND THE EAST

And here follows a paragraph on India which is as critical in method as it is prophetic in import and is as full of deep thinking as of humanitarian fervour. He says:—

"Revolutions in the political and religious state of the Indian peninsula seem to be accomplishing,

and it cannot be doubted but the zeal of the missionaries of what is called the Christian faith will produce beneficial innovation there, even by the application of dogmas and forms of what is here an outworn incumbrance. The Indians have been enslaved and cramped in the most severe and paralysing forms which were ever devised by man; some of this new enthusiasm ought to be kindled among them to consume it and leave them free, and even if the doctrines of Jesus do not penetrate through the darkness of that which those who profess to be his followers call Christianity, there will yet be a number of social forms, modelled upon those European feelings from which it has taken its colour, substituted to those according to which they are at present cramped, and from which, when the time for complete emancipation shall arrive, their disengagement may be less difficult, and under which their progress to it may be the less imperceptibly slow. Many native Indians have acquired, it is said, a competent knowledge in the arts and philosophy of Europe, and Locke and Hume and Rousseau are familiarly talked of in Brahminical society. But the thing to be sought is that they should, as they would if they were free, attain to a system of arts and literature of their own."

The time at which this was written was, let us remember, the epoch of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the first great nationalist and internationalist of modern India. That brave and puissant pioneer of social and political reconstruction as well as of rationality (which is not the same thing as rationalism) in religion, was a notable figure in the political and religious controversies of that time in England also; and reports of his work and opinions must, evidently, have furnished ground for Shelley's cautiously expressed hope.

Shelley next makes a rapid review of the birth and working of what we may call the "New Spirit" in the other Asiatic countries. The Persians, "a beautiful, refined and impassioned people", "would probably soon be infected by the contagion of good". "The Turkish Empire is in its last stage of ruin". "In Arabia Wahabees, who maintain the Unity of God and the Equality of Man, must go on conquering and to conquer". In Egypt is "beginning that change which Time, the great innovator, will accomplish in that degraded country". "The Jews may reassume their ancestral seats". "Lastly, in the West Indian islands . . . the deepest stain upon civilized man is fading away".

THE CRISIS IN ENGLAND

After this re-assuring "sketch" of the hopes and aspirations of mankind all over the world, Shelley proceeds to consider the crisis in England and cites two circumstances as evidences of it: first, the new literature of

the times; second, "a desire of change arising from the profound sentiment of the exceeding inefficiency of the existing institutions to provide for the physical and intellectual happiness of the people." He dwells at some length on the merits of the former, without in the least exposing himself to the charge of immodesty, and indicates the relation, that always exists between poetical tendency and political change, the intimate relation which we tried to explain at the outset. He writes:-

"The literature of England, an energetic development of which has ever followed or preceded a great and free development of the national will, has arisen, as it were, from a new birth. In spite of that low-thoughted envy which would underrate, thro' a fear of comparison with its own insignificance, the eminence of contemporary merit, it is felt by the British that this is in intellectual achievements a memorable age, and we live among such philosophers and poets as surpass beyond comparison any who have appeared in our nation since its last struggle for liberty. For, the most unfailing herald, or companion, or follower, of an universal employment of the sentiments of a nation to the production of a beneficial change, is poetry, —meaning by poetry an intense and impassioned power of communicating—intense and impassioned impressions respecting man and nature..... It is impossible to read the productions of our most celebrated writers.... without being startled by the electric life which there is in their words..... They are the priests of an unapprehended inspiration, the mirrors of gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present; the words which express what they conceive not; the trumpet which sings to battle and feels not what it inspires; the influence which is moved not, but moves. Poets and philosophers are the unacknowledged legislators of the world."

This eloquent exposition of the mission of poetry, we may in passing note, is in entire accord with the Indian poet's dictum that the poet is the eye of the king. The Sanskrit word "Kavi" is the name not only of the composer of verses, but also of the seer, of the wise man. The poet has not only to sing and to delight the ear and through it the mind, but also to open the eye to unseen truths and unperceived beauties and thereby elevate the feelings and aspirations of man. That is how the miracle described in Bhavabhuti's epigram comes about: "The speech of the ordinary honest man follows an existing fact; but fact itself follows the speech of the poet-prophet".

We may now pass on to Shelley's replies to opponents of reform. "These persons", he says, "propose to us the dilemma of submitting to a despotism which is notoriously gathering like an avalanche year by year, or taking the risk of something which (it must be confessed) bears the aspect of revolution"

The despotism he alludes to consisted in the Parliament's becoming the representative of only certain classes of the nation. As a result of the great economic prosperity which followed the political revolution of 1688, there was an increase of population; and there evolved out of the population a small class of comfortable capitalists and a large class of poor labourers. A vast "unrepresented multitude" had thus come into being; and it had made for an increase of the power of the rich. The despotism that had to be subdued was thus of the aristocracy, not of the monarchy. "The name and office of king, is merely the mask of this power, and is a kind of stalking-horse used to conceal these 'catchers of men' whilst they lay their nets. Monarchy is only the string which ties the robber's bundle." "An oligarchy exacts more of suffering from the people (than absolute monarchy) because it reigns both by the opinion generated by imposture and the force which that opinion places within its grasp." Shelley goes on to point out that the National Debt and the 'alloyed coin' and paper money were devices contrived by the rich to extort money and labour from the common people. "They have the effect of augmenting the prices of provision, and of benefiting at the expense of the community the speculators in this traffic." One need not be surprised if this lay criticism of monetary reforms fails to meet with the approval of the expert. Shelley spoke merely as any man of intelligence, with a distinct popular bias, would have spoken, and not as a scientific student of public finance. The fact anyhow was there that a new aristocracy had arisen in the land, whether we accept or not the explanation offered as to its origin. Shelley had the moderation of temper to see that the aristocracy, "a prodigious anomaly in the social system," was yet "an inseparable portion of it." "There has never been an approach in practice towards any plan of political society modelled on equal justice, at least in the complicated mechanism of modern life." Aristocracy is unavoidable; and "the object therefore of all enlightened legislation, and administration is to enclose within the narrowest practicable limits this order of drones." Aristocracy, in Shelley's reckoning, was of two kinds. He would not object to our acquiescing, like all other great communities, in the existence of one kind of aristocracy, that of the great land-lords and merchants; for they are distinguished by "a certain generosity and refinement of manners

and opinion". But "there is nothing to qualify our disapprobation" of the other variety of aristocracy,—that of "attorneys and excisemen, and directors and government pensioners, usurers, stockjobbers, country bankers, with their dependents and descendants" who "eat and drink and sleep, and in the intervals of these things, performed with most vexatious ceremony and accompaniments, they cringe and lie". "Since the institution of this double aristocracy", the working-class people "eat less bread, wear worse clothes, are more ignorant, immoral, miserable and desperate. This then is the condition of the lowest and largest class from whose labour the whole materials of life are wrought, of which the others are only the receivers or the consumers. This degradation of the lower classes was not without a reaction in the higher. The aristocracy reaped the bitter fruit of its "short-sighted tyranny" in "the loss of dignity, simplicity and energy and in the possession of all those qualities which distinguish a slave-driver from a proprietor." This candid and unsparing analysis of the situation brings Shelley to an enunciation of the fundamental principle and object of political change. He puts the matter thus with admirable simplicity :—

"Right government being an institution for the purpose of securing such a moderate degree of happiness to men as has been experimentally practicable, the sure character of misgovernment is misery : and first discontent, and, if that be despised, then insurrection, as the legitimate expression of that misery. The public right to demand happiness is a principle of nature; the labouring classes, when they cannot get food for their labour, are impelled to take it by force. Laws and assemblies and courts of justice and delegated powers placed in balance and in opposition are the means and the form, but public happiness is the substance and the end of political institutions."

"A Reform in England is, therefore, most just and necessary." But before setting forth his proposals of reform, Shelley pauses to denounce the doctrine of Malthus, "a priest, of course, for his doctrines are those of a eunuch and of a tyrant," that "the evils of the poor arise from an excess of population" and that they should be required "to abstain from marrying under penalty of starvation." Why, asks Shelley, should this restriction be placed upon the poor while the rich are left as free to breed as ever? And here incidentally he is led to state his view of the ancient and vexed question of liberty and equality :

"The rights of all men are intrinsically and originally equal, and they forgo the assertion of

all of them only that they may the more securely enjoy a portion."

SHELLEY' PLAN OF REFORM

This shows that Shelley was not a slave to a shibboleth and that he had a full appreciation of the principle of limitation implied in the flaming gospel of natural rights, and of the consequent need for compromise, or accommodation, or adjustment, or the art whatever be the name by which we may be pleased to call it of securing some degree of actuality for what has been a large and fascinating dream of the heart. Shelley's plan of reform comprised the following items:—

"We would abolish the national debt.

"We would disband the standing army.

"We would with every possible regard to the existing rights of the holders, abolish sinecures.

"We would with every possible regard to the existing interests of the holders, abolish tithes, and make all religions, all forms of opinion respecting the origin and government of the Universe, equal in the eye of the law."

We would make justice cheap, certain and speedy, and extend the institution of juries to every possible occasion of jurisprudence.

Of these several measures of reform, the first naturally claims Shelley's attention most, because in his view the national debt was the origin of all the iniquity in the distribution of national wealth and all the resultant misery and degradation of the lower classes. "The national debt was contracted chiefly in two libertine wars, undertaken by the privileged classes of the country." Shelley therefore thought it just and proper that the rich alone ought to pay it. "It would be a mere transfer among persons of property." Shelley is by no means an opponent of private property of all kinds. He makes a clear distinction between just and unjust property, and would make only the latter liable for re-appropriation by the state towards the adjustment of the national debt. "One of the first acts of a reformed government would undoubtedly be an effectual scheme for compelling these to compromise their debt between themselves."

It is interesting to note in our day, when the cry against private property and for the State-ownership of everything is so loud and insistent, that Shelley, republican and equalitarian though he was, had deep and genuine respect for the individual's right of acquiring and possessing. He repeatedly says:—

"Labour, industry, economy, skill, genius, or any similar powers honourably and innocently

exerted are the foundations of one description of property, and all true political institutions ought to defend every man in the exercise of his discretion with respect to property so acquired."

HOW TO WORK FOR REFORM

We now come to the crux of the problem of reform: How is it to be accomplished? It is satisfying to find that Shelley is not the doctrinaire that a man of letters is commonly supposed to be. He is well aware of the fact that politics know no laws immutable like those of mathematics. "All political science", he writes while speaking of arrangements for the liquidation of the national debt, "abounds with limitations and exceptions". The reformer who starts with this axiom is not likely to be an extremist. So we find Shelley reproaching demagogues and commending patience and reason. His ideal is undoubtedly a democracy:—

"No individual who is governed can be denied a direct share in the government of his country without supreme injustice. ... The great principle of reform consists in every individual giving his consent to the institution and the continuous existence of the social system which is instituted for his advantage and for the advantage of others in his situation. As in a great nation this is practically impossible, masses of individuals consent to qualify other individuals whom they delegate to superintend their concerns. These delegates have constitutional authority to exercise the functions of sovereignty: they unite in the highest degree the legislative and executive functions. A government that is founded on any other basis is a government of fraud or force and ought on the first convenient occasion to be overthrown."

Though an adherent thus to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, Shelley was no advocate of universal suffrage. His moderation on this question is indeed noteworthy. He would only have gradual reform; he is keenly alive to the many evils of sudden social change.

"No doubt the institution of universal suffrage would ... immediately tend to the temporary abolition of these forms (monarchy, aristocracy, inordinate wealth etc.); because it is impossible that the people, having attained the power should fail to see, what the demagogues now conceal from them, the legitimate consequence of the doctrines through which they had attained it."

But this achievement, he notes, would only be "temporary". And it would incidentally develop a habit of mind in the people which can never be to their true and lasting good.

"A Republic, however just in its principle and glorious in its object, would, through the violence and sudden change which must attend it, incur a great risk of being as rapid in its decline

as in its growth. It is better that they (the people) should be instructed in the whole truth; that they should see the clear grounds of their rights, the objects to which they ought to tend; and be impressed with the just persuasion that patience and reason and endurance are the means of a calm yet irresistible progress."

In other words, reform should be gradual and steady—that is, proportioned to the sense of responsibility and political intelligence in the community. Its political constitution should keep pace with, but not be in advance of, its general education and civic capacity. If the pace of reform be unduly hastened by means of a revolution, a deadly evil is sure to creep in together with it:—

"A civil war, engendered by the passions attending on this mode of reform, would confirm in the mass of the nation those military habits which have been already introduced by our tyrants, and with which liberty is incompatible. From the moment that a man is a soldier, he becomes a slave. He is taught obedience:.....He is taught to despise human life and human suffering; this is the universal distinction of slaves: he is more degraded than a murderer; he is like the bloody knife which has stabbed and feels not."

This, by the way, explains why Shelley made the abolition of the standing army a cardinal point of his programme of reform. He was essentially a humanitarian, one who stood up for the high destiny and dignity of man, and therefore a pacifist in his inclinations. Reform by means of an insurrection or a violent coercion of the existing Government being for the above reasons undesirable, Shelley looks to what we might call "constitutional action" for securing the desired reforms. His words have a peculiar force and appeal for us in India in our present political struggle:—

"The public opinion in England ought first to be excited to action. No law or institution can last if this opinion be decisively pronounced against it. For this purpose Government ought to be defied in cases of questionable result, to prosecute for political libel.....The tax-gatherer ought to be compelled in very practicable instance to distrain, whilst the right to impose taxes.....is formally contested by an overwhelming multitude of defendants before the courts of common law.....The nation would thus be excited to develop itself, and to declare whether it acquiesced in the existing forms of Government.....Simultaneously with this active and vigilant system of opposition, means ought to be taken of solemnly conveying the sense of large bodies and various denominations of the people in a manner the most explicit, to the existing depositaries of power: Petitions, couched in the actual language of the petitioners, and emanating from distinct assemblies, ought to load the tables of the House of Commons. The poets, philosophers and artists ought to remonstrate, and the memorials entitled their petitions, might show the universal

conviction they entertain of the inevitable connection between national prosperity and freedom, and the cultivation of the imagination and the cultivation of scientific truth, and the profound development of moral and metaphysical enquiry.....These appeals of solemn and emphatic argument from those who have already a predestined existence among posterity, would appal the enemies of mankind by their echoes from every corner of the world in which the majestic literature of England is cultivated.It would be Eternity warning Time.

Shelley's faith in the influence of men of letters to persuade, or else to overawe, those who have political authority in their hands, must no doubt seem a little excessive in our day; but this is a fact that does discredit, not so much to literary advocates of political reform, as to successive generations of politicians, both official and popular. The average politician has always been a philistine: He has a cheap sneer for the man of visions. He scorns to open his heart to poetry and philosophy. If he did not despise idealists, if ministers and popular leaders were men with a cultivated love for the finer things of the spirit, if like Gladstone or Burke they were men whose minds and souls had been touched by the magic of great literature, the course of human progress should have been far more smooth and far less interrupted by unedifying incident. Shelley had not the experience we now have of the ways of politicians and his optimism was therefore only natural.

UTILITY OF INSURRECTION

But even he was under no delusions. If constitutional agitation failed to bring about the desired reform in some appreciable measure, he would not then hesitate to recommend insurrection. But mark it, he would not be in a hurry to employ that method. He knew that it would work surer and quicker; but he had a lively apprehension of its concomitants and its effects. His hope was that when constitutional agitation was intense and wide-spread,

"the oppressors would feel their impotence and reluctantly and imperfectly concede some limited portion of the rights of the people, and disgorge some morsels of their undigested prey. In this case, the people ought to be exhorting by everything ultimately dear to them to pause until, by the exercise of those rights which they have regained, they become fitted to demand more. It is better that we gain what we demand by a process of negotiation which should occupy twenty years than that by communicating a sudden shock to the interests of those who are the depositaries and dependents of power, we should incur the calamity which their revenge might inflict upon us by giving the signal of civil war."

But if those in power are obdurate, "we are to recollect that we possess a right beyond remonstrance. It has been acknowledged by the most approved writers on the English constitution, which has in this instance been merely a declaration of the superior decisions of eternal justice, that we possess a right of resistance. But Shelley feels compelled to repeat his warning about the evils of an armed rising.

"There is secret sympathy between Destruction and Power, between Monarchy and War; and the long experience of all the history of all-recorded time teaches us with what success they have played into each other's hands. War is a kind of superstition: the pageantry of arms and badges corrupts the imagination of men.....If there had never been war, there could never have been tyranny in the world; tyrants take advantage of the mechanical organization of armies to establish and defend their encroachments. It is thus that the mighty advantages of the French Revolution have been almost compensated by a succession of tyrants (for demagogues, oligarchies, usurpers and legitimate kings are merely varieties of the same class). War, waged from whatever motive, extinguishes the sentiment of reason and justice in the mind. The motive is forgotten, or only adverted to in a mechanical and habitual manner. A sentiment of confidence in brute force and in a contempt of death and danger is considered the highest virtue....."

We who have had the opportunity of witnessing the ghastly orgies of militarism for over nine years continually in Europe are in a position to appreciate how profoundly true Shelley's words are. Civil war, which is another name for insurrection or revolt, is not different from wars of other kinds in essence and in influence on national character and is as such bound to result in endless anarchy. It would be rash easily to indulge the hope that when independence has once been won by means of an armed revolution, we would be able to induce the people immediately to convert their swords into ploughshares. The transition from war to peace cannot be so very smooth and certain. Shelley's observation is truly philosophical:—

"No fallacious and indirect motive to action can subsist in the mind without weakening the effect of those which are genuine and true.....The person who has been accustomed to subdue men by force will be less inclined to the trouble of convincing or persuading them."

Such is the psychology of all Napoleons in history. Once in the seat of power, no more will the victorious leader agree to come down and fraternise with his fellows in his old way. The era of triumph which he helps to open for the people is inevitably led on to an era of despotism by his own

inward transformation. All this risk of the emergence of a new tyrant at the head of a popular revolution notwithstanding, Shelley would not hesitate to raise the hand to strike if all other means of overthrowing, or at least reducing, present tyranny were to fail. "I imagine", he ruefully says, "that before the English Nation shall arrive at that point of moral and political degradation now occupied by the Chinese, it will be necessary to appeal to an exertion of physical strength." And after the success of the upheaval, he would have the nation be careful to avoid two likely evils: first, a spirit of wanton hatred of all the things of the old order, and second, a spirit of ruthless revenge towards the old ruling class. He says:—

"When the people shall have obtained, by whatever means, the victory over their oppressors, there will remain the great task of accommodating all that can be preserved of ancient forms with the improvements of the knowledge of a more enlightened age."

This is the principle of the reformer who comes not to destroy, but to fulfil. He would use what there has been as the basis for building up what there should be. This doctrine, which we may call the doctrine of evolutionary development, has received the scrupulous adherence of every great reformer from Buddha and Jesus down to Dadabhai and Morley, not excluding even the revolutionary genius of Mazzini. Burke's "Reflections" are an elaborate and impressive presentment of the same doctrine.

Of the second of the evils above mentioned, Shelley uses words that will by no means appear too strong if we remember, as indeed we cannot with our present experiences help remembering, how deep-seated and persistent and how very reckless class-jealousies always are. He writes:—

"There is one thing which certain vulgar agitators endeavour to flatter the most uneducated part of the people by assiduously proposing, which they ought not to do nor to require; and that is Retribution. Men having been injured, desire to injure in return. This is falsely called an universal law of human nature, it is a law from which many are exempt and all in proportion to their virtue and cultivation."

THE IDEAL AND THE FEASIBLE

Shelley did not confound the philosophical and the practical, or the moral and the political forms of democracy. It is impossible he could not have had a full sense of the greatness of the ideal; but he was not at the same time wanting in the appreciation of the circumstances amid which the ideal would

have to find fulfilment. His plan of work was not conceived exclusively from the point of view of the ideal; on the other hand, he gave to the ideal no more than its proper place in his scheme of practice, so as to find proper room in it for the other factors of the case. Speaking of the principle of equality which has in our day degenerated into a shibboleth, he says:—

"The first principle of political reform is the natural equality of men, not with relation to their property, but to their rights. That equality in possessions which Jesus Christ so passionately taught is a moral rather than a political truth and is such as social institutions cannot without mischief inflexibly secure. Morals and politics can only be considered as portions of the same science, with relation to a system of such absolute perfection as Plato and Rousseau and other reasoners have asserted.....Equality in possessions must be the last result of the utmost refinements of civilization: it is one of the conditions of that system of society towards which, with whatever hope of ultimate success, it is our duty to tend. We may and ought to advert to it as to the elementary principle, as to the goal, unattainable, perhaps, by us, but which, as it were, we revive in our posterity to pursue. We derive tranquillity and courage and grandeur of soul from contemplating an object which is, because we will it, and maybe, because we hope and desire it, and must be, if succeeding generations of the enlightened sincerely and earnestly seek it. But our present business is with the difficult and unbending realities of actual life, and when we have drawn inspiration from the great object of our hopes, it becomes us, with patience and resolution, to apply ourselves to accommodating our theories to immediate practice."

Shelley's distinction between the moral and the political aspects of the equalitarian ideal brings to our mind the following penetrative and lucid remark of Morley:—

"Democracy is the name for a general condition of society, having historic origins, springing from circumstances and the nature of things; not only involving the political doctrine of popular sovereignty, but representing a cognate group of corresponding tendencies over the whole field of moral, social, and even of spiritual life within the democratic community. Few writers have consistently respected the frontier that divides democracy as a certain state of society from democracy as a certain form of government."

That Shelley, with all the imaginative sweep of his rare genius and all his burning sympathy for the oppressed and the inevitable zeal for radical reform, had yet a constant and lively sense of the feasible and and that he believed the best chances of the ideal to lie in a compromise with the actual, are facts which prove to us the practical soundness in a very real sense of a great poetic mind and they are full of wholesome significance to those of us that are apt to be hasty in the choice

of remedies for long-persisting social and political ills. When voice so different in tone and timbre as Shelley and Burke speak alike about the legitimacy and the uses of compromise in practical politics, it would surely be proper for us to guard ourselves against undue impatience in working and hoping. Shelley puts his argument pithily in the following words:—

"Any sudden attempt at universal suffrage would produce an immature attempt at a Republic. It is better that an object so inexpressibly great and sacred should never have been attempted than that it should be attempted and fail. It is no prejudice to the ultimate establishment of the boldest, political innovations that we temporize—so that, when they shall be accomplished, they may be rendered permanent."

We may note in passing that Shelley was not an advocate of suffrage for women in his day. "Mr. Bentham and other writers have urged the admission of females to the right of suffrage; this attempt seems somewhat immature." But in principle, he had no objection to that reform; he would indeed be "the last to withhold his vote from any system which might tend to an equal and full development of the capacities of all living beings".

POSSIBILITY OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

We may conclude this essay with noting what Shelley had to say about the imperative duties of a true patriot. He sees that long-continued oppression and the fraud and terrorism practised by its agents may have rendered the people utterly incapable of concerted and systematic action on a large scale for the winning of liberty. When such is the case, as, for whatever reasons, has been the case in India for a long time now,

"The true patriot, (says Shelley) will endeavour to enlighten and to unite the nation and animate it with enthusiasm and confidence. For this purpose he will be indefatigable in promulgating political truth. He will endeavour to rally round one standard the divided friends of liberty, and make them forget the subordinate objects with regard to which they differ, by appealing to that respecting which they are all agreed. He will promote such open confederation among men of principle and spirit as may tend to make their intentions and their efforts converge to a common centre. He will discourage all secret associations which have a tendency, by making the nation's will develop itself in a partial and premature manner, to cause tumult and confusion. He will urge the necessity of exciting the people frequently to exercise their right of assembling, in such limited numbers (let us mark this) that all present may be actual parties to the proceedings of the day."

And here comes a difficulty, one which

gives Shelley an occasion to recommend what we today call "passive resistance" as a remedy for terroristic tyranny. If a political gathering be very large, not only will it be impossible for each and every citizen present to be an actual and intelligent participator in the proceedings, but the suspicions and anger of the authorities might also be roused. Then,

"if the tyrants command the troops to fire upon them or cut them down unless they disperse, he will exhort them peaceably to defy the danger, and to expect without resistance the onset of the cavalry, and to wait with folded arms the event of the fire of the artillery and receive with unshrinking bosoms the bayonets of the charging battalions And this, not because active resistance is not justifiable when all other means shall have failed, but because in this instance temperance and courage would produce greater advantages than the most decisive victory."

Shelley's grounds for entertaining this hope are that the "soldiers are men and Englishmen, and it is not to be believed that they would massacre an unresisting multitude of their countrymen drawn up in unarmed array before them and bearing in their looks the calm, deliberate resolution to perish rather than abandon the assertion of their rights". If the soldier should observe "neither resistance nor flight, he would be reduced to confusion and indecision". "This unexpected reception (of the soldier's fire by the crowd) would probably throw him back upon a reflection of the true nature of the measures of which he was made the instrument, and the enemy might be converted into the ally." This optimistic view of the soldier's psychology may be tenable in a country like England where the army and the people are both of the same nationality and are sharers in a common patriotism. But such a hope would be entirely out of place in a country like India where the ruling and the military class happens to be of a nationality different from the people's and where there is not a common patriotism to bind the soldier and the citizen together. This was proved three years ago in the Punjab on a colossal scale. That being so, peaceful, passive resistance as against military terrorism can have but little chance of success in India. When national and racial prejudices are at their worst, the appeal of our common humanity becomes too feeble and obscure to make itself heard and heeded.

CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION

Shelley lays the utmost emphasis on the

importance of energetic and persistent propaganda:—

"The patriot will be foremost to publish the boldest truths in the most fearless manner, yet without the slightest tincture of personal malignity. He would encourage all others to the same efforts and assist them to the utmost of his power with the resources both of his intellect and fortune. He would call upon them, to despise imprisonment and persecution and lose no opportunity of bringing public opinion and the power of the tyrants into circumstances of perpetual contest and opposition."

Such are Shelley's views on the large and complex problems of political reform—its objects, its principles and its methods. Written a hundred years ago for the public of England, they are not without practical value to us in India today. That indeed is how the man of imagination and thought stands far, far above the mere political pamphleteer. The true poet and thinker sees into the very soul of things, takes his stand on the universal realities of human nature and speaks with a voice and a vision that time cannot stale nor geography⁴ restrict. Permanence and extensiveness of applicability are among the inherent marks of all great literature; and if Shelley of "*The Skylark*" and of the "*West Wind*" could be immortal and universal in his appeal, he could not possibly be altogether ephemeral and parochial on the subject of political reform. Nothing trivial could come from such a one. There is no necessary antithesis between the mind that can produce a sound political thought and the mind that can produce a sweet lyrical ecstasy. Reason and imagination may co-exist, and must indeed

co-exist in all great minds, the one or the other faculty only taking precedence over the other, but never wholly divorced from it according to the nature of the theme. Large and clear as was Shelley's vision of the secrets of heaven, equally large and clear was his insight into the realities of the earth. If elsewhere it is his imagination, it is here his rationality that pleases and strengthens us. He took a broad and exalted view of the business of politics. It was to him no party feud or scramble for office. It was the supreme question of securing the nation's highest destiny. It was part of general ethics, and it had a vital connection with the growth of poetry and philosophy. He despised not politicians at all, but only demagogues. He set a sovereign value on educating and preparing the public for political power. While he aimed high, he was not reckless in his programme. He did not confound hastiness with enthusiasm and rashness with courage. Progress he desired, but not by leaps and bounds, but by steady paces. Better the zigzag path of compromise than the straight but precipitous road of revolution. By the one, we go safely, though somewhat slowly, from power to power; by the other, we may be doomed, like Sisyphus, to waste ourselves in rolling the stone up the hill, with every risk of the huge thing rolling down upon us time after time. This is the lesson, let us note, which a poetical idealist, and not a mere political opportunist, has essayed to impress upon our minds.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS*

BY DR. M. AHMED, M.A., LL. M., PH. D., BAR-AT-LAW

THE fifth session of the League of Nations opened on the first September 1924 in the reformation hall at Geneva, in Switzerland, where the previous meetings have been held for the last four years. The Canton of Geneva has offered a site for the construction of a special suitable building for the meetings, but that building still awaits funds. The

reformation hall can however accommodate two thousand persons, and therefore at present suffices for the meetings, which are open to the public. The League of Nations is divided into several committees which must be carefully distinguished. There is in the first instance the full assembly of delegates who meet only once a year, to deliberate on the great international questions referred to them for decision. There is secondly the

* An adaptation from the French.

council of the league composed of four permanent members, a French man, an Englishman, an Italian, a Japanese (the American having withdrawn) and six non-permanent and annually elected members. During the last year these six non-permanent members belonged to Belgium, Brazil, Spain, Sweden, Czecho-slovakia and Uruguay.

The council which meets every three months is a sort of executive committee of the League. It undertakes to prepare the work of the League, and regulate certain questions within its jurisdiction, such as the general reduction of armaments, the control of international mandates, the administration of the territories of La Sarre, Dantzig, etc. In the same way as the work of the full League is prepared by previous discussion in the council, the latter makes use of the suggestions and deliberations of the consultative technical commissions which meet during the intervals of the quarterly sittings of the council, and the annual session of the League. The most important of these permanent consultative technical commissions is the one which deals with military, naval and air questions and is composed of the representatives of Italy, Great Britain, Czecho-slovakia, Sweden, Belgium, Spain, France, Uruguay, Japan and Brazil. Besides these, the representatives of other countries can be co-opted when questions directly affecting their interests are to be discussed by the technical commission. The permanent consultative commission for military, naval and air questions has lately been chiefly concerned with projects of treaties of mutual assistance, the control of the Commerce in arms, and of their manufactures in private. As may be presumed, the deliberations of these technical commissions are not published and are directly reported to the council of the league. These commissions naturally work *in camera* and with the single purpose of arriving at solutions that may be *above all* reasonable and efficacious and at the same time acceptable to all states and governments. There is, finally, a permanent secretariat located at Geneva, which goes through an enormous amount of technical work necessitated by the periodical meetings. Although the fifth session recently commenced has to continue a well-established tradition, it has nevertheless excited special curiosity, unknown in former years. This is due principally to the presence of the three prime ministers of France, England, Belgium, Messrs Herriot, MacDonald and Theunis, who have thus testified to the

esteem, in which they hold the work of the League. The programme is no less interesting consisting as it does of 26 items. Among these are the protection of young women travelling alone, legal assistance to the poor, the demand of the Chinese Government for the reduction of its contribution, the control of armaments and the maintenance of peace in the world. The last two subjects are evidently the most important of all. It is necessary to determine the conditions under which, the League will proceed to control the armaments of Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, and exercise its rights of investigation in these countries. Then there is the question of German armaments, which according to the terms of the treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations will be called upon to regulate as soon as the inter-allied commission now sitting shall terminate its operations. The manner in which the League will deal with the Austrian and Hungarian armaments, will constitute a very important precedent to be subsequently applied to Germany. The league has also to examine the replies received from the different states, regarding the protocol or project for mutual assistance elaborated and submitted to them by the council. Thirty states have already replied, eighteen favourably with certain reservations. Among them are, France, Belgium, Italy, Czecho-slovakia, Roumania, Poland, Servia, Portugal and Finland. On the contrary, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Australia, Sweden, Norway, Spain, Holland, Switzerland and Denmark, have rejected the project. The French delegates will support the amendments detailed in a recent letter of M. Herriot addressed to the general secretary of the League. A counter proposal has privately been presented by the United States.

The proceedings of the League commenced with the usual ceremonial under the chairmanship of M. Hymans, the Belgian minister of foreign affairs. In his opening address welcoming the delegates, M. Hymans enumerated, not without legitimate pride, the first fruits of the league's work, and indicated the lines on which its work has so far proceeded. The adhesion of fifty four states, and the increasing importance of the problems, submitted to its arbitration, give grounds for hoping, remarked M. Hymans, that sooner or latter, the League will be able to fulfil its *raison d'être* and maintain the peace of the world. The League then elected by forty-five votes out of forty-seven, M. Motta, a former president of the Swiss Republic, as its chairman

for the present year. The delegates of the different countries then proceeded to nominate their representatives for the six sub-committees appointed this year for the consideration of (1) legal, (2) economic and financial and (3) peace and disarmament questions, (4) the budget of the League, (5) humanitarian and social and (6) political questions. Finally after the election of six vice-presidents, *viz.*, Messrs. L. Bourgeois (France) Salandra (Italy), Lord Parmoor (England), Urucceia (Columbia), Skrzyzanski (Poland) and Tang Tsi Fou (China) the League commenced its work of the present session.

The League has this year chiefly discussed the Polono-lithuanian conflict, the situation in Poland of the emigrants from Dantzic, the medical assistance to Albanians, the lot of Russian, Grecian and Armenian refugees, the financial relief of Hungary and the events in Georgia. But these comparatively un-important matters pale into insignificance when compared with the dominant questions of arbitration and disarmament and the signing of the protocol for the maintenance of peace which have throughout been the chief preoccupations of the League.

In the course of a recent letter to the *London Times* on the results of this year's Geneva Session, Lord Parmoor the British vice-president of the league writes:—

"I do not hesitate to claim on behalf of the British delegation (which acted throughout in close consultation with the representatives of India and the Dominions) that it achieved a notable success. The protocol which in no way interferes with the sovereignty of any nation as regards the use of its military, naval and air forces constitutes a great step towards the pacific settlement of all international disputes. I have endeavoured without success to ascertain a basis for the fantastic statement coupling the British navy with the League."

Among the Indian delegates to this year's session of the League Sir Muhammad Rafique, a retired Judge of the Allahabad High Court, delivered a fine speech on the 22nd Septem-

ber 1924 when the question of intellectual co-operation was under discussion. Said he,

'As an Indian I feel happy and proud to think that the culture of my country not so well understood in the West as it ought to be, will once again in the future, as by common consent it did in the past, contribute its own share to the attainment of the ideals on which the League is established. I have not the slightest doubt that by the efforts of this committee, the culture of India will be more widely appreciated and spread than it is to-day. I am here to proclaim the contribution which India is able and ready to make to the world's stock of knowledge from her own treasures, which are increasing every day through the labours of her devoted sons. I am here to declare the message which India has to give to the West from her deep and diffused spirituality, from her respect for ascetic ideals, from rare capacity for sacrifice and service, divorced entirely from material considerations. The East and specially my country. I may be permitted to remark, has many valuable thoughts to offer for the enrichment of the world's literature, science and philosophy, if only her sciences and institutions are properly understood and studied. Take for instance the Hindu culture, the proud inheritance of the vast majority of my countrymen, and you will find that before the dawn of history in the West it taught the lessons of universal brotherhood and universal peace for the acceptance of which this illustrious gathering is working to-day. The achievements of my countrymen in the past are beyond dispute. Their achievements to-day are worthy of serious notice.

As remarked by several European journalists, Sir M. Rafique's was the speech of the day. It was delivered in English and immediately translated into French, as French and English are the only two official languages recognised by the League.

The most recent proof of the real usefulness of the League is that Turkey and England have both agreed to refer back to the council of the League their acute dispute regarding Mosul. May the League's impartial decisions continue to command an increasing measure of confidence and thus ensure the peace of the world.

28th October, 1924.

A CALL FOR ASIAN EMANCIPATION

ONE of the prime requisites for attainment of Swaraj in India is to create self-confidence among the people, particularly the leaders and the younger generation that they may control and direct the destiny of the nation. This means that the people will

have to shake off their slave mentality. Certain Indians are singing the song that the people of India lack the experience of self-government and that they should wait and receive the instalment of self-government and the kind of self-government their masters

in England will in good time decide to confer on them.

The Anglo-Indian officials are loud to expound the theory that the inexperience of the Indian people in the field of self-government will be fatal to India's good. It amuses many of us who note that only less than ten years ago, the Labor leaders in England like the Rt. Hon. Ramsay MacDonald, and others were charged with being wild dreamers who would destroy the world-flung British Empire, if they were entrusted with the responsibility of running it. More than twenty of the present members of the British Parliament were put in jail during the world war for their political and economic views and the present Premier was held to be quite an irresponsible person; but these men are now governing the country. This fact should hearten the Indian leaders and should convince Anglo-Indian officialdom, if they are open to conviction at all, that the popular leaders of India, especially those who are today victims of the lawlessness of the British Indian Government, which is ruling the country by enforcing the Regulation III of 1818, will be the rulers of India. There is no power on earth to stop this destiny of the reassertion of India which will again give a humane civilization to the world.

The people of India and those of the other parts of the Orient are often told by the western people, particularly the so-called superior Anglo-Saxons, that there is no common honesty among the people of the Orient in matters of Government. But the people of India should not be discouraged about this allegation, as if corruption is inherent in all the people of the Orient and honesty and decency is the monopoly of the West. In the face of the facts that have come to light regarding the cases of abominable corruption during the world war, in the foremost western democracies such as Great Britain, France and the United States, it can be safely asserted that the spirit of decency and civic righteousness is not a monopoly of the West. There is a good deal of lawlessness even in very high places of the Governments of the western world. The story of corruption in British Air Ministry, jealousy between Lloyd George and Sir Douglas Haig (now Lord Haig) and the waste of public funds in Great Britain by some of the most prominent members of the British Parliament is not unknown to the people of India. The following story of corruption in

high places in New Zealand is an example of what can be found in other British dominions:—

EX-PREMIER ARRESTED AS THIEF

SIR RICHARD SQUIRES OF NEWFOUNDLAND CHARGED WITH \$20,000 LARCENY—OTHERS TAKEN.

St. John's, N. F., April 23.—Sir Richard Squires, former Premier of Newfoundland, was arrested yesterday charged with larceny. The charge was based on the findings of a commission which recently investigated alleged irregularities under the Squires government, which resigned last July.

Dr. Alexander Campbell, who was Minister of Agriculture in the Squires Cabinet, also was arrested on similar charges, as were John Meaney, former Government liquor comptroller, and Whitford McNeilly, formerly a clerk in the Crown Lands Office. All were admitted to bail.

Further arrests are probable, officials said. The specific charge against Sir Richard Squires was larceny of \$20,000 of Government funds. Campbell was charged with larceny of \$400. Meaney with theft of \$100,000 and McNeilly with larceny of \$30,000. The former Premier, Meaney and McNeilly were admitted to bail in \$10,000 each, while bail in the case of the former Minister of Agriculture was set at \$1,000.

It was announced that Alexander Rooney, Accountant-General in the Post Office Department, who is charged with larceny of \$3,000, had escaped to Canada two weeks ago, and that William O'Reilly former Magistrate at Placentia, would be brought to this city to-day on charges of obtaining \$12,000 by false pretences.

The Squires Government, which had been returned to power a few months before, resigned last summer after internal dissensions due to charges that there had been misuse of public funds. Attorney-General W. R. Warren, on accepting a mandate to form a new government, promised an investigation, and when no Newfoundland jurist could be found to conduct such an inquiry, the British Colonial Office named Thomas Hollis Walker recorder of Derby, England, to act as commissioner.

The charges, said to be the most serious that have been preferred against a government in British North America since the so-called Pacific scandal caused the fall of Sir John A. MacDonald's cabinet in Canada in 1873, fell into two divisions. It was alleged that Sir Richard Squires while premier had improperly received public moneys from the liquor control department and also received moneys from the British Empire Steel Company at a time when this company was negotiating a new ore royalty contract with the Government. A second set of charges alleged that waste and corruption were practised in connection with expenditures made by the departments of Agriculture, Mines and Public Works for relief and other services in periods of unemployment.

Commissioner Walker in his report, made public a month ago, found the charges against Sir Richard Squires sustained by the evidence. Dr. Campbell was declared guilty of misconduct and extravagance in connection with relief expenditures made through the Department of Agriculture. The alleged misconduct was in paying personal expenses from public funds and using the patronage of his department to advance his political fortunes.

The Commissioner severely censured various public officials who received payments for alleged extra services on the ground that these payments were illegal. The report closed with the hope that "exposure of all these conditions may result in the people taking steps to purge themselves from the same and effecting much needed reforms.—*The Sun (New York) Wednesday, April, 23, 1924.*

The French political world is ringing with accusations of all kinds of misuse of funds during the world war and also of reconstruction in the devastated regions.

The United States of America is regarded as the greatest of the western democracies. The people of the United States are surely the greatest of the idealists among the western nations. It is said that the United States entered the World War "to make the world safe for democracy"; and certainly the masses of this great republic did not have any other motive but to fight for the cause of human liberty, altho they might have been misled by the propaganda of the Allied Powers against Germany. Today we find that many responsible businessmen of the United States are charged with defrauding the Government in war contracts; and the amount involved in these cases amounts to billions of dollars. The United States Senate is now engaged in various investigations such as leasing of the oil lands reserved for the needs of the United States Navy to private corporations by cabinet ministers and at least one of whom received large sums of money from big oil interests for transferring the land to corporations which made huge profit. It is an open secret that many responsible Government officers of the United States of America during the last world war, disposed of property and business of private German citizens (enemy aliens) for much less money than their real value and thus indirectly profited themselves.

None should construe from the above facts that the United States is a nation of dishonest people. On the contrary, average honesty and idealism of the American people is most praiseworthy. The point I wish to emphasise is that the people of India and the rest of the Orient are in no way inferior in matters of innate national virtues such as honesty, toleration, to the people of the West. The ideal of international morality in world affairs is rather higher in the Orient than that is to be found in the West; because the power-mad West has a double standard of international morality, one for the so-called superior whites and the other for

the other races of people. The people of the Orient should also remember that while the Christian missionaries speak of Christian virtues and the superiority of the Christians over the heathen, they do not always tell the actual state of affairs in Christian lands which have dark sides as well.

The Orient indeed has much to learn from the West, but the West has much to unlearn, particularly its arrogance.

Corruption exists in the West, as it does in the East; this should not be an excuse for the people of India and the rest of the Orient to condone the evils and lack of efficiency in political and industrial life of the nation. There is nothing like innate backwardness of the people of the Orient and absolute superiority of those of the occident.

The time has come for the people of the Orient, particularly India, to demonstrate to the world that altho they are now in many ways at a disadvantage, altho there is a kind of conspiracy among the so-called superior white peoples of the world to keep the rest of the world under subjection, yet morally, politically and intellectually they (the people of the Orient) are in no way inferior to any people and they are determined to get out of this abject condition of subjection and supposed inferiority, through ardent sustained efforts and to bring about a new social order based upon the ideal of equality of nations through Asian independence and emancipation of all subject nations.

This ideal can be fulfilled if the people of the Orient can de-hypnotise themselves from the clutches of the idea of their racial inferiority and from the bonds of slave mentality. This can be accomplished through achievement. Let the younger generation of the Orient, particularly India, realise their responsibility and calmly devote their best energies to surpass the West in honest competition in the field of achievement and this will lead to permanent emancipation of Asia and therefore India and better understanding between the East and the West.

Asia, that in the past gave to the world Confucius, Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed and at present Tagore and Gandhi must emancipate herself to lead the world from its present condition—"civilised barbarism". There is not the least doubt that the West, which worships power, will not pay any attention to the genuine greatness of the Orient unless Asia can assert politically. This political assertion of India and the rest of Asia must

neither be regarded nor directed as a movement for national jingoism. In the call for Asian emancipation I see a special spiritual value, a new ideal of freedom for all, particu-

larly the emancipation of the "Power-mad West" from its present dangerous illusions.

New York City.

April, 24, 1924.

KAMAL

HISTORICAL RECORDS OF NORTHERN INDIA, 1700-1817

By PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR

I

I shall not deal here with the historical records of this period written in European languages. The English records have been mostly hand-listed up to 1793, and many of them have been printed, some in full, some in the slightly abridged form called calendars. The French records at Pondicherry have been catalogued and are in a rapid process of publication, thanks to the enterprise of the Society for the History of the French Colonies and the impetus given to Indo-French history by M. Alfred Martineau.

As for the Portuguese papers preserved at Goa, the more important of them, such as treaties, diplomatic correspondence, instructions to Government officers &c., have been printed by J. F. J. Biker in his *Colleccao de Tratados e concertos*, 14 vols. The other papers in the Goa archives are of minor importance, because in the 17th century the Portuguese ceased to occupy an influential position in Indian politics, and sank into a mere provincial power. They lost connection with the imperial Government of Delhi, and had diplomatic relations only with the petty chieftains in their immediate neighbourhood, such as the Savant of Vadi ("the Bounsello"), and the desais of Sunda, Sanquelin, Bicholin, Ponda, &c., besides a short war with Shambhuji. Early in the 18th century, they had some hostilities with the Peshwas: but after the peace with Baji Rao I in 1739 their relations with the Poona Government are indicated only by a small series of MS. reports from the Portuguese agents at the Peshwa's Court, in addition to what Biker has printed. The Portuguese records, therefore, cease to be of any value for North Indian history after the accession of Aurangzib.

II

The problem of Indian history in the Mughal period is to find out the most original sources of information. We, no doubt, possess the contemporary official histories, written by order of the Emperors of Delhi from Babur to Bahadur Shah I. But they are derivative works, as they were compiled from still earlier records, or documents written immediately after the events described. To this latter class belong (1) the despatches from the various provincial governors and generals, (2) the reports sent to Court by news-writers and spies, (3) the summaries of such of these despatches and reports as were read out to the Emperor in public Court and embodied in the *akhbarat* or manuscript news-sheets sent to the various Rajahs and nobles by their agents at the imperial *darbar*, and (4) the instructions of the Emperor and his ministers to officers absent on duty. Of the first and fourth classes much material has perished, and the only remnant now surviving is the handful incorporated in formal letter-books left behind by certain secretaries or *munshis* in the service of the Emperor and some nobles. No report of a Government spy or news-writer is now in existence in its full original form. Therefore, the scientific historian of the Mughal period is left to depend almost entirely upon the *akhbarat* or news-sheets telling us of the daily occurrences at the imperial Court, the Emperor's movements and public orders, and the news and rumours circulating there.

The importance of these manuscript newspapers or unofficial Court-bulletins has been described by me in a paper read at the Second Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore in 1920. I then called them the Missing Links of Indian History.

because at that time only two sets of these documents were known to exist, namely a large collection referring to Aurangzib's reign in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and twenty-two sheets only dated the close of Muhammad Shah's reign in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris.

Since then large masses of these raw materials of Mughal history have been traced. The earliest and most copious belong to the Jaipur State archives, and run from 1681 to 1725. Those of a later period exist in great volume, but dispersed over many collections and with sad gaps in their midst.

The imperial Government as well as private persons (such as dependent Rajahs) also kept news-reporters in the camps of the Mughal princes and other grantees who governed provinces or commanded expeditions. *Akhbarat* of this class has been found for Prince Muhammad Azam Shah's viceroyalty of Gujrat and Prince Bidar Bakht's governorship of Malwa, both in the closing years of Aurangzib's reign. The former belong to the R. A. S. and the latter to Jaipur. For the second half of the 18th century records of this class are copious as I shall indicate a little later. We thus get the raw materials of provincial history, though not in an unbroken series.

III

From 1750 onwards the Emperor's power rapidly declined and the importance of the provincial governors increased. The Delhi Court, therefore, fell into insignificance as the creative centre of political news; it merely continued as a sort of news-exchange. The wazir of Oudh, the Rohila sardar, the Jaipur Rajah, the Jat chief of Bharatpur, Sindhia, Holkar, the successors of Ahmad Shah Abdali, and even Ranjit Singh of Lahore, now dominated the political scene, each for a period only. Happily, many of the news-letters written from their camps and Courts have been preserved, though many more have perished.

But the news-sheets now change their character in two ways: First, unlike the *akhbarat* of Aurangzib's or Bahadur Shah's Court, they do not record any and every news heard there, nor mention every Court incident, great and small. They give longer accounts and of selected news only; or speaking in terms more familiar to us, they cease to be mere telegraphic summaries and assume more and more the character of news-paper reports. Secondly, they join together in one report the news of several days, sometimes a fortnight, instead of giving only one day's or sometimes

one noon's news only. This change made it necessary to use two or three very long sheets of paper, while the brief daily news-letters of Aurangzib's or even Muhammad Shah's time were compressed into one small slip of paper only. These late 18th century *akhbarat* exactly resemble the news columns of our old English weekly papers of the days before the telegraph.

The news-sheets also change their name at this period, being no longer designated *akhbarat-i-darbar-i-muala*, but simply *akhbar*, *sawanih*, *parcha-i-akhbar*, or *ahwal-i-taza*.

It may be objected that these news-letters are not authentic, as they contain only what was heard or rumoured at the place of their writing and are not of the same value as despatches and secret State-papers written by the makers of history. An examination of the real character of these *akhbarat* shows that the objection is based upon a misconception. For one thing, they do contain summaries of despatches received or sent out (except secret orders). Secondly, no secret could be kept in Mughal India. And thirdly, the news circulating at the Court of a king or the camp of a general, whether true or false, was the only information available to him, and it determined his line of action. We thus get from the *akhbarat* a knowledge of the true springs of his conduct and policy.

IV

The perishing of the greater part of the Mughal State-papers and Court-bulletins is due to a cause which European historians do not easily realise. In pre-British days the records of every department of the Mughal Government or a feudatory State were usually kept in the house of the Secretary of that department and not in any Government building or archives. No doubt, revenue returns, accounts, &c., would be kept in the record-room of the revenue department, by reason of their immense volume and the need of frequent reference. But all other papers, after they have been read and answered, and thus have ceased to be what we now call "Current correspondence", would be taken by the secretary to his own house, where he transacted his work when not in attendance on the prince or the minister. Administrative convenience dictated this practice, as, in the absence of a State archivist or general record-keeper, the secretary to a department was the only "walking index" to the old records of that department; he alone knew what papers were possessed by the Government

with reference to a particular case and where these papers were. None else could pick them out quickly.

The result of this old practice was disastrous for history, as Sir Dayakishan Kaul pointed out in his paper on the Patiala records read at Lahore in 1920. With the decay of the old families of hereditary secretaries, much valuable material of first-rate importance has perished. Masses of old paper have rotted in their houses or been swept away as rubbish by their poor ignorant descendants, while the masters of the old secretaries have neglected to recover these records from their houses.

V

The Jaipur State archives, as may be expected, contain a large mass of letters from the Mughal Government and the officers of the Rajah to him, besides a huge collection of accounts papers which will be of first-rate importance for the economic history of Rajputana in the 17th and 18th centuries, if such a history ever comes to be written. But one series which I had looked for there cannot be found, I mean the secret correspondence between the Marathas and the Jaipur Rajahs, which must be of very great value, as Sawai Jai Singh brought the Marathas into Malwa, and his successors had frequent relations, usually unfriendly, with the Deccani generals throughout the 18th century.

There are twelve rooms on the ground floor of the Amber palace stored with old State papers, all of which with a few exceptions have been eaten up and reduced to mould by white-ants. I could read three scraps of these and found them to have been sent by Rajah Ram Singh from Rangamati on the Assam frontier in 1674. These, so far as can be now judged from their appearance, were not papers of imperial interest or first-rate importance, but belonged to the minor class of salary bills, accounts, army-lists, revenue returns of villages &c. The old revenue papers of the various parganahs belonging to Jaipur, from the 18th century onwards have been carefully preserved with due arrangement in another office (the Mustaufi daftar) in Amber, (though here, too, some bundles are ant-eaten).

The Jaipur darbar is rich in the possession of a great number of genuine old *farmans* with their seals and embroidered cloth envelopes (*khariyas*) quite intact. These are of extreme value and may properly

adorn a historical museum. Nowhere else in the world has such a collection survived.

All the extant records of Udaipur have been embodied by Kaviraj Shyamaldas in his monumental Hindi history the *Vira-vinode*. Stray documents, such as *farmans* from the Emperors, *hasb-ul-hukms* and *parwanahs* from his ministers, and news-letters, are possessed by some other Rajput States, and even by private families. But the time and labour required in listing and co-ordinating them would be out of all proportion to their value. Most of them are later than 1740, and their owners are not always communicative. Lala Sri Ram, M.A., an enlightened *raia* of Delhi, has two volumes of diaries,—one dealing with the Marathas in northern India in 1792-3, and the other with the imperial family in Delhi fort in 1854-55—both of which have been described in the *Journal of Indian History* for Feb. 1922, (Vol. I, pt. 2.) They are of rather late dates; but his collection is always open to scholars. Some stray *akhbars* have gone to the India office, London. (See Etche's *Catalogue*.)

VI

The Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal of Poona is building up a store of late 18th century news-letters in Persian (particularly relating to Mahadji Sindhia), which promises to grow in volume if private owners in the Deccan are liberal enough to deposit their historical records of this class in the Mandal library, for ready use by research students. Several families of hereditary State servants of the Peshwa period, such as the Paras-nis, Waqnis, &c., still hold large or small bundles of old papers, which are perishing through neglect. The general ignorance of the Persian language prevailing in the Deccan will prevent the examination and use of these records in the houses of their present owners.

As for the news-letters and other historical papers written in the Marathi language, there was a very large collection of them in the house of Nana Fadnis at the village of Menauli. Some of them have been saved from destruction and printed by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, and some, I understand have been brought to the Poona Mandal. The entire collection, judging from their owner's position as the *de facto* head of the Maratha State for many eventful years, must be very valuable. They, however, refer to the last quarter of the 18th century.

VII

His Highness the Holkar of Indore has very copious records in the Marathi language, the earliest of which date back to the time of the first Malhar Rao, the founder of the dynasty. There are abundant reports from the agents of this State at the Courts of Oudh, Delhi, Jaipur, Calcutta, etc., in the second half of the 18th century, and particularly of the time of Ahalya Bai. A fire in the archives has destroyed some precious bundles, but much more has escaped with a slight scorching along the edge,—so that at the worst each paper in these damaged bundles has lost only three lines of writing. If these documents are properly arranged and calendared, it would win for His Highness the Holkar the praise and gratitude of the learned world.

It is not known to outsiders that the enterprise and perseverance of the Foreign Office of the Holkar's Government have secured, at an immense cost, faithful transcripts of all the English records in the India Office, London, and the Marathi papers in the Peshwa's Daftar, Poona, relating to Holkar, Sindhia and the Puars of Dhar. The city of Indore, therefore, can now afford nearly all the materials for a full history of Malwa in the 18th century. An earnest historian, if he is prepared to undertake this task, will probably find every help in the learning of Dr. Kibe, the ripe knowledge and devotion of Messrs. Mathu Lal and Phadke, and the scholarship of Mr. A. N. Bhagwat, who are directly connected with the records of Indore.

VIII

In the Land Alienation Office at Poona, miscalled the Peshwa's Daftar,—because the Peshwa's papers form only a fraction of its contents,—there are twenty-four bundles of historical materials in the Persian language. I have made a rapid examination of all of them. About half the mass is absolutely useless, being made up of children's copy-books, lithographed Persian works, fragments of MSS., and ordinary waste paper. An examination of them is apt to produce the hasty idea that the Inam Commission had made house-searches throughout the country, brought to Poona everything written in Persian and every scrap of old writing in Modi that they found anywhere, and left the bundles undisturbed ever afterwards. The fact is that the holders of inam lands deposited all their old papers without discrimination in the office of the Inam Commis-

sion, and these have remained there unexamined,—at least unsorted, unindexed, and unreturned. The only thing done has been to tie them up in cloth-bundles of a tolerably uniform size, by bringing together the papers of several families, without distinction of date or place.

Roughly half the contents are waste paper. About one-fourth consists of old revenue accounts of parganahs like Sironj, Chamargunda, Ahmadnagar, etc., and these are of little use now. But the residue of about one-quarter of the mass is true historical material, some of them being of the highest value. They may be classified thus :—

(i) Farmans from the Mughal Emperors and the older Adil Shahi dynasty.

(ii) Parwanahs or orders.

(iii) Copies of grants, attested under the seal of the qazi (*khadim-i-shara*).

(iv) News-letters from Northern India, and a few from British armies, mostly later than 1806.

(v) Private legal documents, such as bonds, agreements, receipts, jury reports (*mahazar*), and petitions to the Mughal Government.

IX

I shall here specially dwell on the fourth of the above classes. The original Persian news-letters that were sent from Lahor, Delhi, Lucknow, Jaipur and other capitals to the British Indian Government at Calcutta throughout the 18th century, have perished. But English translations of them made at the time have been preserved and are printed in 3 vols. of *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, with two others ready for the press. Similarly, the Imperial Record Office at Calcutta possesses a long series of letters written by Col. J. Collins, Resident at the Court of Daulat Rao Sindhia, to Lord Wellesley or his Secretary, during the very important period just preceding the Second Maratha War. (Only four of Collins's letters have been printed in Wellesley's Despatches ed. by Martin). These contain English summaries of the intelligence sent by traders and British agents from various centres in Upper India. We thus possess the news on which Wellesley shaped his policy.

But there is a vast collection of news-letters in the original Persian belonging to our Government, though not noticed hitherto. These are in the Poona Alienation Office and exceed a thousand in number.

refer to the period leading up to and during the last Maratha War. They came from the Courts of Ranjit Singh (who is called Lahorwala and Sardar, as he had not yet developed into a Maharajah), Amir Khan of Tonk, the Begam of Bhopal, Jagat Singh of Jaipur, Holkar, Daulat Rao Sindhia, Raghujii Bhonsle, Mudhaji Bhonsle Appa Sahib, Zalim Singh of Kotah, and the Nizam, and the camps of Ochterlony, General Beatson, and Metcalfe. Several of these packets of news still retain their covering letter,—some addressed to "Colonel Sahib." This very valuable mass should be flattened, properly arranged, listed, and made available for scholars.

The Land Alienation Office of Poona, on its Persian side, possesses in addition to these varied original materials for political and military history, also several documents fit to be exhibited in a museum, of which I shall here cite three examples:—

(1) The original farman of Shah Jahan, dated 1630, to Kheloji Bhonsle, the first cousin of the great Shivaji's father Shahji, praising him for his loyalty to the imperial cause and urging him to work hard and serve Yamin-ud-daula, the Mughal general in the Deccan.

(2) An order from Aurangzib, dated 9th January, 1690, warning the imperial collectors of provisions in parganah 'Chamargunda' not to molest the peasants in securing grain for the imperial camp.

(3) A petition from a high officer to the Emperor, making certain demands, with the Emperor's reply to each item of demand written in his own hand in the margin against it.

Many more such interesting documents might be picked up by a more detailed examination.

X

The result of the searches for historical materials so long made by me, may be summed up thus:—

Period 1700-1725 extremely rich in Persian *akhbarats* (mostly in London and Jaipur), Marathi documents very few, but Peshwa's Daftar likely to yield some.

1725-1757 . . . poor in Persian and Marathi sources. Much material has perished. Only 20 sheets of Persian *akhbarat* (1744) in Paris and four in Poona L. A. Office (c. 1754). The surviving Marathi documents have been mostly published.

1757-1781 . . . a small amount of Persian *akhbarat* still extant in the Poona Mandal; English trans. of many (originals lost) in *Calendar of Persian Cor.* Many Marathi papers already printed, and many news-letters in that language extant in Indore (but not yet catalogued). Many Persian *akhbarat* likely to come to light in Poona.

1781-1795 . . . very copious Marathi papers, (large numbers of them already printed by Parasnis, Rajwade, and Khare.) Enormous quantities of unprinted Marathi sources at Indore, Poona and probably also at Gwalior. Persian *akhbarat* already discovered, many for 1788-1795, and more are constantly accumulating at the Poona Mandal. Menauli records very rich in Persian and Marathi papers.

1795-1817 . . . huge collection of Persian *akhbarat* in the L. A. Office, and Mandal of Poona, with a few in the I. O. L. English summaries in the despatches of J. Collins, (Imperial Record Office). Marathi materials copious (many published down to 1803). English MS. sources not yet calendared.

THE ETERNAL CHINESE QUESTION

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

SOVIET RUSSIA ON CHINA.

THERE is civil war in China once more and, as usual, on constitutional questions. This time the situation is grave enough to invite "talks" among the great powers in regard to intervention. Curiously enough,

the only power that seems to stand by China's case against foreign intervention is Russia, the state whose enmity to the Chinese people was never less cruel than that of the nations whom she condemns to-day.

But perhaps the soul of Russia has been

purged through the fire-baptism of Bolshevik-philosophy. And so it has suited the leaders of the Soviet Federation of Russian Republics to challenge the right of the four "bourgeois"-imperialistic states, viz. Great Britain, France, the United States and Japan to interfere in the politics of China and the Far Eastern Seas.

CHINA, ROMANTIC AND REAL

Neither civil war nor foreign intervention is however a new thing in Chinese politics. These are some of the "eternal questions" with which every student of international law is familiar. But unfortunately, as a rule, people dare not look facts in the face and hesitate to call a spade a spade.

So far as China is concerned, the romantic idealism popularised by the writings of Bertrand Russell and John Dewey in English-speaking lands and by Rudolf Eucken and Keyserling in the Germanistic world has served but to propagate among the alleged friends and lovers of the Chinese people a false orientation in regard to the actualities. But the *Realpolitik* has to be faced today or tomorrow, romanticism notwithstanding.

PROFESSOR GOODNOW ON THE RIGHT OF FOREIGN CONTROL

In 1915 the American professor, Dr. Goodnow, as adviser to President Yuan Shikai of the Chinese Republic, submitted a memorandum of governmental systems. One of the reasons why he considered the restoration of monarchy desirable for China is that otherwise disorder would prevail in the country. And

"It is ***becoming less and less likely that countries will be permitted to work out their own salvation through disorder and revolution, as may have been the case during the past century with some of the South American countries. Under modern conditions countries must devise some method of government under which peace will be maintained or they will have to submit to foreign control." (*Journal of the American Asiatic Association*, November, 1915.)

This is a mercilessly frank statement, and the point of view would seem inhuman to Young China and to those of its idealistic friends who desire to see the Powers let the Far East alone. But this is only a scientific conclusion from the lessons of diplomatic history.

Writers on international law assert indeed that nations have every right to work out their destiny in their own way, or as the phrase has become current in the literature on politics during and since the Great War,

they have the right of "self-determination". But the rights of rebels, revolutionaries and secessionists, on the one hand, and those of foreign intervention in an independent state, on the other, are some of the other eternal questions that are left to the practical statesmen and the *vishvashakti* or world-forces, i. e., the conjuncture of circumstances to solve.

Now foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a state "to the point of actual destruction of its political independence" is neither to be the special misfortune of republican China nor an iniquity to be perpetrated for the first time in Chinese history. The question of the *form of government* for China is thus not specially affected by this danger.

INTERVENTION AS A POLITICAL METHOD IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

During the Middle Ages no European State could be called really sovereign even within its territorial limits. The Pope had the right to interfere in the local civics of Christendom, and his cardinals, legates and pardoners enjoyed "extra-territoriality" everywhere. Matrimonial relations and religious sympathies dictated, moreover, the foreign policies of rulers.

The ruler himself was in law but a landlord among landlords. The same landlord could in those days own manors and serfs under more than one king. A baron in one state could be king in another. The cities could form alliances among themselves, or with the feudal lords against kings, or with the kings against the feudal lords.

The Hanseatic League gave laws to the kings of Denmark and Sweden. Each of the Italian city-states was divided between the imperial Gibellin and the Papal-Guelph factions, so that both the German Emperor and the Pope freely took part in the intrigues of the little republics of Italy. Intervention was thus the very essence of the system of feudalistic politics in Catholic Europe.

FROM WESTPHALIA TO THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The peace of Westphalia (1648) is regarded as the first landmark of modernism in the conception of sovereignty. But even since then the independence of States has been infringed upon by the Powers on innumerable occasions. Today the ostensible object of intervention is the maintenance of peace in the "backward countries" in the

interest of foreign commerce and investments. At other times the pretext has been self-preservation, enforcement of a legal right, prevention of atrocities, considerations of humanity and so forth.

The death of Charles II of Spain in 1700 was an incitement to Louis XIV to interfere on behalf of his grandson Philip as a candidate for the foreign throne. The Spanish succession could not thus remain a mere Spanish question: it brought on a world-war in which the real issues were the expansion of commerce and the balance of power. The notorious partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795) are the standing monuments of the Powers right to intervention in a territory of political turmoil.

The partition of France, also, became a question of practical politics in 1793 under conditions similar to those of present-day China. Austria, Bavaria, England, Russia, Spain and Sardinia were to have obtained slices of French territory and left France a harmless third-class power.

In 1808 Napoleon ordered that Prussia should not keep an army of more than 40,000 men. The Holy Alliance (1815) was an open alliance organized for intervention. The Monroe Doctrine (1823), as a publicly announced defence against intervention, came into being on the assumption that the right to intervention was a fact.

AMERICAN INTERVENTIONS IN THE LATIN STATES

By the "Ostend Manifesto" of 1854 the United States declared the right to seize Cuba by force, should Spain be reluctant to sell it. America's intervention in the war (1898) between Spain and Cuba is an infringement of the rights of independent states, as also her notoriously hasty recognition of Panama as a republic (1903) in the midst of its secession disputes with Colombia.

FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN PERSIA

During the birth-throes of the New Persia (1906-1909), again, the constitutional or nationalist party has been constantly thwarted by the intrigues of Europeans with the Shah and his courtiers. The Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 defined to their own satisfaction the spheres of influence of the two foreign powers, and was followed by their joint demands on the Medjlis (national parliament) to obey the Shah (1908). The destruction of the first Medjlis was consummated by the Shah with the

"Cossack brigade" commanded by a Russian Colonel.

Then came the virtual annexation of the fertile province of Azarbaijan in North-East Persia by Russia on the all-too familiar pretext of safeguarding foreign interests during the second Persian revolution (1909) that eventuated in the deposition of Mohammed Ali. One must also mention the British ultimatum of October 16, 1910, which demanded the policing of the roads in Southern Persia by the Government of India at the expense of the Persian Customs Department.

THE "INTEGRITY OF TURKEY"

Last but not least, the intervention of Christian states whether individually or in concert in the Ottoman Empire was the most universally accepted article of faith among statesmen. The "integrity of Turkey," however, was indeed an asset of the British empire against Russian advance and was therefore solemnly announced at the end of the Crimean War (1856).

But the powers have still found occasions to interfere with Turkish rule in Crete, Armenia and Syria. The Berlin Congress (1878) virtually legalized and legitimized the international administration of the problem of internal reforms in Turkey. And it was the demand for European mediation in the administration of Macedonia that exasperated the Young Turks into the second Balkan War (1912).

SELF-DETERMINATION vs. INTERVENTION

And to crown all, the last war was brought about directly by the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, compliance with which would have implied the regular intervention of Austria-Hungary in Serbian administration. Can it not be affirmed, then, without being too cynical that "self-direction" or independence is the exception, and intervention, the rule in the history of international relations?

IMPERIAL CHINA IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

It is only in the perspective of all these world-developments in diplomatic intercourse that the problem of China can be intelligently grasped. To treat China as an exception in international relations would appear to be as great a fallacy as to regard Chinese civilization, social institutions, philosophy, arts and so forth as something peculiarly Chinese or distinctively Oriental.

We shall first discuss the "external"

sovereignty of China, *i.e.*, her relative position and prestige with regard to other independent Powers. In 1842 the Opium War deprived China of Hong-Kong. In 1859 Russia wrested from her 809 square miles north of the Amur River, the territory south-east of the Khingan Mountains, the Russian maritime province, and Vladivostok, and in 1871 the land between Balkash and China.

In 1871 Japan took possession of the Liu-Kiu islands between China and Formosa. Burma was lost to Imperial China in 1886. The French republic annexed Indo-China the same year and engineered subsequently the separation of Siam from Chinese overlordship.

The China-Japan war of 1894 led to the loss of Formosa and the virtual cession of Korea to the victors. In 1898 Kiaou-Chaou was seized by Germany, Kwang-chau-wan by France, Wei-hei-wei by England, and Port Arthur by Russia. By 1899, as Brown remarks in *New Forces in Old China*, "in all three thousand miles of coast-line there was not a harbour in which she could mobilize her own ships without the consent of the hated foreigner".

During all this period the Chinese empire had of course to pay enormous indemnities to the powers for the least loss sustained by the aggressors as missionaries, merchants or travellers even in out-of-the-way places. All this is surely "foreign intervention in China" "to the point of actual destruction of independence."

The only parallel is to be sought in the steps by which Turkey has been robbed of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, the Balkan States, Kuweitt, and recently Arabia and Mesopotamia.

THE STATUS OF CHINESE ABROAD

Let us now look to external sovereignty from the other side of the shield, *viz.*, with reference to the treatment of China and her people abroad. Between 1855 and 1905 Imperial China had to enter into humiliating "treaties" with the United States and accept from that power the most atrocious discriminative laws against the Chinese immigrants. Each of these laws was, moreover, a violation of treaties.

American citizenship was denied to persons of the Chinese race by the Burlingame Treaty (1868). The Treaty of 1880 compelled China to give the United States the right to restrict and suspend Chinese immigration.

China was not in a position to retaliate the massacre of innocent Chinese men, women and children in Wyoming, Washington and California (1885-1886). The constant outrages on the person and property of her people "legally" living on American soil remained unindemnified by the state of federal governments.

The Scott Act of 1888 and the Geary Act of 1892 relating to the status of Chinese immigrants in America reduced the empire of China to the most contemptuous abyss in the international world. In 1904 the United States finally re-enacted all the previous restriction-laws excluding Chinese immigrants. America's treatment of China for half a century is comprehensible solely on the postulate that China's independence was to be respected only on paper (A. C. Coolidge: "*The United States as a World-Power*", pp. 335-37).

THE EMPRESS-DOWAGER'S PATRIOTIC EDICT

It is clear, therefore, that towards the beginning of the twentieth century Imperial China descended to the nadir of sovereignty so far, as her external relations were concerned. We shall now study the state of her "internal" sovereignty about the same period, *i.e.*, the rights she exercised on her own territory without intervention from foreign Powers or their nationals.

Since the treaty of Nanking in 1842 China has been "opened" by over a hundred treaties with foreigners. Mostly commercial in character, these are documents of "concessions" which have deprived the Chinese in one way or another of their legitimate sovereignty over their own lands and waters. The military aggressions in Greater China coupled with the economic-political concessions within China Proper could not but draw from the Empress Dowager's hands a most dangerous edict bitterly "anti-barbarian" *i.e.*, anti-foreign as it was. It ran thus:

"The various Powers cast upon us looks of tigerlike voracity, hustling each other in their endeavours to be first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. They fail to understand, however, that there are certain things which this empire can never consent to, and that if hard pressed, we have no alternative but to rely upon the justice of our cause, the knowledge of which in our breasts strengthens our resolves and steels us to present a united front against our aggressors."

THE BOXER REVOLT

In 1900 the Chinese were driven to do what little Serbia has since done in 1914. They made a desperate attempt to defend their sovereignty against the intervention of the encroachers. The Boxer Uprising proved abortive, however, and left China not only ruinously indebted on account of indemnity but also completely humiliated and at the mercy of the Powers.

The treaty of 1901 forbade the Chinese (1) to import fire arms for two years, and (2) to hold official examinations for five years in the cities where foreigners had been attacked. It compelled them moreover (1) to add an important area of Peking to the already spacious grounds of the Legation Quarters to be fortified and garrisoned by foreign troops, (2) to raze to the ground the Taku forts which defended the entrance to Peking, and (3) to have the railway from the sea to the capital occupied by foreign troops. Under the terms of the same treaty, China had also (1) to execute the members of anti-foreign societies and (2) to summarily dismiss district officers and even provincial viceroys if they did not suppress anti-foreign outbreaks.

Germany, crushed as she is by the War, has since 1918 been experiencing all these Chinese conditions under the military, economic, and political bonds imposed upon her by the peace of Versailles.

THE CHINESE BOYCOTT OF AMERICA

The political nullity of the Chinese even within the limits of China Proper was thus categorically "declared" by the treaty of 1901. It became more clear in 1905 when the United States forced Young China to withdraw the boycott of American goods, ships and institutions it had decreed in retaliation of half a century's persecution suffered by the Chinese people at the hands of the Americans in the United States.

The Chinese government was reproached by the American minister at Peking for its "extraordinary supineness" in the matter; and was ordered to deprive Tseng Shaoching, the head of the Fu-kien merchants' guild in Shanghai and chairman of the boycott committee, of his official rank of *taot'ai*, and punish him in an exemplary manner. The boycott had thereupon to be disclaimed by the Chinese Foreign Office and at length suppressed by an Imperial edict.

MONARCHY NO SHIELD AGAINST INTERVENTION

These are not facts of anti-diluvian history and no profound antiquarian scholarship is needed to excavate these items in human relations. Nor has human nature undergone any revolutionary change during the last two or three decades although it has certainly been enriched with the experiences of the Great War, Bolshevism and the so-called league of nations. One therefore does not grow any the wiser by shutting one's eyes to the methodology of powerful neighbours in regard to the integrity and sovereignty of weaker States.

It is clear that long before the establishment of the republic, the powerful nations found reasons to interfere in China. Republic or no republic, therefore, they may assume direct administration of its government whenever, to use Goodnow's words "this is necessary to the attainment of the ends desired," provided, of course, the Powers can agree among themselves as to the partition of the spoil. The American expert's prescription of a monarchical form of government for China was therefore an absurd performance. It would be illogical and unhistorical to blame the republic for the misfortunes of China.

REPUBLICAN CHINA

There was no improvement in China's international status between the events of 1900 (and 1905) and the abolition of monarchy in 1911. It is sheer blindness to the realities (on the part of Eur-American political theorists) or patriotic timidity to look facts in the face (on the part of the Chinese themselves) that is responsible for the false idea that China was an independent country in 1911. There has besides, been no change in her position among the Powers during the twelve or thirteen years of the republic (*Vide* the present author's *Futurism of Young Asia*, pp. 230-247).

Rather, like the revolution of 1906 in Persia and of 1908-9 in Turkey, the Chinese revolution has resulted in the enfeeblement of the Orientals and the increase of alienism in Asia. Or perhaps, strictly speaking, Asian weakness has been brought up to the limelight just on account of these nationalistic, constitutional and republican upheavals. The world has been thereby made fully conscious as to how terribly incompetent Young Asia happens to be in the technique of modern life.

Only in one quarter has Kemal Pasha, luckily for Asia, succeeded in enhancing her

reputation by the international standard. But in other quarters Kemal Pashas do not seem to be forthcoming,—not at any rate in China for the time being.

THE MAKING OF BOUNDARIES

If the foreign interventions are normal or natural phenomena in China not less so are the civil wars. Weakness in the fields of finance, industry and military equipment has thrown the Chinese up into the arms of the foreigners. The war between the provinces, although ostensibly a constitutional struggle, is a symptom of another weakness. That weakness of the Chinese people has to be sought in certain rather unexplored fields.

And here it is necessary to expatiate a little bit on the boundaries of states, the limits of nationalities, or the manufacture of nations. On this subject there is a fallacy long prevalent among the students of political science in Eur-America. This has been imbibed from them by the intellectuals of Young Asia also. The fallacy is quite simple. People have got into the habit of applying to vast continents like China or India the formulae that barely explain the political jurisdiction of the latest types of more or less homogeneous "nation-states" in contemporary Europe.

Since the unifications of Italy and Germany, and under the influence of John Stuart Mill, the nationality-idea has taken a firm hold on the imagination of mankind. But political theorists as well as practical statesmen are prone to forget two important considerations with regard to its application.

First, Mazzini's idealism embraced a population which in strength of numbers was less than the fifteenth of that of China or of India today.

Secondly, Bismarck's "blood and iron" triumph embodied itself in a territory which in its area is about one-fifth of China or of India. United Germany is not larger than the single Chinese province of Szechuen in the S. W. or the Hindi-speaking provinces of the north-Indian Punjab, Agra and Oudh.

Scientifically speaking, one should expect therefore, the same number of "modern" nationalities enjoying "sovereignty" in the Austinian sense of *danda-dhara*, i.e. sanction-wielding power in China or India alone as one finds in Europe. A China or an India in the singular number in the twentieth century is as great an anachronism as the "Christendom" of Hildebrand and Innocent III, or the Empire of the Hohenstaufens, or

Dante's pious dream of universal Monarchy in "*De Monarchia*."

THE MEANING OF THE CIVIL WARS

One must not demand a higher standard of nationalism or political unity or state-making for Asia than what has yet been possible for Europe with its latest experiments in the Central and Eastern territories. It need, further, be observed that the chances for a "federation" in any of the Asian culture-zones (Chinese, Indian or Islamic) are as great or as small as among Latins, Slavs or Teutons of the Western world.

It is this "scientific" question that is being solved in and through the civil wars of China. There was a time when Tibet, Mongolia, Indo-China and other regions used to be known as veritable Chinas. The world knows the truth better today. Similarly the world is waiting to learn if Szechuen should be regarded as part of China along with Honan, Che-Kiang, Chih-li and other provinces or if the so-called eighteen provinces of China constitute for themselves a world of independent sovereign states. Herein lies the deeper meaning of the civil wars in China.

THE BIRTH-THROES OF MODERNISM

The recent revolutions are really phases in the modernization of the Chinese State. The disintegration of old China's limbs is the pivot of all these movements. Medieval Europe with its "indefinite incoherent homogeneity" had to be pulverized and transformed into a system of "definite coherent heterogeneity" in order to give shape to the modern states. By 1870 the vestiges of medievalism in state boundaries may be taken to have practically disappeared from Western Europe at least. Japan also bade adieu to the old state of things about the same time.

The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire between 1878 and 1912 has likewise been a move in the direction of "modernism" in South-Eastern Europe so far as the territorial limits of nationality are concerned. During the Great War the Bolsheviks embarked upon giving the dozen Russians of Eastern Europe a chance to find, determine or realize themselves on the "nationalist" principle. The Peace of Versailles has further operated along the same lines by manufacturing new states out of old.

It would be absurd to maintain that the boundaries of European states as they exist on the map in 1924, chequered as it is with irredentas and minorities, can be defended

whether on grounds of "nationalism" or according to the principle of self-determination. One should not, however, ignore the fact that the principal feature in the European wars and treaties down to 1918 consists in this conscious attempt at regulating the frontiers on what may be roughly, and perhaps vaguely described as "modern" lines. But in China, medievalism has been persisting until to-day. China's size and form adapted to modern condition have yet to come.

WHITHER IS CHINA TENDING ?

The world is waiting to see if the modernizing of China is to be effected along Indian lines, i.e., through slavery to alien domination

or along the Western and Japanese lines of unhampered and independent development. Is China going to become half a dozen enslaved Chinas or is she going to bring forth out of herself a bunch of free sovereign swarajes of the Mazzinian, Bismarckian or Leninian types?

Whatever be in the womb of the future, medieval homogeneity bids fair to be a thing of the past and a conscious heterogeneity to take its place. This is the real significance of the politics of Young China to students of social science whether as observers of the civil wars fought as they are over constitutional issues or of the foreign interventions that threaten its independence.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Pungabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

DYSPEPSIA AND ITS SELF-TREATMENT: By Jadunath Ganguli, B. A., M. B. Printed and published by M. B. Nath at the Biscanath Printing Works, Benares City. Price Rs. 2-8.

The author is an old graduate in arts and medicine of the Calcutta University and much of what he has written in this book is the outcome of his knowledge gained in the practice of his profession for over forty years and of his personal experience as a victim to the disease. He has given much good advice and many practical hints to avoid indigestion and its unwelcome complications. The name of the book is, however, a little misleading. Dyspepsia is more often a symptom than a disease by itself and is dependent upon a variety of causes, functional and organic, tractable and intractable, the treatment of which by the patient himself is not often possible nor desirable. We have no quarrel with the author if by self-cured Dyspepsia, he means the functional disorder following errors in diet or as the result of bad or irregular habits which, in a large number of cases, can be brought under control by well-directed efforts of the patient himself. But to use the general name and to say that the disease is amenable to self-cure, is open to grave objection. For instance, in the treatment of certain complications, the author has advised the use of highly potent and toxic medicines such as iodine, carbolic

acid, creosote, opium, belladonna, morphia &c., the selection and application of which it would be dangerous to leave to the discretion of the patient.

The chapters on the "Digestive organs and their actions," "Exercise or labour cure" and "Dyspeptic's Directory" contain much useful information and will prove a profitable reading.

We disapprove of some questionable methods of treatment recommended by the author. Those include among others the use of *grand-mother's nostrums, faith cure, inspiration cure*, &c., which cannot bear the test of a scientific examination and which detract not a little from the merit of the book.

The paper, printing and general get-up of the book are of medium quality.

CHUNILAL BOSE.

NARAYAN VAMAN TILAK: By J. C. Winslow. (Association Press, Calcutta—Re. 1-4.)

To the very valuable work which the Association Press has already accomplished by the publication of the *Heritage of India Series*, it is now adding a set of useful biographies under the title, the *Builders of Modern India*. The reputation of the late Mr. Narayan Vaman Tilak, the Christian poet of Maharashtra, was somewhat overshadowed by that of his more illustrious contemporary and namesake Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, but it is hoped that this biography will bring some well-deserved recognition to his memory. As in

the case of many enlightened Indian Christians of to-day, a change from the ancestral Indian faith did not mean any denationalisation with Mr. Tilak, and patriotism is one of the most powerful notes of his poetry. He writes, for instance, in his *Abhanganjali*, which we may mention, is a book of Christian devotion:

Think not of India as of a child's buffoonery or
a jester's tricks and airs;

Here have sprung mighty heroes of faith, at
whom the world trembles.

Here have sprung sages that were lords of Yoga
whose light abides unto this day,

Men whose faith was their very life, their all
and the world their home.

Yes, even here such kingly saints were born, and
in the hearts of all men they shine
resplendent.

What boots it to bring here a masquerade of
strange disguises and of foreign airs?

All that you gain you will squander in the
end, about your neck Ignominy shall lay
her garland.

He has brought to bear upon his Christian faith
all the emotional intensity of his Hindu ancestry
and the effect of his poetry is always elevating. We
have great pleasure in recommending the biography
to our readers.

P. SESHADRI.

MASTER RICHARD QUYNY: *By Edgar I. Fripp.*
(Oxford University Press) 7-6.

The literary critic has often to use facts of an author's life to understand and elucidate points about his work. This is legitimate and we have no reason to quarrel with him so long as he understands the limitations of the method and pays proper attention to the degree of objectivity of the work. The reverse process of trying to understand an author's life from his work is seldom satisfactory and if the form of the work happens to be dramatic, such an investigation is all the more likely to be futile. Our difficulty with Shakespeare is that through the paucity of the materials at our disposal we can seldom make the former attempt, whereas there are too many temptations to indulge in conjectures about his life from a study of his works. The great value, therefore, of a book like that of Mr. Fripp is in this that it advances, if only to a small extent, our knowledge of William Shakespeare the Stratfordian, and his friends and contemporaries. If this book had been content with merely telling us about the city-life of Stratford of the 90's of the sixteenth century, had given us mainly quotations from old documents and the letters of Quyny and Sturley, we should have had nothing but praise for it. It does this, but unfortunately it tries to do something more. It tries to find reflections of contemporary events in Shakespeare's dramas, to identify numerous passages as personal sentiment of Shakespeare and offers an interpretation of the sounds from the conception of Shakespeare as a morally blameless person.

To go through these points in order, it gives us a really delightful picture of a Stratford of the time. It tells us of Richard Hill and others of the Stratford Chamber, of Richard Quyny and Abraham Sturley, of Nicholas Barnhurst and George Badger, of Shakespeare's friend, Richard Tyler and Master Edward Greville of Milcote. We have the interesting information from the Baptismal Register that Richard Quyny's children, were the following:

William, Anne, William (the first Will. was dead), Mary and John. These were the Christian names of the poet, his wife, his mother and his father; and it is certainly an interesting coincidence, but one may not be justified in concluding from this that William Shakespeare was at Stratford to act as godfather to the two William Quynys. We hear a good deal of the City Chamber of which Quyny and Sturley were such prominent members. The proceedings of the Council were not always peaceful and both Nicholas Barnhurst and George Badger got into trouble, the former for using "lewd and bad speeches in the Council-Chamber" and the latter for "wilfully refusing to come to the Council Hall" and for "declining the bailiwick". Little details like these help us to visualise the old Stratford society, much more so than general descriptions of the wet summer of '94 and of the great fires of '94 and '95 can. The letters of Quyny, particularly those written from London, form very interesting matter too; and it is in such details that the charm of this book really lies.

Much less satisfactory are the author's conjectures about the identity of Quyny and Horatio or of Hamlet Shakespeare and various boy-creations of Shakespeare's works, while the attempt to find Shakespeare's religion in the environments of Silvia or Malvolio appear equally futile. In the interpretation of the sonnets too, the author is never on sure ground. His attempt to find Marlowe in the descriptions of sonnets 84-86 is mere conjecture; while his dismissal of the reality of the "dark lady" as "an impossible amalgam of qualities" would be open to various objections, foremost among these being this that an inconsistency in poetic descriptions proves nothing, each sonnet being expressive of the mood of the moment. Moreover it is very difficult to explain away sonnets 129 and 138 as mere poetic fiction; "the expense of spirit in a waste of shame" seems a little more than mere words.

Still when all is said and done, this work is one of the most valuable of recent contributions to Shakespeareana. It does an enormous service to all students of Shakespeare by bringing within their reach the three dozen or so of hitherto unpublished letters which help them to visualise Shakespeare's fellow-Stratfordians.

N. K. SIDHANTA.

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION: PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS, Vol. V. Calcutta, 1923. Superintendent, Government Printing, India. Price Rs. 3-2 as.

The Indian Historical Records Commission is doing very good work in later Mughal and early British history. The fifth volume of the proceedings contains many original contributions from notable scholars like Professor Jadunath Sarkar, Professor Beni Prasad of Allahabad, Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara and Prof. K. R. Qanungo of Lucknow. Mr. P. C. Nahar's genealogy of the Jagat Seth's family is a contribution in a style hitherto unknown in later Mughal history. Nobody but a true Murshidabadi could have dealt so lucidly with this renowned family of Bankers. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's "Affairs of the English factory at Surat, 1694-1700," is written in his usual charming terse but effective style and is full of original information. The most interesting articles in the collection are "Old Judicial Records of the Calcutta High Court" by Mr. Badruddin Ahmad, B. A., Keeper of Records, High Court, Calcutta. How many people in India

know that the traitor Musalmans of Murshidabad at last turned against the British East India Company? Mirza Jan, a cousin of Sahib-i-Alam (a prince of the Mughal Imperial family) conspired against the British, with Shamsuddaula, a son of the Nawab Nazim, Mubarakuddaula of Bengal. He sent letters to Zaman Shah the Pathan king of Afghanistan inviting him to invade India and to drive out the British in 1798. He sent a noble man of Lucknow named Mustaufi-ul-mulk Mirza Abdur-Rahim Khan as the messenger to Kabul. Another man, Sayyid Ashraf Ali Khan was sent to Behar to incite the zamindars of that province to rebel against the British. Such feats on the parts of the traitors of Murshidabad might have saved the Mughal empire from total destruction in 1756-57. Another notable paper is from the pen of Khan Bahadur Sayyid Abdul Latif, B. A., B. L. Calcutta, on the will of the great noble Shayista Khan, the maternal uncle of the emperor Aurangzeb, the brother of the celebrated empress Mum-taz-i-Mahal, the son of Nur-Jehan's brother, Asaf Khan, one of the premier nobles of the Mughal empire during the reigns of Shah-Jahan I and Aurangzeb Alamgir. The descendants of Shayista Khan still live at Agra and Dacca. Shayista Khan's will discloses the fact that his properties were distributed in different parts of the empire. The following provinces contained the personal property of this noble:—(i) Thatta or Sindh, (ii) Multan or Lower Punjab, (iii) Lahore or Upper Punjab, (iv) Ajmer or Rajputana, (v) Burhampur, or Khandesh, (vi) Allahabad, (vii) Akbarabad or Agra, (viii) Guzarat or Ahmedabad, (ix) Kabul, and (x) Kashmir. The author does not say where the will is preserved and what are the distinctive proofs of its authenticity. An illustration of this important document would have been very welcome.

R. D. BANERJI.

ANCIENT MID-INDIAN KSHATRIYA TRIBES, VOL. I: By Bimalacharan Law, M. A., B. L., Ph. D., with a foreword by Dr. L. D. Barnett. Published by Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta & Simla, 1924, pp. vii + 166 + ii, royal.

Sainte-Beuve, in his *Portraits Littéraires*, lays it down as a criterion of historical criticism, that a collection of opinions and odd facts constitutes neither history nor even a book. Dr. Law's work, according to that canon, is not a book, much less a history.

From the start (pp. 1-10) Dr. Law reveals his method. Quotations begin from the Rig Veda coming down to Rapsun—the whole leading to? Nowhere. Un-proved identifications reverentially repeated, (e.g., in p. 117): Stray Buddhist and Jaina dicta generously thrown into the melting pot, (pp. 110-11) etc. Lots of contradictory opinions or to be more precise, contradictory opinions in lots—the net result, a blank. The real historical method of testing every legend, feeling the psychology of the times and tracing its inward evolution gradually, gathering shape in outward events, all inexorably drawing on towards their steady fulfilment, is wholly and rigorously excluded.

Even about the forms of words, the choice is purposeless, e.g., ingenuity about the form *Siri* is needlessly baffling, a commoner form causes less irritation.

A desire to write books is laudable, but a mere collection of materials becomes a heap and an bore.

Dr. Law is fortunate, as a rule, in enlisting some English experts on Indian literature or history to write a foreword to his books and this time he has secured Dr. Barnett who has lately distinguished himself as ushering in a new era in reviewing, in the pages of the J. R. A. S. (cf. his flippant remarks on Rabindranath Tagore and Indian history, J. R. A. S.), as a *Sabjanta* scholar claiming to speak both on Cretan archaeology and the Visvabharati with equal authority in the course of one review.

Dr. Law's book is interesting only for one admission of that all-knowing critic. He approves of Krishna as a historical person and points out that Arishtanemi was a contemporary of Krishna. This is a right deviation, but he reverts to the Bharata battle at 950 B. C., an example of the force of *Samskara*! Of course, a search has to be made for men in this country who would accept that date. Yet, after all, there is a slight progress even in Dr. Barnett's Indology!

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.

JESUS OF NAZARETH: HIS LIFE AND TEACHING: By Francis Kingsbury, Madras, 1924, 1s-6d.

The feature of this small book which attracts attention is that it is dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi, 'who has made Jesus of Nazareth a reality to the people of India and to the nations of the world.' The author was an Army Chaplain to His Majesty's forces in Iraq. He discards all nature miracles, and is of opinion that the fact that Jesus believed in demon-possession does not bind his followers in the twentieth century to believe in it. The book therefore appears to be written in a liberal spirit. It is well printed, and as a biography of Jesus Christ is likely to be useful to the lay reader.

POL.

SOURCE BOOK FOR THE STUDY OF INDIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, PART II: By Prof. Brij Narayan, M. A., Published by the Punjab Printing Works, Katcheri Road, Lahore. Price Rs. 3.

The study of official Reports is an invaluable asset to the students of Indian Economics. Prof. Brij Narayan has shown remarkable scholarship and ability in bringing out this book of about 450 pages in which he has given a summary of numerous official papers. The book will be found useful by many who are interested in Indian Economics.

THE A.B.C. OF INDIAN FINANCE: By K. M. Purakayastha, M. A., published by the author from 233 Old Chinabazar Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

In this book the author has dealt with the Public Finance of India. This is a subject in which all taxpayers (practically all Indians pay taxes in one way or another) are interested, and a book of the nature of Mr. Purakayastha's A.B.C. of Indian Finance should find many eager readers. He has given in his book a comprehensive but short account of Indian Finance from before 1860 A. D. down to 1923 A. D. He has also dealt with all the principal items in the Receipts and Expenditure of the Government of India.

ULTIMATE VALUES IN THE LIGHT OF CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT: By Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, Litt. D. (Cambridge), LL. D. (Glasgow). Published by Hodder Stoughton Ltd., Warwick Sq., London. Price 3 sh. 6d. net.

Prof. Mackenzie is a thinker and scholar of accepted merit and is well known in Indian intellectual

tual circles. This little book on a difficult philosophical topic has brought out clearly the learned Professor's deep insight into philosophical subtleties. A popular and easily understandable treatise on the philosophy of life is a thing which few men can produce. Prof. Mackenzie has done it and done it very well.

BUSINESS ORGANISATION : *By D. Pant, B. Com., F. R. E. S. & F. S.S. Published by the Commercial Book Company, Brandreth Road, Lahore*

This is a compact little book on Business Organisation in which the author, who is a lecturer in the University of Lucknow, has discussed the organisation of the main types of Economic institution e.g., Joint-Stock Companies, Combinations, Co-operative Institutions, Agricultural Industries, Financial Institutions, etc. He has also discussed export and import trade, scientific management and advertising. The book is well got up and handy.

A. C.

TENDENCIES OF MODERN ENGLISH DRAMA: *By G. F. Morgan. (Constable and Company Ltd)*

The stage looms very large in the history of all civilised nations, and even those peoples who are described as 'uncivilised' also make much of play-acting. As the mode of life and ways of thought of nations alter, the character and aspect of their drama alters also. In fact while drama has a great effect in educating the people into ways of thought, it itself is influenced largely by the conditions and ideas of every-day life. Sometimes the characteristics of drama remain in one groove for a long time, sometimes they suddenly change with a swiftness that is almost incredible. Readers will therefore be much interested and indeed instructed by Mr. Morgan's very timely book. Drama has two functions. One is to assist the mind to escape from the sordid details of life, and present to the eye of the imagination new and enthralling vistas. The other, which is far more important, is described by the author of this book: "Its greatest function, like that of all art, is to assist us to penetrate into and to interpret life rather than escape from life." Every great drama, says the author, should be the artist's "implicit commentary on life." "Drama is an image of life. But it must be an interpretative image." With these ideas as the ultimate test of the goodness or badness of a dramatic tendency, the author approaches his subject. In the Eighteenth Century two tendencies were prevalent. The one was to make of drama a mere farce or burlesque. And the other to produce sententious, sentimental and excessively moral plays which did not bring drama into touch with life in any sense. The dramatist of those times kept his attention fixed on the stage or the work of other dramatists, and disregarded life. Drama thereupon lost most of its value and did not even attain to the dignity of being an art worth considering. A sudden change however was coming and the forerunner of that change was the Norwegian Henrik Ibsen. Properly to give an account and a criticism of the book before us would entail far more space than any editor would care to allow. The first few chapters deal briefly with authors now little before the public such as Sheridan Knowles and Douglas Jerrold whose play 'Black-eyed Susan' attained very great success. It is interesting to learn that Browning wrote for Macready his play 'Stafford' which however was a failure. Of Bulwer Lytton who gave to the public anonymously 'The Lady of

Lyons' and thereafter 'Richelieu' and 'Money'—plays which won and long maintained immense popularity, the writer of this book has not much opinion. Their sentiment, says he, is sentimentalism, their grandeur a pose. The work of bringing about a reform in drama was materially assisted by Robertson, whose play 'Society' roused immense interest and appreciation because of its witty dialogues and broad satire. Special attention is given to writers such as H. A. Jones and Pinero. All bore their share in changing the aspect of drama to a certain extent, but the real force which converted the drama from a dull almost dead thing into a living and influential entity, was a young man called "Shaw who was writing most extraordinary and absurd things". George Bernard Shaw of course is known to every one. The way to attain to fame as described, if we remember right, by Oscar Wilde, is either to feed or amuse or shock the people. George Bernard Shaw both amused and shocked people, but he was and is a true teacher—his 'happy knack' is to seize more "quickly than most the significance of what is new in thought and discovery and present it in such a pleasant and effective manner as to make it lodge in the consciousness of the public".

Modern drama is a drama of ideas and a large portion of this book is devoted to the study of Shaw as a philosopher. In fact the author contrasts the point of view of approaching the study of Shaw with that of Synge. In the former, his philosophic aspect should attract attention, in the latter his aesthetic aspect is more worthy of attention. There are very closely reasoned chapters in this book on Shaw, the dramatic iconoclast, Shaw, the social iconoclast and Shaw, the philosopher, in which his objects and methods are exhaustively discussed. The three chapters form a study in themselves. Granville Barks and Hankin receive a chapter each. One of the foremost tendencies of modern drama is the emphasis on the emancipation of women. All these writers lay great stress on it, and their characters very forcibly justify to themselves and others the importance and correctness of this movement. The study of Galsworthy shows how that very great writer is successful in drama. His plays are extremely well made. He is familiar with the stage and knows what can be done on it and although he rarely introduces humour into his work the plot is always interesting—"his artistic ideals are always maintained at a high level and his purpose is ever noble." His pity for the sorrows of mankind only degenerates into sentimentalism when he deals with child characters. It is a curious fact on which the author remarks that no dramatist has been able successfully to portray a child character. From Galsworthy we come to the Irish pioneers—Yeats, Martyn and Lady Gregory. The value of Yeats is not so much, we are told, in his own work but in his inspiration and guidance to younger men. To Lady Gregory is directly due, Mr. Morgan thinks, a great deal of the theatrical and dramatic success of the modern Irish revival. Synge is a name not very familiar to the general public. His early death prevented him from attaining to the very highest in his art but "even in the work that we have there is sufficient quantity and all the quality to warrant us in assigning to him a place second only to Shakespeare". Under the heading Drama of Revolt the author brings to our notice the works of Houghton and Miss Githa Sowerby. There are

chapters on Irish dramatists and more Irish dramatists. Under the heading "Fairy Tales" we come to the works of Sir James Barrie. Masefield is next dealt with and his occasional coarseness is explained. "Revolting against the cant and humbug of the art of a past day he sometimes goes to the extreme of violence and crude brutality." Drinkwater, the author thinks, will not find appreciation from more than a small select audience. Mr. Morgan hardly does justice to Flecker whose "Hassan" is probably one of the greatest dramas written since Shakespeare and has taken London by storm. Flecker was essentially a poet and even "if he had become a dramatist he would nevertheless always have remained a poet".

Certain aspects of this book have been here set down. The author has shown how the tendencies of Modern English Drama are to abandon the artificial and to come to the real—to attempt to find things at their proper value and to come to grips with life itself. He considers that after all the superstitions of old times, the book-maxims and the awe of the so-called superior classes have been swept away. English drama is coming into its own as an influence to stimulate thought, encourage greater charity to fellow-beings and to display and promote culture and the love of art and poetry as an aid to the mitigation of the sordidness of life. The book betrays the work of an artist and a scholar, as well as that of a critic. The author's judgments are copiously illustrated by extracts from the works of those authors and dramatists with which he deals. The subject covers a very large field and every page is full of interest. The book is not only a study of the drama. It is a very deep criticism on every-day life. There are parts of it which are highly controversial, but it is safe to say that any reader whether he be a student of the drama or not cannot fail to derive much pleasure and profit from the very acceptable book of Mr. Morgan.

R. C. B.

ESSAYS IN THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION: By F. Clarke, Professor of Education in the University of Cape Town. Published by the Oxford Press, pp. X+158. Price 5s.

There are nine chapters in the book, viz.—(i) The Need for a Philosophy. (ii) Education and Society, (iii) Liberal or Vocational? (iv) History in the Primary School. (v) What is Secondary Education? (vi) The Juvenile and Colour. (vii) The Civil Status of the Teacher. (viii) The Study of Education and (ix) Conclusion and also an appendix.

There is a certain raggedness and want of harmony in the thought of the several essays, though some of them are well written.

In the chapter on "The Juvenile and Colour" our author says that the Colour bar "may take a variety of forms. It may involve complete economic segregation of coloured from white....or it may demand that Coloured workers be placed in a condition of permanent helotry and confined to laborious and menial occupations in a sort of semi-slavery. More commonly the Colour Bar is taken to mean a reservation of certain trades or branches for the white man as in certain parts of Transvaal where the white man paints the safe and easy lower parts of the telegraph poles and the native, the difficult and dangerous top, wages being in inverse ratio to the height at which the work is done." (109-110)

The author then remarks :—"When it appears to the white citizen of a country like South Africa that the bread is being taken from the mouths of the children by the competing coloured man, the sense of trusteeship, though still present, is apt to become strongly diluted, with apprehension. Outside critics should never forget that the first and foremost object of the South African citizen is the establishment and maintenance of a civilized modern state on a Dark continent." (p. 110)

His conclusion is :—"It would seem, then, that for a long period yet it will be necessary to continue a regime of differential advantages for the European and tutelage for the coloured man and juvenile. The security of a civilized order is bound up still with the maintenance of white superiority." (p. 115) Comments are useless.

AFTER TRUTH: By R. S. Published by Srimati Radharani Dutt, 7 Dinabandhu Lane, Calcutta, pp. 96 Price -16/- annas. 355 good precepts.

ISRAEL BEFORE CHRIST: By A.W.F. Blunt. Published by the Oxford University Press, pp. 144 (Illustrated)

It is a popular and readable account of Social and Religious development in the old testament.

It is written from the standpoint of orthodox Christianity.

MAHES CH. GHOSH.

BENGALI

ISLAM-ER ITHAS (HISTORY OF ISLAM): By Quazi Akram Husain, M. A. Moslem Publishing House, Calcutta. Rs. 2-8.

The author is to be congratulated on his manner of presentation, and he appears to have a mastery of Bengali composition. He is right in holding that a popular history of Islam was wanting, and we have no doubt that he fills a real want.

The book under review deals with the growth of the Islamic faith from the time of the Prophet Muhammad and the progress and doings of the Musalman races of past ages and of many climes. The term Muslim race is a misnomer, as Islam connotes a creed and not race; but all believers in this creed may legitimately take pride in the achievements of other races under the inspiration of this religion. The Muhammadans of Bengal who take no notice of the history of Islamic lands, are rightly held by our author to be unfortunate in the extreme. As Hindus and Muhammadans have been thrown together in one land under one sun, it is all the more necessary that here in Bengal the Hindus should know the history of a creed with millions of votaries of which they are bound by destiny. The author's contention that the peace and prosperity of the country depends upon such a harmony, ought to command the assent of the reading public, to whom we can with some qualifications recommend this book.

It is a pity that the author has not laid under contribution several authoritative works on the subject which would undoubtedly have enhanced the merit of his book. We would strongly advise him to go through the following works when it is necessary to publish a second edition of this history.

Muir's *Caliphate*; Cambridge *Med. Hist.*, ii, iii, iv; Noeldeke-Studies (secondary); von Kremer (Eng. tr. by Khuda-Bakhsh); Browne's *Lat. History of Persia*, i. (first rate); *Encyclopedia of Islam*; Lane-Poole's *Hist. of Egypt*; Dozy's *Spanish Islam*; Amir Ali's works (critically and sparingly).

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJEE.

PRAMELIKA (THE RIDDLE): By Birendra Kumar Datta, M.A., B.L. Second Edition. Pp. 760. Price Rs. 4. Gurudas Chatterjee and Sons, Publishers, 203-1-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

We had occasion to review the first edition of this novel at length in the columns of this magazine. Since then the book has received very high praise from Rabindranath Tagore and also in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission. The fact that a second edition has been called for shows that the public has begun to appreciate the book, though it contains no thrilling incidents, and deals only with the homely joys and poignant sorrows—mostly the latter—of rural Bengal. The few provincialisms which were to be found here and there in the first edition have been mostly expunged, and the bulk has been slightly reduced. The printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired. The author's style is quite simple, and yet most impressive. His love of nature and faculty of observation are manifest in every page. But what gives the book an individuality all its own is the boldness with which the author tackles all the social problems which agitate the bosom of modern Bengal, its moral perplexities and intellectual difficulties. With Tennyson, the author believes that there is more truth in honest doubt than in half the creeds. The conflict of faith and reason, religion and science, and the havoc wrought by it in the minds of the intelligentsia, and its influence in moulding the life of the more highly gifted of our educated young men, have been depicted with a masterly hand, and at the same time, by slight touches here and there, the dead-weight of custom and tradition in the practical lives of the mass of our so-called educated men has been laid bare. The book is written in a serious vein, and is not to be lightly laid aside after a hasty reading, as books of fiction usually are. The story is simple, charming, pathetic and pervaded by a slight vein of melancholy; an appropriate background of arcadian sights and sounds gives a natural setting to its quiet unfolding. But the philosophic doubts of the hero, the passion for social service, the burning indignation at man's inhumanity to man, the exposure of all the mischief that is being done in the name of popular Hinduism, all this must be felt and read and inwardly digested in order to produce their full effect. A perusal of the book, will, we can assure the reader, produce the best of results among our educated young men by filling their minds with noble impulses and challenging their most deep-rooted prejudices to come out in the open either to justify themselves, or what is more probable to be shamed out of existence. We hope the book will go on doing its noble work long after the author as well as the reviewer have ceased to be, and successive editions will testify to the real need of constructive work, apart from politics, which must be done up and down the countryside before the nation can be born again in its cottages.

SANSKRIT

Pal.

NITIVAKYAMRITA OF SOMADEVA SURI WITH A COMMENTARY: Edited by Pandit Purnabhai Sen. Published by Pandit Nathuram Premi, Sec. 172, Middle India Book Granthamala, Allahabad, Bombay. Pp. 354-127. Price Rs. 1-12.

Broadly speaking, among the general subjects dealt with in Brahminical works there is scarcely

one to which considerable contribution has not been made by the followers of the Jain religion. This fact is daily supported by the publication of their different books in which the *Nativakhyamrita* is included. Indeed, it enhances the value of the well-known series, *Mamkhand Digumbara Jama Granthamala* of which it forms the 22nd volume. The author, Somadeva Suri, is also the writer of a big *Champu Yasastilaka* (10th Century, A. D.), published in two parts with Srutasagara's Commentary from the Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay.

The *Yasastilaka Champu* is an important work in various respects, for it contains among others, some historical facts. It appears that the *Nativakhyamrita* was written by him after it. It deals with polity and as such it has its special importance. Dr. Shama Shastri refers to it in the introduction to his English translation of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (p. xxi) and says that it seems to him that the former is based on the latter. In support of it he quotes some parallel passages from both the works. The list of them could further be lengthened as has been done in his introduction by Pandit Nathuram Premi, Editor, *Jamhatishc*, a first-class Jain monthly now unfortunately discontinued. The Doctor is, however, not right in saying so, for it will be perfectly clear to one who will take a little trouble to read both the books carefully. One will know it at a glance that the work is not based on any particular book or books, but is compiled by the author in his own language, and style from the sayings found in various ancient works as shown in the *Tika*. The very quotations in the *Tika* read with the original text with particular attention to the wording in both of them will strongly support the fact.* This fact also leads us to think that the author of the *Nativakhyamrita*, Somadeva Suri, is identical with the commentator whose name is still unknown. It must have been a point of the commentator that he would not allow to pass a *sutra* without quoting an authority in its support.

The commentary quotes a good many unknown or generally unheard-of authors. One importance of it is that it refers to *Bhaktakatha* several times. The original book is composed in *sutra* form and in a very simple language. It is divided into 32 chapters, AMS, belonging to Madras Oriental MSS. Library, as says Prof. B. Seshagiri Rao in his *Studies in the South Indian Jainism*, pp. 88-91, has only 29 chapters omitting nos. 27, 30 and 32. The subject-matters of the respective chapters are as follows:

1. Dharmya, 2. Artha, 3. Kama, 4. Arisodhaya, 5. Vyaharaddha, 6. Arisodhaya, 7. Trayi, 8. Varta, 9. Dandaniti, 10. Mantrin, 11. Parohita, 12. Senapati, 13. Duta, 14. Gana, 15. Vira, 16. Vira, 17. Samin, 18. Arisodhaya, 19. Jappada, 20. Danga, 21. Kosa, 22. Bala, 23. Mitra, 24. Rajaratna, 25. Pita, 26. Subodhaya, 27. Panchaya, 28. Vira, 29. Sadagunya, 30. Yuddha, 31. Tucha, 32. Pradhana.

Now, the importance of the work can easily be estimated from the above contents. It occupies a place next to Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and as such

* Refraining from a tedious prolixity we shall not here enter on a long passage, in the way of example: p. 94, N. (Nativakhyamrita) 10: 1 at in the original commentary; p. 97, N. 11: 1; Harita; p. 98, N. 18: 1; Harita; p. 211, N. 65: 1; Prasad; p. 216, N. 69: 1; Sutra; p. 217, N. 70: 1; Sutra.

deserves to be studied earnestly. No student of Indian polity should be without a copy of it.

This book was first published by Messrs Gopal Narayan & Co., in Bombay about 25 years back. It was then translated into Marathi and Gujarati under the patronage of the Maharaja of Baroda. A few chapters were also rendered into Hindi and published by Pandit Nathuramji in his *Jainahitaisi*. The present edition though commendable, leaves much to be desired. A critical edition, remains still to be undertaken.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI

ANTARASHTRIYA VIDHAN : By Sampurnananda Ji, B. Sc., L. T. Published by Jnana Mandala. Kashi. 1981. Price Rs. 2-12 as. Pp. vi+326.

It is so far the first attempt in Hindi to give a systematic idea of some of the main principles of International Jurisprudence, and as such it is highly welcome. The author of the present work has, however, failed to utilise the great continental jurists like Savigny, Kohler, etc. His sources are only English and even then his choice is open to criticism. The book itself is divided in four chapters: I. is introductory, II. deals with international laws during Peace, III. during War, IV. laws of Neutrality and V. a formation of International Federation.

Though in no way original, the book is likely to prove useful to a large body of students who are unacquainted with any Western language.

A. BANERJEE-SASTRI.

GOŚWAMI TULSIDASJI—By Ramchandra Shukla and published by Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha (Benares). 241 pages. Price Rs. 1-8 as.

The book is divided into two parts:—the first part contains some of the informations of life and miracles said to have been wrought by the great poet, reformer and ascetic, as described by all his biographers during the last sixty years; therefore though interesting it contains nothing new. The second part (Alochana Khund) is quite a new departure from the old beaten path and is a valuable addition to the fast growing Hindi Literature, being a critical study of the great man's life, works and teachings. Though I do not agree with all the views of the critic, still I find the book to be really of great interest to those who are not satisfied with a few facts of his life, but want to understand where the greatness of Goswami Tulsidasji really lies, as well as his religious, social and moral teachings. I am sure it will be appreciated by all the lovers and students of Hindi Literature.

ANURITLAL SIL.

TELUGU

"KOYILA PATALE": By Mangimudi Purushottama Sarma. Printed at the Kesari Printing Press, Rajahmundry, 1924. pp. 50. Price 6 annas.

This volume of poems is written in the well-known free-verse style which suits admirably the author when he wishes to express his conceptions. Much allegory and symbol of a very charming kind can be seen on every page. It is a very attractive addition to the scanty literature of this type to be found in the Telugu language. A fresh volume of this kind is sure to be received with pleasure and all ears for him a secure place among the really helpful writers of the day.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAO.

MARATHI.

AHARSHAstra-PRAYESH OR INTRODUCTION TO DIETETICS: By Messrs Jogalekar and Sant. Published by the Authors at Babajipura, Boroda. Pages 156. Price Re. one.

Importance of a change in one's diet in consonance with the change in one's habits and circumstances is not sufficiently recognised in India, says the author, and proceeds to explain the essential elements to be included and their proper proportions to be kept in one's diet. But he has nowhere explained wherein lies the defect in the present diet of our people, which is proved by ages to be most agreeable and salutary to health. However the information given in the book, so far as it goes, is useful and the proper observance of the author's instructions with regard to the use of vegetables and condiments &c. will go a long way to conduce to the comfort and good health. In this lies the value of the book and it is not inconsiderable.

STRIYANCHI KARMA YOGA OR WOMEN'S SPHERE OF ACTIVITIES: By Mr. D.Y. Kolhatkar. To be had at the Arya Bhushan Press, Poona. Pages 190. Price Re. one.

This book consists of seven essays dealing with subjects of feminine interests such as the value of a mother, women and politics, compassion, etc. The essays are written on the model of Smiles' well-known works on Character, Thrift, &c. The book will make a good reading for grown-up girls. The style smells of the theatre in some places. However the budding author's efforts deserve every encouragement.

Sri Vir-rasayan or A ballad on the capture of Sinhgad, composed by V. G. Sathe of Miraj. Price As. 2.

Every one, in these days, possessing however little fire of poetry in him, aspires to be a *Shahir* (or bard) and we, in Maharashtra, have a number of them amongst us. Not one of them, however, can be compared with those immortal bards of Shivaji's times, who, though unlettered themselves, left behind memorable and inspiring poems. The poem under notice is a praiseworthy attempt.

BEHANDSHAH OR ANARCHY: A Play by Mr. V. H. Aundhkar. Publisher, the Maharashtra Dramatic Company, Poona. Pages 116. Price Re. One.

This is a historical play written by one who combines in himself both histrionic and literary arts and therefore deserves more than a passing notice. The subject chosen is the tragic end of Sambhaji, son of Shivaji the great, at the hand of Emperor Aurangzeb. As a picture of the terrorism, in which the whole Maharashtra was thrown in the reign of Sambhaje, there is nothing to find fault with in the play. But terrorism is not anarchy—a distinction which has escaped the notice of the author. Kaji, the minister, who was responsible for many acts of cruelty committed by Sambhaje is shown in the play to be led by here into the act of treason against his master, which is not a fact of history. But one cannot expect strict historical accuracy in an historical play, and so this lapse on the part of the play-writer may be condoned. There are other short-comings also in the play, a few of which may be mentioned here. Far larger space is allotted to low but humorous characters like Kha-haba and Sarjaba, than can be justified by propriety or expediency, while stater-

men and nobles of the time (excepting Khando Ballal) are conspicuous by their absence. The Moghal Sardar, who captured Sambhajee, is shown to be a tool in the hand of Ganoji Shirke, and looks silly. The language of the play is embellished with words taken from the Bakhars to make the characters real, but the thing is overdone and the figures of speech profusely used only serves to obscure the meaning—a failing which is too common in the present-day Marathi drama. An instance of anachronism is visible in the ballad sung by Chandravali. But these defects are not so very serious as to detract from the merits of the play, which are many and reflect credit on the playwright, particularly when the fact is known that he is a man of moderate literary education.

V. G. APTE.

GUJARATI

SWATANTRATANA SIDDHANTA: *By Khush Vadanlal Chandulal Thakore. Printed at the Praja-Bandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad Thick card-bound. Pp. 178. Price Re. 1-4. (1924)*

A translation of Terence McSwiney's Principles of Freedom with a foreword by Dr. Chandulal Manilal Desai, who in every way is entitled to write it, as he has sacrificed every worldly thing in the service of the province, shows how quickly the face of things is changing in Gujarat. The translation is well done, and will reach many hands, as it is given away as a present to the subscribers of the "Praja-Bandhu," a well-circulating weekly.

RAS TARANGINI: *By Damodar K. Botadkar. Printed at the Dharma Vijay Press. Limbdi. Paper Cover. Pp. 96. Price Re. 0-10-0 (1924).*

We had only lately noticed the first edition of this remarkable collection of poems in the home-life of a Gujarati girl, as a daughter, a daughter-in-law, sister, wife and mother. We had noticed the halo with which he had surrounded it. The second edition shows four more poems added, which if anything, make the halo glow more brightly round her lip.

JAPJI: *By Mrs. Bhanumati D. Trivedi. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick Card-bound. Pp. 102. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1924).*

The Japji, composed by Guru Nanak, which every Sikh recites as a part of his daily ritual, was not yet introduced to the Gujarati reader, and hence Mrs. Bhanumati is to be felicitated on what she has accomplished. She has given the text of every stanza in the original Purjah, and then given the meaning of every word in Gujarati, and then its *bhavanvad* based on the Bengali translations of Babu Avinash Chandra Majumdar. The work thus leaves nothing to be desired. A short biography of Guru Nanak is given also.

SWAPAN-MANJARI: *By Mrs. Dipakba Desai. Printed at the Sayaji Vijay Printing Press, Baroda. Paper Cover. Pp. 87. Price Re. 0-10-0 (1924).*

Belonging to the well-known and cultured family of the late Dewan Bahadur Manibhai Jasbhai, Minister of Baroda, Dipakba had in early life essayed the writing of poetry. A visit to the temple of goddess Amba, on the Abu hills, where the worshipper has to recite the usual prayers in

verse as part of her *darshan*, and which verses are generally old compositions, the idea came to her that she can pray as well to the Mother, in her own words. This revived the old faculty which was lying dormant and the result is this book which contains verses not merely in praise of the goddess, but of many others, historical and mythological personages and incidents. Though there is nothing very remarkable about this work, the even level of ability that it maintains and the intelligence that it shows, arrest the reader's attention and he feels that he is perusing the work of a really cultured lady, even though belonging to the older generations.

RANA YAJN: *Edited by Manjural Ranchhodlal Majumdar, B.A., LL. B. Printed at the Lohan Steam Printing Press, Baroda. Paper Cover. Pp. 168. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1924).*

One of the best poets of old Gujarat, Premanand, has written this poem (in S. Y. 1741). It is a short poem, but displays all the reality of Premanand's pen. The incidents are taken from the Yuddha Kand of the Ramayana and vitalised by the skill of the poet. The editing is of a piece with the original and does not lack anything required to appreciate the poem philologically, sentimentally, historically and in other ways: if anything, it overshoots the mark. It is done with the assiduity of a student and the eye of a scholar, and the effort has succeeded well enough to hearten him for other similar work as the poet's longer poems.

SWARGANTU AMRIT (HEAVEN'S NECTAR). *By the late Amratlal Sundarji Padhiar. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth Cover. Pp. 266. Price Re. 1-8 (1924).*

This is a posthumous publication: it was composed at odd moments by the late Amratlal Padhiar, in the course of peregrinations, but the different *bindoos* or drops are connected by means of one idea, *viz.*, self-introspection. The short essays are written in his usually "Catching Style," and this book adds one more to the number of his valuable publications.

BISMI SARDANI GOOLAMI: *By P. V. Mehta and S. P. Shastri. Printed at the Nava Yuga Printing Press, Surat. Paper Cover. Pp. 132. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1924).*

"Slavery of our Times" by Tolstoy gives a graphic picture of the state in which our indigent workers and labourers live. This translation reproduces in simple language what Tolstoy has got to say on the question, and the mechanical and artificial lives which our mill-hands and factory workers have to live emphasizes the problem. The book then deserves to be read.

PRAYASCHITTA: *By Ambalal Govindlal Desai, B.A. Printed at the Anavil Bandhu Printing Press, Surat, Paper cover. Pp. 48. Price Re. 0-4-0 (1924).*

Maurice Maeterlinck's play, 'Sister Beatrice' has been adapted to Indian life in Hindi, and Mr. Desai has rendered it into Gujarati. It is a very short play, and can be finished in five minutes. It shows how an erring soul repents of her moral lapses and is once more received into the bosom of the All Merciful.

K. M. J.

TUBE-WELLS

By RAJSHEKHAR BOSE

TUBE wells are drawing considerable attention just now, and readers of newspapers are being fed up with all sorts of schemes, possible and impossible, for solving the problem of water-supply. The bamboo well, said to cost only five rupees, has just sprouted up; but as the inventor modestly acknowledges that there are still some defects in his system, the thirsty but thrifty public must yet possess their souls in patience.

re-inforced concrete was rot. It seems that a similar calumny awaits that useful but highly technical appliance,—the tube-well.

Most people seem to have the idea that all that is necessary is to insert into the ground, by whatever means, a pipe having a few holes at the bottom wrapped round with wire gauze; and that, greater the depth to which the pipe is sunk, greater will be the output of water; and conversely, for a small

supply, one need not bother to go down much below the ground level. In what follows, an attempt will be made to show how much of the popular conception is correct and what the essentials of a workable tube-well are.

THE SUBSOIL : During the rains, a tremendous quantity of water is absorbed by the soil. This water finds its way through the porous upper layers (mostly loamy in deltaic Bengal) until its progress downwards is arrested by some layer of hard impervious material like clay or rock. This water is called subsoil water and is the source of supply of all ordinary wells. During the dry season, much of the subsoil water evaporates away through the porous upper layers and a still larger amount drains underground into adjoining lower levels. The level of subsoil water therefore tends to sink lower and lower, and in the dry season, may vanish

altogether in places where the retentive capacity of the soil is small. (fig. 1 & 2). The range through which the level of subsoil water fluctuates varies widely in different parts of Bengal, even within a few miles. It may be 5 to 30 feet in some locality and 10 to 100 feet in another. All ordinary wells show this fluctuation in varying degrees.

BELOW SUBSOIL : Below the impervious

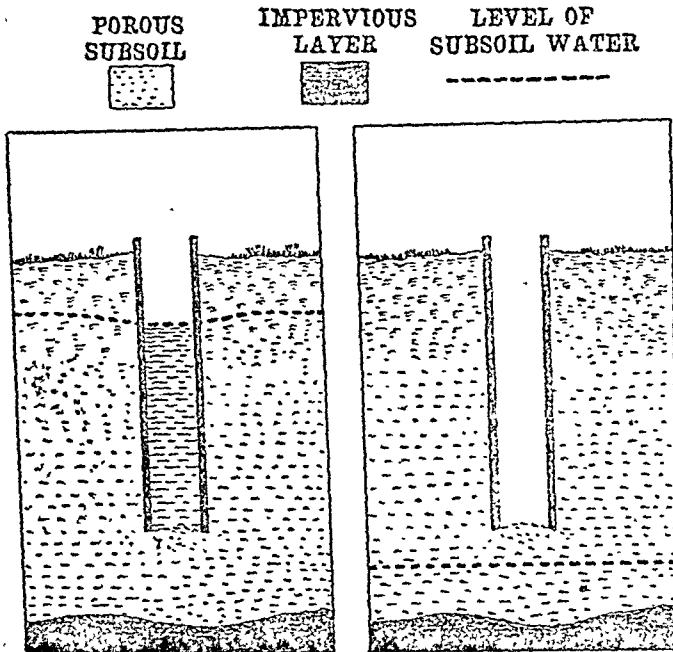


Fig. 1

Fig. 2

WELLS DEPENDING ON SUBSOIL WATER:

Fig. 1 shows the condition during the rains

Fig. 2 shows the well depleted in the dry season

Every new invention has the risk of degenerating into a fad and thereby coming into disrepute. There was an enthusiastic amateur who having learnt that re-inforced concrete is the latest thing, built his roof by stretching a tangle of wire from wall to wall and dumping concrete thereupon. The roof of course gave way. The enthusiast became a pessimist and assured his friends that

lining at the bottom of the subsoil water, occur various strata of different degrees of porosity. Some of these lower strata consist of vast beds of sand permeated with water. Such water is often very different in quality from the upper subsoil water. Geologists are not quite agreed as to the origin of these waters occurring at great depths. They may be pre-historic rivers once flowing over the surface and now buried under deposits of silt, but still pursuing a sluggish course through beds of sand. They may be getting their supply through an underground connection with some existing river or a far off catchment basin. Whatever the explanation, the fact is, that water, and often plenty of it, occurs at various depths below subsoil (Fig. 3). The quantity of water available from

cheapest type and consists of a pipe, 1 to 1½ inch in bore, having a number of holes at the lower end over a length of 3 or 4 feet which is wrapped round with wire gauze, and terminating in a solid conical foot. The pipe is pushed down into the earth by means of blows from a 'monkey' or heavy weight suspended from shearlegs just as a pile is driven (Fig. 4). Lengths of pipe are screwed on, piece by piece, and driven down until the whole appliance reaches down to the desired depth, generally 20 to 30 feet, where the perforated end of the pipe is expected to reach a suitable water-bearing stratum. It will be seen that the well-sinker has no means of ascertaining the nature of the strata passed through. All that he can do is to feel for water during the process of sink-

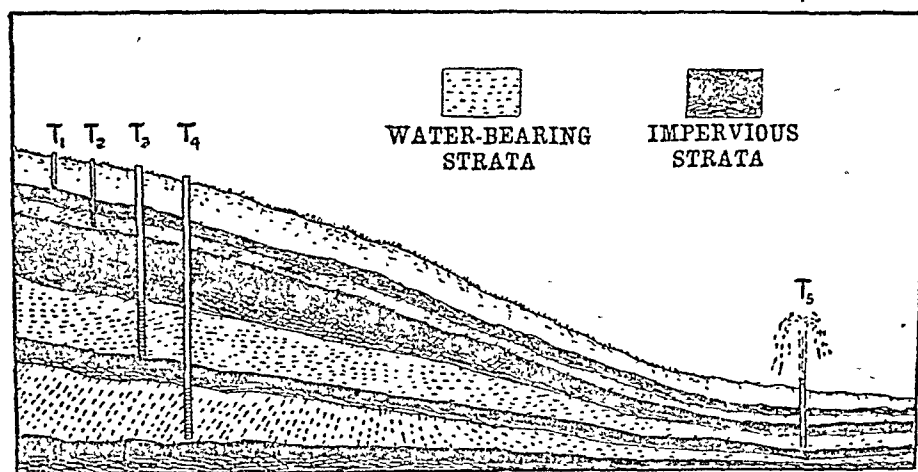


Fig. 3

OCCURRENCE OF WATER-BEARING STRATA

T₁ is a shallow tube well drawing subsoil water, T₂ T₃ T₄ are deep wells drawing water from different strata. T₅ is an artesian well

some of these low-lying strata is to all appearances inexhaustible; and the level to which such water will rise when tapped out from its underground prison is often very much higher than that of the subsoil water in the same locality. In certain favoured regions, the water may gush up like a fountain and form an artesian well. Such a phenomenon is possible when the stratum that is tapped has its outlying portions at elevated levels and holds water under pressure like a water-main. It is however too much to expect that any tube-well in the plains of Bengal will behave so obligingly.

Now about tube-wells:—

THE ABYSSINIAN WELL:—This is the

ing. This he generally tries to do by dipping every now and then, a thin pipe through the well-pipe and noticing whether the end of the feeler pipe gets wet. When water is supposed to be struck, a small hand pump is attached to the top-end of the well-pipe and the tube-well is ready. If the bottom of the tube-well reaches a water-bearing layer with sand-grains or gravel coarser than the mesh of the wire gauze, things go on well. If water be scanty, the pump gives out a dribble which ultimately ceases altogether. If the sand be fine or mixed with clay, the gauze offers no protection and gradually the well becomes choked. During the driving process, the wire gauze may get torn by

friction, an event which is only discovered too late. The strainer, i.e., the perforated end-piece is the weakest portion of the tube-well and very often gives way under the heavy blows and enormous friction encountered during the sinking process. The pipe sockets may also burst. If the foot strikes a rock or impervious clay, the well is a failure. The Abyssinian well is thus a hit or miss

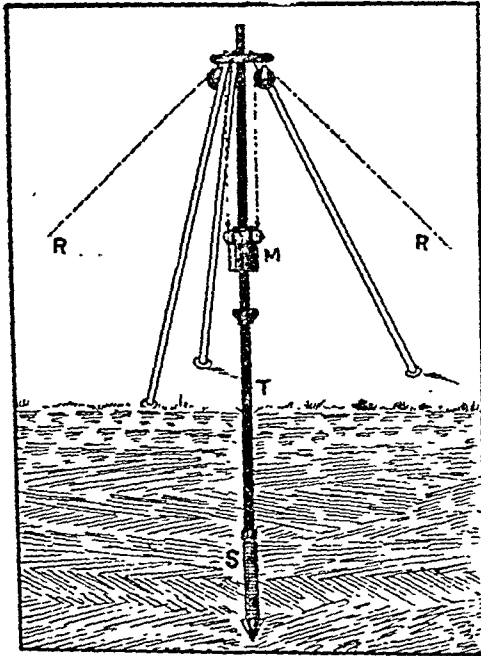


Fig. 4

METHOD OF SINKING THE ABYSSINIAN WELL
R Driving ropes; M monkey;
T tube-well, S strainer.

affair with a large element of uncertainty. It cannot be driven very deep and relies for its supply on the subsoil water only. Such water is generally contaminated and likely to fail during the dry season. It is however not intended to discourage the sinking of this type of well. It often gives good results, is cheap and may be installed with fair expectations in places where such wells have already been found to work satisfactorily. But it is well to remember its limitations and fickle nature.

BORING BY SLUDGER:—To get positive results from a tube-well, one must know by actual inspection the various strata passed through. This is only possible by boring and examining the samples of strata withdrawn. There are various methods of doing

this, one of the commonest being drilling or dredging within the tube of the well. As in all systems, the tube-well is made in sections, the lowest section consisting of the strainer. A hole is first dug and the strainer section is fixed into it, the bottom of the strainer remaining open. In the case of soft strata like clay or sand, boring is conducted by means of a 'sludger' attached to a rope passing over a pulley suspended from a derrick or shearlegs. (Fig. 5.)

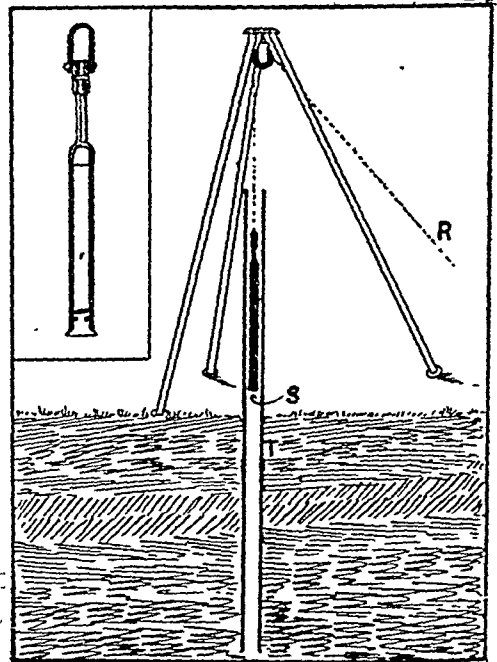


Fig. 5

METHOD OF BORING BY SLUDGER
R driving rope; S sludger; T tube-well
inset: enlarged view of the sludger

The sludger is a heavy hollow cylindrical chisel and is worked by alternately pulling the rope and letting it go. By repeated blows, the strata underneath the tube is cut through and the detritus is caught into the hollow of the sludger and prevented from falling off by a sort of valve. At intervals the sludger is hauled up and the samples of strata withdrawn and inspected. Various kinds of cutting tools are used for breaking up different strata and water is often poured through the tube to soften hard material. The tube is gradually forced down into the hole underneath by means of loads or jack screws. Progress is necessarily slow under

this system and a great deal of perseverance is required in tackling obstinate strata and remedying breakdowns.

BORING BY WATER-JET: Recently a new system has been introduced which is particularly suitable for alluvial strata occurring in most parts of Bengal. Boring is conducted by means of a cutter attached to the end of a hollow shaft which is inserted within the tube-well and rotated like a drill. The hollow shaft is connected with a pump and a powerful jet of water is brought to bear upon the strata occurring underneath the cutter. The jet of water combined with the action of the cutter, rapidly bores a hole and the detritus is automatically discharged up the annular space around the cutter shaft. Progress is very quick, and a 200 feet bore can often be finished within two or three days. (Fig. 6).

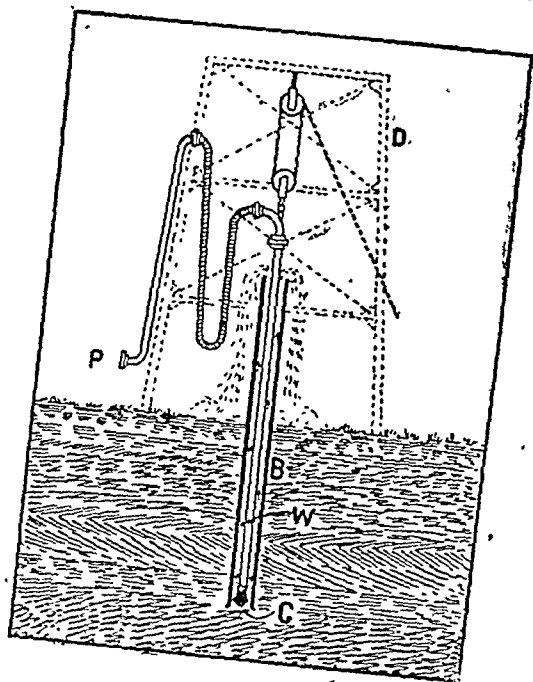


Fig. 6
METHOD OF BORING BY WATER-JET
D Derrick; C cutter; W hollow shaft of cutter
through which water is forced; B tube well.
P connection with pump

It will be seen that in the system described above, boring is conducted within the pipe forming the tube well. The strainer pipe are screwed on as the bore progresses, when the necessary depth has been reached

the cutter shaft is withdrawn and a plug is let down to close the bottom of the well to prevent uprush of sand. It will be evident that in such systems there is the same risk of damaging the strainer as in the Abyssinian system. The friction that the strainer has to overcome in forcing its way through sand is enormous, and accidents are frequent. The strainer cannot be made as long as may be desired. It is after all a perforated piece of pipe, and its weakness increases with its length. The size of the strainer has therefore to be greatly restricted and its filtering capacity sacrificed for the sake of rigidity. Such a tube-well, however carefully laid can never take full advantage of the water-bearing stratum.

IMPROVED METHODS: In order to get the best results, boring must be conducted within a separate tube, larger in diameter than the tube well. The boring tubes are sunk section by section and an accurate record is kept of the location of the samples of strata dredged out. The expert well-sinker should be able to visualise the exact condition occurring underground. He rejects layer after layer of undesirable strata until he arrives at a bed of coarse sand or gravel permeated with water and cut off from contaminated surface water by a thick partition of impervious material. He then gently lowers the tube-well fitted with a strainer of suitable length often 40 feet or more, within the bore and finally draws up the boring tube, taking care to seal the gap left by the latter. (Fig. 7). It will be evident that under this system there is no risk of damaging the strainer or the joints of the well-pipes. The strainer need not be restricted in length. If a single stratum be not deep enough for the requisite water supply, water may be tapped from several strata and the intervening clay beds may be locked out by introducing plain pipes between the lengths of strainer pipe at the points where the clay beds occur.

THE STRAINER AND CRITICAL VELOCITY: Next to the selection of a proper water-bearing stratum, the design of the strainer is of the greatest importance. It must offer free passage to water and yet exclude sand, and its dimensions must be correctly proportioned to the rate at which water is to be pumped out. It must be remembered that the real filtering medium is the sand outside the strainer, and the latter should be so designed that the sand grains are not disturbed and sucked in when water is pumped. When water flows slowly through a bed of sand, there is no disturbance. But

tube-wells. Considerable prejudice has unfortunately been created owing to the unreliability of Abyssinian and other badly designed tube-wells, and it is time for the public to learn the broad principles so as to be able to discriminate. The tube-well is essentially an expert's job and does not admit of dabbling if best results are to be obtained. Properly designed and sunk, it offers the easiest and cheapest solution of the water problem of municipalities and industrial concerns. A 5-inch well generally yields over 6000 gallons per hour. Two such wells should be quite sufficient for the water works of a small municipality consuming say 100,000 gallons daily, and will cost much less than the usual system of pumping water from a river and filtering same before distribution. A single 2½ inch well yielding over 3000 gallons per hour will meet the needs of many small towns. Still smaller wells, 1¼ or 1½ inch, with hand pumps, are very suitable for domestic purpose and

for municipalities which cannot afford the expense of a central distributory system. Such wells, deep sunk, are quite as reliable as the bigger ones and yield 500 to 1000 gallons per hour. They cost a little more than *pat-kwas* or small ordinary wells with earthenware curbs, but are considerably cheaper than *indaras* or brickwork wells and give a purer supply which is also much less subject to seasonal variation.

A tube-well, properly sunk, needs no repair. In the case of small tube-wells, the only item likely to frighten the public is the hand pump which has a knack of getting out of order quite frequently. But the unreliability of the pump will disappear when it comes more into use and when people become more familiar with its simple working principle. The bicycle and the sewing machine have been mastered by the villager, and the hand pump is surely not a more difficult machine to manage.

WHAT HAPPENED AT GENEVA

By C. F. ANDREWS

THE Geneva Opium Conference at which delegates from the different Powers assembled as plenipotentiaries to settle the world opium question, is an event of such importance that the contemporary records of eye-witnesses may have an historical value in the future. The United States delegation rightly stated that the Opium Conference would be the acid test as to whether the League of Nations could function as a moral force in the world or not. Though I was not actually able to be present, I have been in closest touch with many of those who went there. Some letters, which I have received, give a vivid picture of the proceedings and I shall venture to publish them as they stand. The first two letters are from Mr. Horace Alexander, the son of the late Mr. Alexander, who visited India at the time of the Royal Commission in 1895 and complained of obstruction and espionage on the part of Government officials which prevented him from doing his duty. The

three letters which follow later on are from Miss La Motte, who has published two books on the subject.

(Letters from Mr. Alexander)

November 18, 1924.

"I was very glad to get your letter just before I left England together with the parcel of Assam Reports. Only a day or two before receiving them I had been appointed, unexpectedly and suddenly, by the Society of Friends to come here on their behalf, so your letter seemed to be a confirmation of my conviction that it might be right to come.

"I am afraid the results of these Conferences are likely to be desperately disappointing, I hope to enclose with this a short account of what has happened so far, in case you like to use it in 'Young India,' which Tarni Sinha tells me you are editing at present, or elsewhere.

"I wish it had been possible for you to send a representative of the real India to Geneva: I wish too, that I had a message direct from Mr. Gandhi to deliver here. But these are vain wishes: it is too late! We ought to have thought of these things sooner.

"At the end of this week, an opportunity is to be given to the private societies to make statements;

perhaps I can say something. I am not sure if I shall have the opportunity. But if it comes, I hope to be able to say, in love, the things that need saying.

November 26, 1924.

"After I had written to you, I realised that it might not be too late, after all, for a message from Mr. Gandhi. So I sent you a telegram asking for a message. The reply reached me, while I was sitting in the Conference-house, waiting for my turn to make a statement to the Conference; and when my opportunity came an hour later, I was able to read the telegram. It seemed to make a deep impression on the Conference; and it has been fairly well reported in the press. Mr. Dukes on the same afternoon made a statement and presented the petition brought to Europe by Dr. Tagore. So I think the real desire of India was made clear to the Conference.

"I left the Conference after the preliminary business and the general discussion were concluded. I felt more hopeful by the end of the week than at the beginning. All the Asiatic representatives had declared themselves ready for strong action.—Dr. Sze for China, M. Sugimura for Japan, the Persian, Turkish and Egyptian representatives; the last two wanted *hashish* dealt with too. One of the most impressive statements was made by Dr. J. Z. Koo, on behalf of the Shanghai Anti-Opium Society. He told the Conference how the student-clubs all over China, and other organised groups, are undertaking a campaign throughout the country, to find out exactly how much opium is being grown, and to root it out. This, and the information that the whole subject is to be discussed at the forthcoming Chinese Peace Conference will take something of the sting out of Mr. Campbell's contention that, so long as China's promises are mere 'scraps of paper' it is futile for other countries to talk about reducing production. The Americans, of course, are taking a strong line, and Bishop Brent's speech raised the whole tone of the Conference; he was followed by a moving little speech from an elderly German, and a sound speech by a Czech; then, next day, a number of other delegates declared themselves willing to 'sign anything', and perhaps the best speech of the morning came from Sir Malcolm Delevingne, whose emphasis on the importance of reducing production was very valuable. John Campbell later made a clever pronouncement, very brief, in which he seemed to associate himself with Delevingne, but really only committed himself to the proposals of the Advisory Committee, which hardly touch the question of production. Then came the private societies, after that a day of committee, and then I had to leave. An ominous silence was preserved by the representatives of France, of Holland, of Yugoslavia, of Peru and Bolivia. If all these states, with interests involved, refuse to accept an effective agreement, I fear the Conference is doomed. But at present there is still hope. You will know more by the time you get this.

"I was able to circulate the Assam Report, and I saw that some of the delegates were reading it."

(Letters from Miss La Motte)

November 23, 1924.

"Well, the petition has been presented, as you

may have seen by the papers, and a fine stir it caused, too! It seemed better, since there was no Indian here at Geneva at all, to have it presented by a British subject: so Mr. Dukes gave it in, with an exceedingly good little speech. That, and a telegram from Mahatma Gandhi, read out by a Quaker, named Mr. Alexander, made the hits of the afternoon! The Paris 'Tribune,' of November 21st, carried out a column of news on the Conference; but the London 'Times' of the same date made no mention of it at all! Just a brief note, two inches long, that a meeting of the second Conference had been held! But the English papers are waking up a little, though not much. That was a big day, when all the private associations had a hearing. And when the Indian petition was read out, and Campbell rose in protest, it was pretty thrilling."

15th December, 1924.

"I was very glad indeed to get your letter a day or two ago, and hasten to answer it and to tell you what I can of what is going on here. First, let me say that I am sending you under separate cover, the minutes of the first 16 meetings of the First Conference, and those of the first four meetings of the Second. You will get some idea of it from those. The rest are not yet issued but they shall go along too, as fast as they appear. You will note a long gap, nearly a week, during which the First Conference held no open meetings—all done behind closed doors, in the dark. The wretched little 'Treaty' they evolved (no one seemed to have any idea that they were going to make some formal agreement) and Bishop Brent's comment on it, I am also sending. If these don't reach you, I will send a second lot.

"Thus First Conference was to deal with smoking,—to fix annual requirements, and to set a time-limit as to when the use of prepared opium, 'temporarily' continued, was at last to end. They carefully avoid this issue. Anything weaker, or more evasive, it would be hard to find. Of all the countries, Japan alone offered an excellent programme for ending opium, and seems to be in dead earnest. China, of course, was eager to end it; but China was left outside the discussions which concerned the smoking in countries where smoking is permitted, as in the Far Eastern colonies of the European powers. Japan has been splendid all along,—the curious thing was to see the East lined up against the West, and poor China pleading for protection for her people when they entered any of these European colonies. I will try to get another copy of the Japanese plan,—it was terribly disconcerting to the Europeans to have Japan propose a perfectly feasible scheme and, moreover, show how well it has worked in Formosa.

"The First Conference about ended the day before the 2nd Conference began. Judge of the amazement when the U.S. delegation discovered that the American terms were not to be included in the agenda. Our proposals, which we thought we had been invited to discuss, were that opium should be limited to the medical needs of the world and that all other use was an abuse and not legitimate. Campbell stepped neatly aside and said that India had made her reservation as to that in May, 1923, and that that reservation stood and was not to be tampered with. The 'opium bloc,' i.e. Great Britain, France, Holland,

Portugal, with a few countries such as Switzerland, —have been fighting us right straight along. Porter insists that as the First Conference has failed to limit smoking, or to set any time-limit, etc., this must be included, if any estimates are to be arrived at as to the probable needs of the world. The Conference cannot do any work, till that is settled. We have already had several big fights, and are to have a big one to-morrow, which will either see the Conference blown up, or it will see the "opium bloc" give in. By give in, I simply mean, admit that our terms *do* form a part of the agenda and must be considered in the plan to form proper methods to end the opium evil. It will be an exciting day. Our country simply cannot give way,—we are not allowed to. Our Congress passed a resolution, saying that we must make no compromise, or as Porter told them all in plenary session two days ago, we cannot recognize one law for the East and one for the West.

"Here is an odd thing. Campbell signed that First Conference convention a week ago, and then left for London. He seems to have been—well, I don't know—he says he is going back to Greece. A Mr. Walton has taken his place, along with Mr. Clayton. Well, the rest of the "opium bloc" were to have signed this thing on the 13th, at six p.m. We were all there, to see it happen. And when they came into the room, Sir Malcolm Delevigne said he had just received a telegram from the Council at Rome, to postpone signing! The French delegate said he too had had "instructions." So it was all over in two minutes, and nothing was done. Pressure was obviously coming from some quarter. The best of it is, that they had no instructions in the morning, and all during that morning session had been committing themselves firmly and thoroughly in opposition to the American plan: and the morning session had ended in a deadlock. Yet here, at the eleventh hour, they gave up signing this treaty which would have barred any possible consideration of the American terms.

"This much has happened: the opposition has come right straight out into the open for all to see. Our newspapers are carrying simply columns about this Conference, and all the fights and efforts to block progress. And the opposition has simmered down to about eight countries alone out of the 40 represented here. The London press is practically silent. Not one word about that big petition from India, which you signed, together with Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Dukes presented that, and it came so much better from an Englishman. Not one word either (in the London press) about that

telegram from Gandhi, read out by Mr. Alexander. But our papers made a tremendous lot of it, and our papers are reaching England by this time. Moreover, a lot of us have good friends in England, —not very enthusiastic about opium unfortunately, but who are certainly anxious for Anglo-American relations to be good, and who also have no desire to see the League go to pieces over a "humanitarian" issue. I imagine a lot of pressure comes from those two angles.

"So, to-morrow will be a decisive day. If the opposition gives way, then the Conference will adjourn for a couple of weeks. We are all simply worn out, with nearly six weeks of strain, tension and distress. But if the opposition does not give way, if it decides that reduction of production is not a suitable item for the agenda, then we will just go home. But I don't think they will allow that to happen.

"Geneva is the worst place that could have been selected. About half a dozen people, such as myself, took the trouble to come here. No audience for all these discussions, no public opinion to form its own ideas of the situation, no press, (except the American journalists who have been sent here) to enlighten the outside world. Yet somehow, not at the moment but later, a very big publicity will result. If only this had been held in London, such a deadlock would not have occurred. I will send you a line to-morrow to tell you what has happened. And anything about Assam will be welcome."

—20th, December, 1924

"I promised to send you a line as to what the fate of the Conference was to be,—either it would break up, or adjourn. It did the latter, on December 17th, to reconvene the 12th of January. At that first meeting, after we come back again, the American proposals to consider opium smoking is the first thing on the agenda. We should never have had to insist on this and make such a point of it, if the First Conference had not avoided this issue. We hope that much will happen in this three weeks of reflection. Heaven knows what will happen, however, as the opposition seems so strong and deeply entrenched. The opium question is so vast and complicated that with the best will in the world, with whole-hearted and sincere international co-operation, it will be difficult to solve. But with obstructionist tactics at work on every phase, it is almost impossible.

"I enclose the Fifth Plenary Meeting record,—the first four I sent from Geneva. As fast as the rest are published you shall have them too."

GLEANINGS

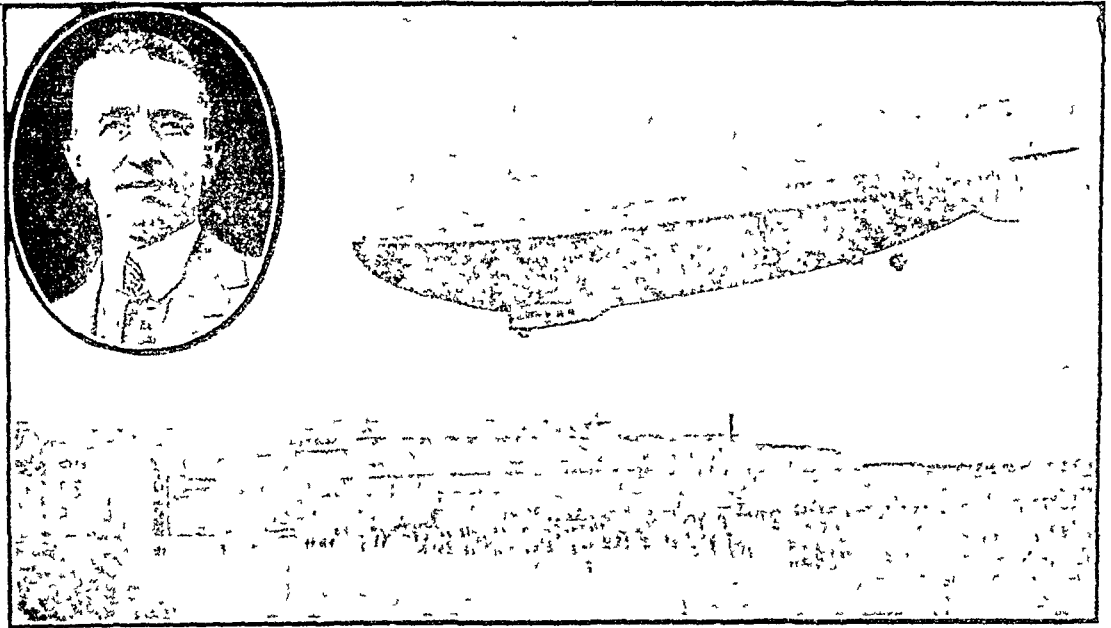
The Real Marvel of the ZR-3

ZR-3 is the largest dirigible to attempt a transatlantic flight. Tales of the tests and the flights of the big airship have been told and retold, but

the story of the real miracle of the ZR-3, the *Shenandoah*, and other dirigibles is new to most folks. That is the story of duralumin, the marvel metal of the twentieth century—the metal invented especially for airships.



ZR-3. This photograph shows the end of the greatest voyage in air travel. Here the airship is warped into her hangar at Lakehurst, N. J. (U. S. A.) after completing her 5000 mile voyage. The ZR-3 is 663.20 ft long and she can attain a speed of 75 miles an hour.



ZR-3 starting from Friedrichshafen, Germany on her 5000 mile voyage. The crowd below burst into tears when the ZR-3 vanished in the sky. Inset—An American flight-officer.

It is a remarkable partnership, this between the airship and duralumin. If it were not for the airship, duralumin probably would not have been formulated; if it were not for duralumin, there would be no transatlantic or crosscontinent flights by dirigibles. The airship requires strength and lightness for its ribs and hull. Wood, while light, isn't strong enough. It won't stand the stress. Steel is strong enough, but too heavy. Duralumin is stronger than wood and much lighter than steel, in fact, about one-third the weight of the latter. So light and so strong is it that you can pick up with two fingers a girder of it that will support six men.

Duralumin is an alloy of copper, manganese and magnesium, with about 94 per cent of aluminum. In "strength-weight" efficiency, that is, in strength and lightness, it is 17 per cent greater than a good alloy steel and nearly three times better than mild steel or half hard aluminum. It was first made by Alfred Wilm in Germany in the development of Zeppelin airships, but is now being made in England and the United States.

Engineers talk among themselves of a Duralumin Age. They speak of vast quantities of fuel saved by lighter engines, trains and motors; of buildings dizzyly high; of mechanical wizardry in manufacture; of a world unshackled from ponderous iron and steel.

Statistics of one of the new duralumin-framed air mammoths are illuminating. Take the ZR-3. Figures for her gas capacity reached 2,500,000 cubic feet. A ship of a size holding the immense volume of 10,000,000 cubic feet is contemplated. The latter will no doubt be the standard commercial liner of the very near future.

Five 400-horsepower motors give a speed of 75 miles an hour to the ZR-3. A load of nearly

100,000 pounds can be lifted. This means at least 20 passengers besides crew and personal baggage. Something like 12 tons of profit-paying express can be added.

The fearlessness of the men who prepared the ZR-3 for her Atlantic voyage was well advertised. And justly so, too. For acute interest lay in the perils she faced that were unavoidable in her particular case. The North Atlantic is never entirely free from storms in the autumn. Moreover, while her diameter was greater than either that of the *Shenandoah* or the ill-fated R-32, engineers are not yet wholly sure what dimensions are safest. The R-32 was lost and the *Shenandoah* and R-34 suffered much from the wrenching blows of high winds and from the violent bending forces induced by sharp course changes.

Then there were the specific disasters that make us shudder to recall them. France's reparation Zeppelin, the *Dixmude*, originally built to bomb New York, was struck by lightning. The British R-32, built to be our ZR-2, broke in half and burnt up on her trials. The Italian *Roma*, built for our army, was ignited by high tension wires at Norfolk and cremated both herself and crew.

A list of horrors, to be sure, yet study of them reveals that the tragedy in each no longer would be possible. Neither the *Roma*, *Dixmude*, nor R-32 could have burned had they been inflated with helium. For the most energetic efforts of our best chemists have so far failed to set fire to this strangely inert gas. Not only that, but helium is a non-comburent, that is to say, it does not tolerate fire in its vicinity; it is a fire extinguisher.

Duralumin is the most important single factor in bringing about the triumph of commercial airships, but there are other points in my conviction that they have come to stay. One

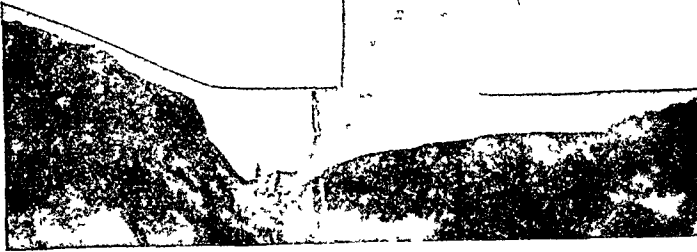
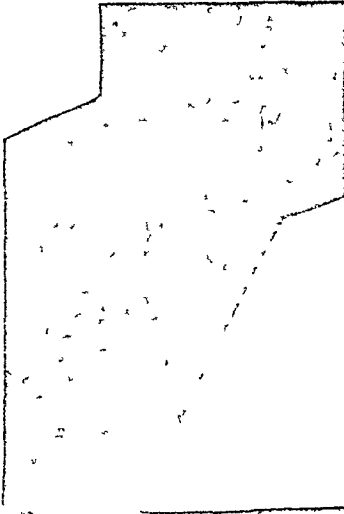
tremendous strain that would be placed on the cables used in hoisting materials to the surface, would require extraordinary methods. It would be necessary to pump out the heat and to utilize special cooling devices to prevent the melting of the boring tools. It would be necessary to run the shaft horizontally, or at least at an angle, for a time to avoid the possibility of the cables snapping from their own weight.

Geologists could point out to us the best place to sink our shaft if we had the money to finance the undertaking. That much they have learned about our earth from the study of earthquake waves.

Twelve miles is not a long distance. A locomotive,

science. Herewith is shown a complete street-sweeping and -washing unit that may be operated by one man, the driver of the truck. This mechanical cleaner consists of a street-sweeper, gutter broom, and sprinkling device. It will wash and sweep the street and gutter at one operation, picking up the dirt as it travels.

The gutter broom, made of sectional steel wire, automatically follows the curb line, working in and out with any variations that occur, throwing the refuse from the gutter into the path of the main broom located across the truck at the rear. This deposits the sweepings in the large dust hopper above. Both brushes are quickly raised when the truck is going to and from its work.

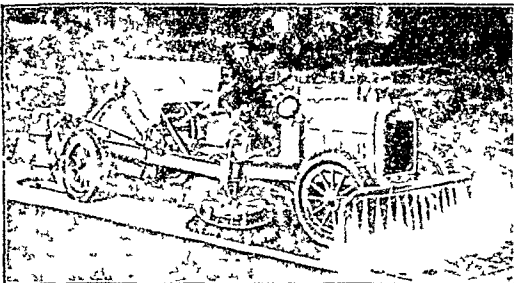


[A terrific blast of natural steam from inside the earth at Healdsburg, Calif. where engineers have tapped a great natural steam boiler laying beneath 4000 acres of volcanic land. When fully harnessed, they say, it will be sufficient to light and heat San Francisco, 75 miles away, and run every factory near by.]

an airplane or a good automobile can traverse it without strain in as many minutes. But drills biting into the crust of the earth would require at least half a century before they had penetrated to a depth of 12 miles! Were the work to begin today, men would be awaiting the dawn of the twenty-first century before it could be completed!

One-Man Machine Sweeps and Washes Streets

Street-Cleaning has now come under the eye of

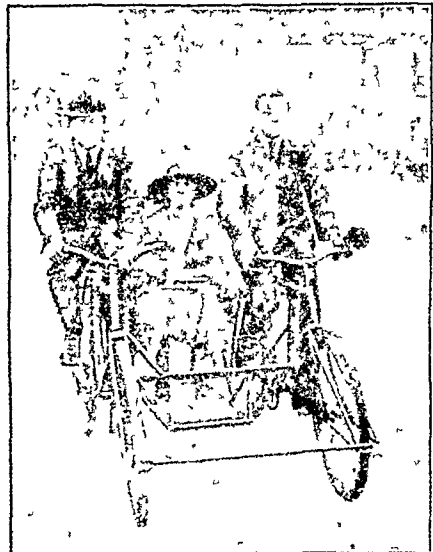


The one man sweeping and washing machine

Three Persons Ride on Tandem Bicycle

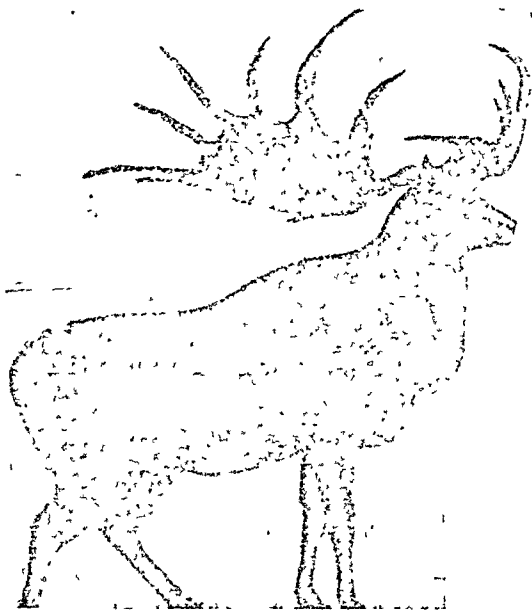
A German inventor has come out with a new form of tandem bicycle that carries an extra person on a platform between the two machines. The contrivance, called a "combi-bicycle," consists of two bicycles attached in parallel, with a platform and seat suspended between them. This platform is slung from a light frame connecting the two bicycles.

The pedaling is done by both riders, and the front wheels are connected in tandem so that if the machine is operated by only one driver, the steering may be done as if there were only one wheel.



Tandem Bicycle Riders with a P-

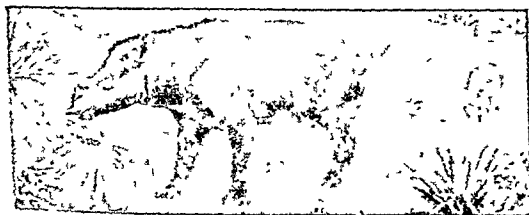
They Once Lived in Your Backyard



Irish Deer, once plentiful in Ireland and on the Continent, grew antlers weighing 80 pounds and spreading 11 feet across.



The Caenopus was an ancestor of the horned rhinoceros. It lived a million years ago and was about the size of a Jersey cow.



Two million years ago the strange Palaeosyops browsed in grass along river banks. Its remains have been found in Wyoming.



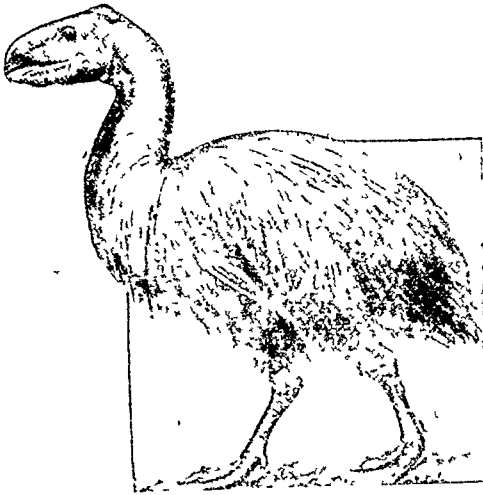
The hairy Mastodon roamed the United States before the last Ice Age, ages ago. Some believe these beasts were hunted by men of primeval times.



Ground sloths living now are small surviving cousins of these clumsy monsters of past ages. Embedded in their tough hide were thousands of round pieces of bone, forming a coat of armor. Even this was not protection enough from the blood-thirsty saber-toothed tigers.



Fierce Saber-toothed Tigers. Above the tigers sit great prehistoric vultures.



The huge bird called "Diatryma" could have made a quick meal of the small three-toed horse of prehistoric times. The bird's jaw was 17 inches long.

Speedy New Motor-Hoop Amazes Italians

Spectators at the speedway before the National Stadium in Rome, Italy, gasped with amazement not long ago when they saw a huge wheel, driven by motorcycle engine, careening at high speed round the track like an overgrown toy hoop. Within the wheel, apparently unconcerned at the possibility of being precipitated in the mad whirl, they saw a driver, his hands gripping an ordinary automobile steering wheel, his feet resting on ordinary motorcycle pedals.

His body kept the wheel in perfect balance. At every turn he would lean to one side or the other. And when the spinning wheel finally slowed down and came to a stop, he simply rested both of his feet on the ground, then let down a standard to keep the wheel from toppling over!

The driver of this remarkable vehicle was Davide Gislighi, a motorcycle officer of Milan, Italy. Possessed with the idea that one wheel would be more efficient than two, he had perfected what more than one inventor before him had attempted unsuccessfully—a one-wheel cycle that actually would run!

The unicycle, which is called a "velocita" by its designer, and also a "motormota," has two principal running parts—a large pneumatic tire and an inner hoop of steel. The inner circle carries the driving mechanism and the driver, while the tire moves around it. The diameter of the wheel varies according to the height of the driver, but usually it is about five feet. A short man has a smaller wheel than a tall man.

The air-cooled motor that drives the wheel forward, and its accessories, are fixed rigidly to the inner steel hoop.

The motor, the driver's seat back of it, and the driver himself, are grouped in a small sector of the circle. On the outer circumference of the steel hoop are rollers, and these support the run of the tire. Thus the two concentric pieces, hoop and tire, are independent of each other as the wheel moves forward.



Davide Gislighi, the inventor of the monocycle enjoying a ride in his strange vehicle

When the machine is moving, the inner hoop is kept stable to a great extent by the weight of the engine and driver. But opposing this, there is a friction roller, driven by the vehicle's motor, which acts against the rim of the tire and revolves it. This force is more powerful than any retarding resistance.

So it is that the driver does not turn with the wheel, but maintains his upright position. He balances the machine much as he would a motor-cycle, and he regulates the direction to be taken by the vehicle by inclining his body to the right or left and by a steering-wheel similar to those on automobiles. To keep the wheel from falling when it is not in motion, there is a special stand that fits inside the circle and can be released.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of reviews and notices of books will be published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, "The Modern Review."]

The New Sunga Inscription from Ayodhya

Thanks to Mr. Jayaswal, this inscription is attracting a great deal of attention and causing acute difference of opinion. According to the happy definition of Prof. Banerjee-Sastri, the present writer happens to be Sanskrit-safe but far removed from what we generally call an epigraphist. But I have an old-fashioned conviction that paleographic truths which have become established by decades after decades of research and supported by scores and scores of epigraphs, can hardly be lightly brushed aside by a single inscription, however startling results its normal interpretation might yield and whoever might be the bold buccaneer who offers the interpretation. The normal student of antiquities would naturally think that there is something wrong in the apparently normal explanation and would try to find out the true explanation. The course of those who delight in a sensation is, of course, different.

Pushyamitra reigned from about 184 B. C. to about 148 B. C. A man sixth in descent from him would therefore be flourishing by about 50 A. D. The paleography of the new inscription shows that it can roundly be said to belong to the first century A. D. The normal interpretation, therefore, is that by the term *Sasthena*, 'sixth in descent' is meant, and not the 'sixth brother'. Thus argues a Sanskrit-safe man of common sense with Vidyasagara's *Upakramanika* in hand. But people of common sense have no place in the world of scholars who are all uncommon. They explain that *Sasthena*, means the sixth brother and so the inscription belongs to the 2nd century B. C. So all your paleography is worth nothing and the paleographers during a long century have all worked to settle nothing. And I have demonstrated this wonderful and startling fact and caused storm in your stagnant pool of research.

I should only like to draw the reader's attention to the following points.

(i) Pushyamitra came to the throne about 184 B. C. He reigned for about 36 years and was succeeded by his son, Agnimitra. If Pushyamitra's father even survived the long reign of his son, his funeral memorial should have in the natural course of things, been erected by Agnimitra and not by Dhanadeva, an obscure sixth brother.

(ii) The list of the Sunga Kings shows several names which do not end in Mitra e.g., Vasujirestha, Odraka, Pulindaka, Ghosha Bhaga and Devabhuti. In fact, of the ten names in the list only four end in Mitra, the remaining six, as shown above, do not do so. So there is nothing wrong in a sixth des-

cendant of Pushyamitra being called Dhanadeva or his father, Phalgudeva. Moreover, it is not known whether these were descendants in the daughter's side.

(iii) Prof. Banerji-Sastri writes:—"Purely epigraphic considerations should not be allowed to interfere with a normal interpretation of the text." The normal interpretation of the term *Sasthena* is 'sixth in descent.' When that agrees with paleography, an abnormal, unwarranted and absolutely uncalled-for interpretation like—'the sixth (brother)' can in no case be allowed to interfere with century-long settled facts.

Dacca Museum.

4-1-25.

N. K. BHATTASALI,

Prof. Banerji-Sastri's eply

(i) Mr. Bhattasali pleads 'old-fashioned conviction' against the Sunga inscription. When in 1909, Mr. Shama Shastri had the hardihood to publish the *Kautilya Arthashastra*, he did violence to a lot of vested "convictions"; there are honest and respectable people even to-day who have not entirely ceased to look askance at him and his founding. When again in 1912, Pandit Ganapati Shastri introduced his *Trivandrum Bhasa*, the commotion of convenient 'convictions' was so tumultuous both here and elsewhere, that self-respecting critics still mention his name with apologetic hesitation and demonstrate their individual profundity, by reiterating the magic formula-caution. But when last year, Mr. R. D. Banerji had the indecency to explore not mere literature but actual and tangible 'culture-relics at Mahenjo-daro, the whole tribe of 'convictions desperately clutched at the crumbling emptiness they called their historical knowledge and gasped 'no more.' When therefore, Mr. Jayaswal (already noted for his various indiscretions, 'Hindu Polity' and 'Kharavela' to mention but two) draws aside the curtain covering the Sungas, the old bottle of mouldering 'convictions' cries 'I burst.' Like Messrs. Shama Shastri, Ganapati Shastri, and R. D. Banerji, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has survived many shocks in life and he may yet survive 'criticisms' of pretended wisdom and obscure 'convictions'.

(ii) But when Mr. Bhattasali forsakes the shelter of impregnable convictions and strays into (a) Sanskrit and (b) Epigraphy he descends from the sublimity (a) Mr. Bhattasali's unlimited intellectual horizon is yet to be demonstrated. Everybody knows that volumes of water have passed down the Sindhu, some of its streams are choked up

and the Race of Seers is extinct, their sceptical descendants are not satisfied without reasons. Hence the delightful finality with which Mr. Bhattasali declares that *Sashithena cannot* mean 'sixth brother' is refreshing (especially in view of Bhattasali's utter ignorance of Sanskrit by his own confession) but hardly convincing. His restraint in not repeating the already exploded objections is praiseworthy, but a complete non-interference with unfamiliar topics would have been more commendable.

(b) Mr. Bhattasali dilates on Indian Epigraphy as 'century-old' and so on. James Prinsep's early attempts date from 1837; since, the number of competent workers has been singularly inadequate, Colebrooke's caution about verifying accumulated half-truths and untruths before realising a single truth in the domain of archaeology was never more needed than to-day. Such naive 'little-knowledge extravagance' would be unpardonable in a school-boy but coming from evidently a grown-up individual, it would be an eye-opener to those who search for the real reason of the ignominious failure of the general body of Indian students of Indian antiquities.

It is easy to pick up and employ such terms as 'conviction' and 'common sense', but those who employ them should not let them be turned into unmeaning cants and substitutes for evidence and sense. In English language 'common sense' means 'sense' and not its 'absence' and is not synonymous

with dogma. We do not want *futwa* in place of reason and evidence.

A. BANERJI-SASTRI,

Patna, 7-1-25.

The original Population of India.

In your November issue on p. 595, in the course of a note on Mahomedan Education, you mention that the total aboriginal population is one crore, or to be more accurate 97,76,000. This figure is not correct. The total Aboriginal population is about 16 millions, or one crore and 60 lakhs. (See para 194 of Census of India (1921), Vol. I, Part I, page 226).

The fact is that you use the word 'Aboriginal' as synonymous with "Animist", which should not be done. Out of 16 Aborigines, 9¼ are enumerated as Animists, the remaining 6¼ as Hindus. At the last census a great proportion of Aborigines was returned as Hindus than in 1911. Thus they are being Hinduised by slow but sure degrees.

Rev. W. S. Hunt in his recent book "India's Outcasts"...an excellent book by the bye—makes the same error, as you do, with regard to the total Aboriginal population of this country (see foot-note p. 41).

A. V. THAKKAR

EDITOR'S NOTE Mr. A. V. Thakkar has quoted the figures correctly from the Census Report. The Report itself states that "it is not possible to give accurate numbers of the tribal aborigines,...

INDIAN PERIODICALS

"Swarajya" Belgaum Congress Number

The *Swarajya* Belgaum Congress number contains many interesting and informing contributions, from some of which we extract some passages below.

GANDHI'S COLOSSAL EXPERIMENT

Writing on "Gandhi's" colossal experiment," Mr. Upton Sinclair says:—

When we read about Gandhi, we are tempted to say that of course the poor Hindus have to fight with their souls, because they haven't anything else to fight with: the British have kept them from getting any arms.

But I assure you the British know that if India flames into revolt, if all the three hundred million took to cutting the railroads and the telegraph lines, and burning down the factories and the government buildings, the little handful of white people would find their military force perilously inadequate.

We are compelled, whether we will or no, to recognize that in the Hindu we are dealing with a great people, having a very old civilization, and an intellectual and spiritual tradition as high as our own and in some ways higher.

That is what Gandhi's soul force is doing; it is making all of us stop and think. It has made some American publishers issue a book about Gandhi, and has made an American author review it, and a great chain of newspapers publish it, and millions of other Americans read and think and debate about it.

Of course, the soul force of Gandhi and his people may not be great enough; but if it should prove great enough, if it should hold on, I am sure that in the end it will conquer even the top-hatted savages who run the Foreign Office of the British Government.

INDIANS ABROAD

About Indians abroad, Mr. H. S. L. Polak makes the following appeal to Indians at home:—

I would ask them, in all humility, to put aside party tactics, national irritation, and injured dignity, and to treat the subject objectively as it deserves, study the facts, pursue faithfully the welfare of their exiled countrymen, and act upon the well-founded assumption that humanity is one and indivisible. In this way, the problem will be raised to an altogether higher level, moral issues will come to the front, and the solution that is being earnestly sought in many quarters will be easier

of achievement. If my appeal is successful, I feel confident that the blunders of Kenya, Mauritius, Fiji, and British Guiana will not be repeated, but remedied. I have no doubt that if men sell their labour in Ceylon and Malaya, rather than in India, it will not be because economic and social conditions leave them no alternative. I am certain that Indian emigration, in so far as it will in the future exist will take new forms, and that, for the honour of India and the welfare of the race, the world will know of the Motherland from her best exponents, instead of by her most unfortunate and least representative. Yet, lest I should seem to disparage even these, I would, in my last word, pay them a high tribute of admiration and respect for the splendid resistance against tribulation and temptation that stands to their eternal credit. They have shown how the human spirit triumphs over its environment.

THE WOMEN OF EUROPE

Lala Lajpat Rai says that during his last visit to Europe,

The first thing which impressed me even on the steamer was the great advance that has been made in the freedom of women. The women of Europe have attained a degree of freedom which is in one respect at least denied to men. This is the freedom of dress. A European woman can dress as she likes, but not a European gentleman. In 1905 when I first visited Europe, convention ruled supreme over both. But the last twenty years have given grater freedom to women in the matter of dress than to men. In our country, the contrary is the rule.

As regards education and culture, the women of the Western, Northern and Central Europe have as many and as good facilities as men. That is not the case, however, in the South East, which practically means the Balkans and Turkey. Bolshevik Russia makes no distinction between men and women in the matter of education. Turkey has, however, taken a great step towards the amelioration of the position of women. She has officially abolished "*pardah*" and accepted women servants in their offices and enacted laws aiming at restricting polygamy. They are also providing educational facilities for their women. In the Balkans, it seems the women are still in a backward condition. Greek women, however, seem to be quite advanced.

In politics the women are gradually coming into their own. In literature and science they occupy a fairly respectable position, but in the service of afflicted humanity they are supreme. Most of the Indians have a very curious notion about European women. They seem to be under the impression that European women have most of them an easy time and live very luxurious lives. The fact is that the European woman works much harder, for longer hours and under most trying conditions than the European man does. Of course, there are all kinds of women. As in India, so in Europe, as among men so among women there are very many drones also but they do not form the majority. An European woman, however, gets much more out of life than her Indian sister. She works hard and enjoys well. She earns and spends. On the whole she is much better off than her Indian sister. The latter is strong in her affections, in her devotion to her own ideals of duty, in her ideals of self-sacrifice, loyalty and fidelity; the

other is strong in her ideals of independence, and the freedom to live her own life. The fact that in Europe the female population is much in excess of the male explains the difference. Most of the women in Europe or in India want to be married but in Europe failure to marry suitably does not carry with it the feeling of helplessness and misery which in India it would. The European woman is copying her Indian sister in her ideas of personal decorations. The ear-ring, the bracelet, the bangles, the neck-lace are all finding a vogue. The armlet shining on a bare white arm is becoming the rage of fashionable life. The Indian woman yields to none in the world in her devotion to her children, but the European is generally a more efficient and a more careful mother. Women's interest in games and athletics, formerly the monopoly of men, is ever on the increase.

EUROPEAN POLITICS

According to the Lala,

European politics are almost being revolutionised both in theory and practice. No eminent European thinker or writer now believes in the theory of the supremacy of the State. The State and the subject have been superseded by the nation and the citizen. The nation is supreme and not the state. No one is a subject. All are citizens.

Economic Changes in Europe.

Regarding economic changes, the Lala observes :—

• Economic changes fill the whole atmosphere. Capitalism is almost universally condemned. Orthodox theories of economics are discredited. Socialistic literature is widely read and appreciated. Trade union and workers' organisations are universally gaining in power and influence. Direct action is coming into greater and greater vogue but with less success. The greatest change is in the wages of labour and conditions of labour. The former have increased beyond recognition and the latter have considerably improved. European capitalism is quite anxious to make terms with labour and keep these happy and contented so long as the latter would not completely dispossess and make short shrift of them. Bolshevism is very much dreaded. Graphic accounts of its misdeeds, real and imaginary, fill the columns of the European press. The one anxiety of European bourgeoisie is to keep it out of doors, and to kill it, if possible. Fear of Bolshevism plays an important part in European life of to-day and is the greatest underlying cause of the betterment of labour conditions.

ECONOMIC FALLACIES

In exploding some economic fallacies, Professor Manu Subedar observes :—

In spite of the fact that political economy has now come to occupy a prominent position in the curricula of many Universities in India and in spite of both centres of education and number of students having increased, it will be hardly disputed by anybody that in discussing practical problems, numerous fallacious assumptions creep in the reasoning of official writers as well as non-official publicists. No science demands greater watchfulness if useful results are to be achieved

than the science of political economy, and I cannot do better than direct attention on some of these fallacies in response to the invitation of the Editor of the "Swarajya" for an article for the Annual Number.

The fallacies which he exposes are that India is a merely agricultural country, that increase of trade means increase of prosperity, and that when Europeans use the words "development of resources" with reference to India, they really mean what the words denote and not exploitation in its sinister sense.

AMERICA'S BAN ON ASIATICS

Dr. Sudhindra Bose observes :—

The new Immigration Law of 1924, which excludes Asians from America technically known as the land of Freedom, will go down in history as the most unprovoked and most discriminatory piece of legislation ever enacted by a nation against a whole continent. It involves political and international issues of far-reaching importance. It may even mark the beginning of the parting of ways between Asia and America definitely.

It is to be remembered that all Orientals who come to America are not 'laborers', 'coolies'. Some of them are as well born and have as high a tradition of culture behind them as the best that Europe or America can show. Why, then, is there such a feeling of touch-me-not toward all Asians ?

THE CAUSE OF FRICTION

He who will go below the handy and cherished pretenses will find that the fundamental cause of friction is not economic, but social. The chief reason why Asians are barred is because they are regarded as inferiors. That the so-called economic reason for anti-Asian discrimination, relative to the nationals of European countries, is pure myth has been ably demonstrated by an anonymous "Japanese" Publicist in *The Japan Advertiser*, a Tokio American daily.

A Bengali Bird-Myth

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra writes :—

Regarding the evolution of this bird Indian black-headed oriole, the following etiological myth is current in the village of Kuarpur in the Madaripur Sub-Division of the District of Faridpur in Eastern Bengal :—

Once upon a time, there lived a woman who had several daughters-in-law. But she hated the youngest daughter-in-law with the greatest of rancour. Whenever guests or relatives came to her house, she compelled her much-maltreated youngest daughter-in-law to serve the said guest or relative with her own meal. As the cruel mother-in-law would not cook any fresh meal thereafter for her hated youngest daughter-in-law, the latter had to remain fasting during the whole of the day-time. One day, a relative having arrived in the house, the ill-treated youngest daughter-in-law was, as usual, obliged to entertain him by serving out to

him the platterful of her own morning-meal. But as usual, no fresh meal was cooked for her thereafter. The result was that she had to remain fasting the whole of that day.

Being unable to endure her mother-in-law's cruel ill-treatment any longer, she besmeared the whole of her own body with the paste of the yellow turmeric, and placed upon her own head an earthen pot (handi) blackened with soot and went away from the house, crying out : "*Kutum ay, Kutum ay*", that is to say, "O guests and relatives ! You are (now) welcome (lit. you may now come), (though you have been the cause of my death)." She was, subsequently, metamorphosed into the yellow-plumaged and black-headed bird which now bears the appellation of the Indian Black-headed Oriole or *Bene Bou* or *Halde Pakhi* and which utters, even to the present day, a call-note sounding very much like the aforementioned words "*Kutum ay Kutum ay*".

Railway Posters

The Bengal Nagpur Railway Magazine gives reproductions of some striking railway posters and writes with reference to the subject :—

The Railway poster in India is practically unknown. What future the poster has in this country can only be estimated after a very careful enquiry as to the incidence of Railway travel and the influence of the right kind of publicity.

Whether such publicity would be effective is also another question that would have to be answered.

In England railway posters have undergone a revolution. One railway for instance has had a series of posters prepared by no less than seventeen members of the Royal Academy. Other railways have followed suit, so that to-day the most beautiful posters now being exhibited belong to the railways companies. Each in itself is a beautiful picture—a real work of art.

There is of course no question that such posters influence traffic in England. Once a year at least the whole Nation goes holiday-making. It is always a question as to whether fresh ground should be broken and the artistic poster is a strong lure to fresh fields and pastures new. It is not to be thought that the series contain only pictures of alluring and beautiful scenery. Not at all. An ordinary goods Depot comes in the list, also the cab of an express locomotive showing the driver and fireman. Industries are portrayed in vivid colours. The railways have definitely called in Art to their aid and it will be a matter of keen interest to see if the scheme succeeds in establishing a permanent relation.

When Sir John Millais' picture "Bubbles" was acquired by Messrs. Pears for a soap advertisement there was a tremendous outcry and commercial adaptation was henceforth taboo. Now however it seems that such ideas are either dead or dying. Art goes forth into the market-place as a helper of commerce.

Profit-Sharing

We read in *the Bombay Co-operative News* :—

The French Ministry of Labour has recently completed a study of profit-sharing in France. The inquiry was made because a number of bills had been introduced in the National Assembly to make profit-sharing compulsory and it seemed advisable to the Government to secure official information as to the present status and results of profit-sharing.

No legislation has been enacted in France regarding the sharing of profits in industrial or commercial enterprises generally; but a law of December 18, 1915 made profit-sharing compulsory for workers' co-operative productive associations which receive support from the State. *By a law of September 9, 1919 profit-sharing was compulsory in all mining operations which should receive concessions in the future*, and a law of April 26, 1911, provided for the formation of incorporated co-partnership societies in which stock apportioned among the employees assures the workers an interest in the profits realised. The law of October 19, 1921 relating to the new regime of the Railways, has been considered by some to permit the creation of a system of profit-sharing on railroads. The question was considered in the National Assembly during the discussion of the law but the text which was finally adopted provides only for a bonus granted for the purpose of promoting the interest of the personnel in the development of traffic and in economy in co-operative expenses.

Information was secured relative to 328 workers co-operative productive associations, employing about 12,000 workers. The profits divided among the members of these associations varied from 25 to 75 per cent, the majority of associations paying from 25 to 30 per cent. The profits distributed in 1920 by 195 of the associations amounted to 3,996,458 francs, 9,239 employees participating. The average amount received by workers who had been employed the entire year varied from 100 francs in the clothing industries to more than 1,000 francs in the glass and porcelain industries.

Profit-sharing due entirely to private initiative, was found to be in force in 75 out of 168 establishments which were reported to the Ministry of Labour as having profit-sharing systems.

10 of the firms employed more than 1,000 persons, 7 from 500 to 1,000, 32 from 100 to 500, and 25 less than 100. There were profit-sharing plans in operations in 17 banks and insurance companies, 15 in the metal industries, 13 in mercantile establishments, 5 in the clothing industries and 4 in the book industry, while the remaining 21 were scattered among various other industries.

The results of profit-sharing for the year 1921 were reported for 62 establishments, employing 99,550 workers.

The total amount of the profit-sharing dividends for 1921 was 25,743,000 francs. The average dividend per employee was 906 francs.

The general opinion of the employers in the undertaking in which there was a profit-sharing scheme was that it exerted a favourable influence on the stability of the working force. The opinion was not so unanimous, however, in regard to improvement in production or employee relations, although several employers considered that production had been increased and that labour troubles

had been much clearly established by the study whether profit-sharing is increasing or on the decline. While more than one-third of the plans had been put into effect since 1919, a number, and among them some of the oldest, have recently been abandoned.

A Bill has recently been introduced in the Portuguese Senate by Mr. Ferreira de Simas for the establishment of a profit-sharing scheme applicable to all Portugal.

Under the proposals of the Bill, all commercial industrial and agricultural undertakings and employer's must allow their work-people to participate in the profits of the enterprises by which they are employed without any responsibility being attached to the works by their employment contract in cases of business losses or failure. On their side, the workers must, by the insertion of a special clause in their contract of employment, renounce all rights to share in the management and supervision of undertakings, and in the auditing of accounts.

"The Indian Review"

HUMOURS OF THE POST OFFICE

Mr. H. A. Sams has contributed an enjoyable article on humours of the post office. He tells us among other things :—

Postal officials are not usually imaginative, but a clerk in the Circle Examiner's office of a certain Circle was an exception. The order had gone forth that 2 rupee stamps of a particular issue were to be used up. He got a letter on which customs duty of several thousand rupees had to be paid. He saw his chance and attached to the Customs Receipt sheets of 2 rupees stamps pasted end on until the length stretched from one end of a corridor to the other. The Postmaster General took the letter and roll of stamps to show to the then Director-General. As the sheets were unfurled, the Director General first smiled, then giggled and ended up with a fit of uncontrollable laughter.

Some clerks are not quite so brainy. At one post office the Postmaster-General was trying to get the clerks to insure their lives. Most of the questions on the application form such as "Have you ever been insane?" obviously required the answer in the negative. Then come

"Are you of temperate habits? Have you always been so?"

Most of the clerks answered both questions also in the negative!

NEED FOR MARINE BIOLOGICAL STATIONS IN INDIA.

Dr. K. N. Bahl thus concludes an article on the need for marine biological stations in India :—

To reach the goal of "Swaraj," we must not only try to be politically independent but must also develop our system of higher education so as to make us self-reliant and not dependent upon other countries. The number of Indian students

going abroad to finish their education is inordinately large, and the Lytton Committee held that "the perfecting of our educational machine in India" was the key to the problem of Indian students abroad. In every branch of human knowledge, we must improve our equipment and try and reach the highest standards possible. The establishment of marine stations is one of the ways to reach a high standard in Biology in Indian Universities.

WHAT BRITAIN EXPECTS OF INDIA

In her article on Britain and India, the Lady Emily Lutyens asks "what does Britain expect of India?" and answers:—

What does Britain expect of India? The great difficulty which all friends of India and Great Britain have to meet is the reproach of a lack of unity among Indian politicians. It is that more than anything else which gives the reactionaries the right to say that Indians do not yet know what they want, neither are they willing to unite together and sink their minor and local differences for the great national cause of Swaraj. Therefore it seems to me that the first step is for the leaders of all the parties to meet together and to prepare a common programme and to define very clearly exactly what is meant by Swaraj. The first step towards this unity was taken in Bombay last month when a really representative Committee was formed to consider the outlines of a Constitution.

POPULATION AND SUBSISTENCE IN INDIA

Mr. D. S. Gordon observes in his article on population and subsistence in India:—

One of the reasons why early marriages have continued to be in vogue has been the ease with which subsistence could be found in the past. In fact, it was no disqualification at all for a bridegroom not to have an income; for the maintenance of the family was the look-out of his elders; or, if he belonged to a joint-family, it was the common concern of all the members. The situation, however, has now changed with the change in economic conditions; the upper and the middle classes have become more circumspect. But in regard to the lower classes the effect has been quite otherwise. In their case a wife and children really augment the scanty earnings of a man, so that the man undertakes little responsibility and bears no burden in marrying. Indeed, it is even said that children are the poor man's insurance, for they somehow grow up and support their parents in old age.

But it is obvious that this tends to perpetuate a section of people who will always live on the borderland of starvation with no prospect of physical or intellectual improvement. It is necessary, therefore, to cultivate higher ideals, especially among such as these. Marriage should not be regarded as a socio-religious affair which happens as a matter of course. On the other hand, a sense of individual responsibility must develop in each father of a family, and the community must come to regard the capacity to provide for a family as a *sine qua non* of marriage. Until this comes to pass no reduction in the birth-rate and no material improvements are possible.

"Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

BRAHMI SEALS

We learn from an article by Mr K. P. Jayaswal that very ancient Brahmi seals, three in number, were found at Patna by Cunningham. After Cunningham's discovery six seals have been found. Four of them are glass seals, of which three were dug out by Dr. Spooner at Kumrahar, and the fourth was found by Mr. Manoranjan Ghosh at Bulandi Bagh.

The glass seals have no catches on their back. The back portions are plain and smooth. It seems that they are moulds for preparing clay impressions which when burnt would have been the real matrices. On this hypothesis alone we can explain the positive legends of the seals and the want of catches. The legends in relief show clearly that the seals have been cast, which proves a developed stage of glass industry at Patna where the present glass industry has probably come down from ancient times.

The first three seals appear to belong to a period circa 200 B. C. Out of the three, the second is more archaic than the others. The fourth is more important from epigraphic point of view. The letters are certainly older than Asoka's time.

The seal may be even older than 300 B. C. and we may even call it pre-Mauryan.

Dr. Spooner and Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghose are to be congratulated on the discovery of these important finds in such a unique material. To my knowledge, glass seals have not been discovered elsewhere.

The fifth seal was discovered by Mr. Jayaswal. The lettering shows that] the seal belongs to the 2nd century B. C.

THE USE OF GLASS IN ANCIENT INDIA

Mr. Manoranjan Ghosh says in his article on the use of glass in ancient India:—

It is a common belief that glass was introduced in India by foreigners during the Muhammadan time. Before entering the Archaeological Department, I had also the same notion until I came across glass objects in the excavations at Taxila. The Pataliputra excavations gave us glass objects with letters which supplied a more definite clue and conclusively proved that glass manufacture was common in ancient India. A study of ancient Indian literature has confirmed the belief that glass was known in India from very early time and its use common in life in the time of the Buddha and from that time onwards there are continuous references to glass in Pali and Sanskrit literature.

Mr. Ghosh goes on to quote references to glass in ancient Indian literature. The first passage he quotes is from the Satapatha Brahmins, of which the date is about the eighth century B. C. Passages are then quoted

from the Vinaya Pitaka, Kautilya's Arthashastra, the Sukraniti, Katha-Saritsagara, and the Susruta. "The above passages clearly prove that glass was known in ancient India from the time of the Satapatha Brahmana."

Mr. Ghosh then proceeds to tell the reader in what places glass has been found in the course of archaeological excavations. From this section of his article we shall cull only a few details.

In the Manikyal Stupa in the Punjab glass has been found deposited within the stupa. The date of the Manikyal Stupa is about first century B. C. Pandit Dayaram Sahni, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Punjab, has found glass bangles in association with seals containing peculiar heiroglyphic legends and neolithic implements at Harappa, Montgomery District, Punjab.

Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology in India has found blue glass tiles at Taxila in Buddhist chapels which can be dated as early as second century B. C. Glass flask and fragments of glass have also been found at Taxila which according to Sir John Marshall can be dated as early as sixth century B. C.

We have already seen what glass seals have been found at Patna.

Mr. R. D. Banerjee has found glass beads and other objects at Mohen-jo-Daro in Sindh at a distance of six miles from the railway station at Dokri on the Rohri-Kotri sections of the North-Western Railway. He places the glass and the Harappa-like seals found there as early as 2500 B. C. He observes very close affinity in the objects found there with the objects excavated at Crete by Arthur Evans.

Outside India the earliest date for the use of glass was in Egypt 1400 B. C., because numerous glass beads and coloured glass have been found in abundance in the tomb of Tutankhamen who flourished about that date. Mr. Arthur Evans has found glass beads in the Palace of Knossos, Crete, and dates them as early as 3rd millennium B.C.

SANSKRIT WORKS ON ELEPHANTS

Messrs. Vinayatosa Bhattacharyya and G. K. Shrigondekar describe the extensive literature that there is in Sanskrit on elephants, the methods of catching them, their tending and treatment.

OUR HISTORICAL SENSE.

Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya deals with :

The question whether the Ancient Indians recorded no contemporary events or whether they never had the knowledge of writing history in the modern fashion. The latter question to be applied to Ancient India would be assuredly a self-contradiction. The first question can be most adequately answered.

History fundamentally deals with memorable events—events connected with the life-history of contemporary kings, religious teachers, and power-

ful clans. This kind of history we find in abundance in Indian literature. ancient tradition, coins and inscriptions. In some cases, it is possible to get a full glimpse into the daily life of ancient peoples in India.

MAGICAL PRACTICES, OMENS AND DREAMS AMONG BIRHORS

Roy Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy gives a brief account of the rites and practices, spells and taboos by which the Birhor seeks to enter into some sort of relations with the more important spirits and to delude or scare away or control the lesser spirits so as to secure good luck and avoid bad luck to the community, the family and the individual, "either by utilizing or avoiding some magical virtue supposed to inhere in certain material objects or in certain pantomimic or other practices or in certain words or spells, or through the help of certain impersonal powers or energies which the Birhor magician thinks he can set in motion through appropriate actions to further his own ends or those of his clientele or community." Mr. Roy also treats of the interpretations of omens and dreams among the Birhors.

NIBBANAM

Mr. Kalipada Mitra discourses on the meaning or meanings of *Nibbanam* in Buddhist literature and arrives at the conclusion that "Nibbana is left *avyakta*, ineffable, indeterminate, a mystery by the Buddha."

"Welfare"

LUXURY

We make the following extracts from Major B. D. Basu's article on Luxury :—

Prof. Ross writes :—

"Intercourse with abroad acquaints a people with foreign luxuries and implants new cravings. The sudden growth of the standard of consumption beyond the means of satisfying it sharpens the struggle for wealth, undermines old personal ideals, and subverts the old valuations of things. As tastes and appetites which hold them in check, heavy borrowings from a foreign culture are apt to demoralize, for a time, the upper classes of the people. The Greek moralists deplored the rage for Asiatic luxuries, which whetted the greed for gold and led the Greeks to take the pay of the Persian King." (Ross's *Social Control*, pp: 407-408).

Unfortunately the same is happening in India to-day.

Luxury brings about race suicide, for it is accompanied by a disinclination to bring into the world, or rear, children. It is luxury to which should be attributed the success of Neo-Malthusianism of our times.

Again, it is luxury which begets what is known as "Fashion." Count Giacomo Leopardi, in his "Dialogue between Fashion and Death" very humorously calls them twin sisters. He makes "fashion" speak to Death.—

"I say then that the tendency and operation common to us both is to be continually renewing the world; but whereas you have from the beginning aimed your efforts directly against the bodily constitutions and the lives of men, I am content to limit my operations to such things as their beards, their hair, their clothing, their furniture, their dwellings, and the like. Nevertheless, it is a fact that I have not failed at times to play men certain tricks not altogether unworthy to be compared to your own work;.....In short, I contrive to persuade the more ambitious of mortals daily to endure countless inconveniences, sometimes torture and mutilation, ay, even death itself, for the love they bear towards me,"

"Death" is made to exclaim:—

"By my faith, I begin to believe that you are my sister after all. Nay, it is as sure as death, and you have no need to produce the birth certificate of the parish-priest in order to prove it."

PROS AND CONS OF INDUSTRIAL INSURANCE

In an article on this subject Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar makes the statement that

The French *Chambre des deputes* has been devising a scheme of legislation for industrial insurance, or as it is known in French, *les assurances sociales*. The government is bent on taking immediate steps in order to relieve persons with incomes not exceeding 10,000 francs (about Rs. 2000) per year and cover their risks such as arise from sickness, maternity, old age, invalidity and death. The insurance is to be compulsory. Premiums are to be paid at the rate of 10 per cent of the wage of which half will be charged of the employer and the rest of the employee. Altogether 9 million persons are going to be insured in this manner.

The system was introduced in Germany by Bismarck in 1883 in order to cover sickness.

Against the scheme,

M. Vuley says that the scheme is philanthropic but is contrary to the principles of economics and is likely to produce evil consequences. In the first place, the incidence of the premium will tend to fall on the employer. But will it not in that event ultimately touch the workingman's wage? In any case the wage-earner's own foresight and sense of individual responsibility is likely to be killed.

Germany being the pioneer in industrial insurance, Prof. Sarkar also summarises the experience of the German people, and begins thus:—

In 1907 lecturing at the Industrial Club of Chicago, Professor Schunacher (then of the University of Bonn, now of Berlin), concluded as follows: "The result of all these measures is that Germany is today ahead of all other countries in the matter of arrangements for the protection of life and health. We largely attribute the most

remarkable feature in the modern development of our German nation, of modern German life, to this industrial insurance legislation.

"We are convinced that only on the basis of such a far-reaching industrial insurance legislation that object could be attained of which we are so proud, an increase of our population together with the great improvement of the standard of life in the broad masses of our people."

RURAL SURVEY

From Professor Dr. Rajani Kanta Das's article on rural survey, we learn among other things that

In point of efficiency, India stands 22nd among agricultural countries. When it is pointed out that most of the farm produce is exported as raw materials and not as manufactured goods and that more than half of the fisheries, forest land and mineral resources remain untapped, unexploited or unmined, it becomes easier to understand why India is the poorest country in the world.

The vital problem of India today is that of industrial re-organisation with a view to augmenting social capital and national dividend. The supreme need of India is the introduction of modern arts and sciences into productive processes, of which agriculture forms the pivotal point in both national and village economy. It is upon a solid industrial organisation that a sound and progressive national life can be built.

Modern industrialism has already established itself in India, especially in manufacturing industries. But its field is not limited to the textile industries.

Modern industrialism is not an unmixed blessing. Its indiscriminate adoption may cause more harm than good. The old village was not only an industrial unit, but also a social and political whole. It had its own individuality, which had withstood the ravages of ages under the rise and fall of dynasties and empires. The real solution of India's problem must come from within and not from without. What is needed is to help India evolve an industrial system which will form the substructure of her culture and civilization and at the same time ensure her political development and social progress.

The re-organisation of the village with this object in view will necessarily raise such pertinent questions as the following: (1) What are the essential features of the village? (2) Why and how has the dis-organisation been brought about? (3) What are the existing institutions through which modern science, art and philosophy can be infused into its social, industrial and political aims and objects? (4) How can the people be awakened to strive for fuller and richer self-realization?

These and similar questions cannot be adequately answered without a comprehensive survey of village-life. Like the diagnosis of a disease, rural survey must precede rural reconstruction. A survey of this kind will naturally take into consideration such features of the village organism as land, people, industrial systems, political organisations and social institutions.

Such a comprehensive survey is bound to be very broad and will encroach upon the domain of several theoretical and applied sciences, both natural and social. But when studied from the

larger aspects of sociology with economics as the background, all the diverse elements and parts will be correlated into an organic whole, which is called collective life or society.

W. W. PEARSON

Of the late Mr. W. W. Pearson, Mr. Ashoke Chatterjee observes in an illustrated article :—

Our dear friend prayed and worked so that the world could be a better place to live in, so that there could be more real happiness and the growls of dissatisfied blood-lust die out for ever, so that the fair earth be not again and again scorched by the fire of covetous criminality and wanton fratricide. He devoted his life to the cause of Human Well-Being and he did not want to be a 'good soldier', because he was a good teacher.

A tall spare figure, a face expressive of joy in sacrifice, eyes that could see the sorrow and suffering hidden in the heart of others, a smile that gave unpretentious sympathy and won friendship and a nature simple as a child's but strong like that of a knight-errant, are the things that come up in my mind when I think of William Winstanley Pearson.

TOYS FOR CHILDREN

Mrs. Nestor Noel pleads for more toys to be given to children, even when they are thought to be too old for them.

People are very particular to give their children enough to eat. Certainly most children nowadays—provided their parents are able to supply it—have more than enough to eat.

Yet while their little bodies are stuffed, their hearts are often starved for want of toys.

"I suppose you are busy buying toys," I remarked to a mother one day, a few weeks before Christmas.

"O no," she said. "My children are too old for toys!" The eldest one was not yet nine!

"What do you give them?" I asked. She told me that she filled their stockings with peanuts, oranges and candy! More to eat! From time to time, I had taken these children toys and I knew by their delight in my gifts that they would have appreciated toys more than anything else.

HOW A STEAM BOILER IS WORKED

Prof. S. R. M. Naidu, F.R.S (sc.) of the Visvabharati, describes in detail, how a steam boiler is worked, observing, to begin with :—

The life of a steam boiler depends largely on the manner in which it is worked. Recklessness and ignorance on the part of those responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of a boiler are certain to lead to rapid wear and tear and, perhaps serious accident, or possibly explosion. It is an unfortunate fact that steam users frequently place their boilers in charge of ordinary labourers, thinking that it is quite unnecessary to employ skilled attendants. This is a sad mistake which may result not only

in excessive cost of upkeep, but also in unduly heavy coal bills.

The working of a boiler comprises several distinct operations which may be summarised as follows:

- (a) Filling with water and raising steam.
- (b) Feeding.
- (c) Maintaining a constant pressure.
- (d) Firing.
- (e) Shutting down and emptying.

WHAT CHILDREN REALLY WANT

Mrs. Mary S. Stover tells us in the course of a short article full of insight:

One can do a child grave injustice by getting him everything he wants. This is a world of limitations, thwarted wishes, necessity for sharing with others. The person whose every early wish was granted finds it hard to adjust himself to life.

We ought, however, to choose our gifts from the standpoint of sympathetic regard for the child and less from what catches the adult fancy: there ought also to be more concern for the needs of his developing life. Knowledge of what the child really wants furnishes valuable understanding of his personality. This means not only to know what he wants but why.

CO-OPERATION IN RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

The following paragraphs serve as a sort of introduction to an article on co-operation in rural reconstruction by Mr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., M.R.A.S., B. & O.C.S. (retired):—

Even if one casually surveys the economic condition of a present-day village in Eastern India, one will not fail to be struck with its random and topsy-turvy character, the result of many factors inhering in a decadent age.—The need of a reconstruction on economic lines will, at the same time, make itself felt. The need has been there for many a long day; but, is reconstruction possible? To a great extent, yes; yes, only if all the constituents of a village cohere and co-operate. In factious, there is no hope of well-being; in rivalries, there is no good; competition and ambition to dominate are vain. Mutual service, helpful co-operation is the force, the moral attraction, that may reconstruct, and bring forth that desirable harmony, that hoped-for progress, that wished-for peace and goodwill, which many an earnest spirit are now dreaming of.

Ordinarily,—and generally speaking—a village-community is composed of the land-owning classes; the peasantry and the landless labourers; the rural artisans and handicraftsmen; the petty traders and the grain or money lenders. In a co-operative reconstruction, the best interests of all these classes of the population will have to be served; combining self-service with the service of one's neighbours, to the advantage of both.

THE DAIRY INDUSTRY

The importance of the dairy industry, on which Mr. V. S. Chinnaswami, B.A., (Technical Chemist), writes an illustrated article, will be understood from the extract given below.

Mr. W. H. Harrison, Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India in one of his elaborate contributions pointed out from striking facts from history that the prosperity of a nation has a direct relation to the dairy cow. He has therefore stressed upon the importance of the needs of India's Dairy Industry. A. Hayne of Chicago sums up in the following sentences the benefits that the dairy cow has conferred on the human race.

1. The cow is one of the greatest blessings to the human race

2. No nation or people has become highly civilised without her.

3. She produces the best human food on earth.

4. She makes this health-building, strengthening food from grass and coarse plants.

5. She provides not only good food for her young and her keeper's family but also a surplus to sell.

6. Without her, agriculture is not permanent or prosperous and her people are not healthy and happy.

7. Where cows are kept and cared for, civilisation advances, lands grow richer, homes grow better, and debts grow fewer.

8. Truly the cow is the Mother of Prosperity. And verily therefore the Kama-Dhenu of Vedic lore has been worshipped as on her depended the household prosperity, health and happiness. But the illiteracy and ignorance of the public has played no small part in jeopardising the milk industry. The present state of the dairy industry is precarious. It was only in the last World's Dairy Congress that Mr. William Smith, Imperial Dairy expert, stated that of all the civilised countries in the world, India was probably the most backward in development of the dairy industry. He stated that it was almost impossible to obtain reasonably pure milk at any price. The milk supply is not only very high in cost but it is also of inadequate quality.

ON ADVERTISING

Advertisers in India will do well to read the whole of the article on the relation of the newspaper and the magazine to advertising, by Mr. Kshitindra Kumar Nag, Ph. B., of the University of Chicago. They will then be better able to decide where and how to advertise. By way of sample we quote the following passages:—

Of all the mediums of publicity for the advertisement of saleable goods, the newspaper and the magazine stand first. They are the mediums through which the producer or seller can reach effectively any considerable body of intelligent purchasing classes. From this general supposition it is interesting to note the special merits of each and institute comparisons of advertising values.

The magazine and newspaper have their distinct values as advertising mediums, and each is most essential in making the most out of the commodities that are offered for sale; each calls for a different style of copy and for a different plan of advertising campaign. There are several things for the advertiser to keep in mind before initiating any advertising campaign in either the newspaper or the magazine.

The mental disposition of a newspaper reader is different from that of the magazine reader. The mind of the former is engrossed in the news of the day, and if he receives any impression from an advertisement he must get it quickly and easily. The life of the newspaper is short, seldom exceeds over twenty-four hours. It is a waste of money and space to cover every aspect of a proposition in one issue of the newspaper. If an entire story is necessary, it should be presented over a period of days in series of papers, adding a new phase each day and multiplying impressions until the reader has become convinced.

The circulation of the newspaper is largely local, generally, covering only the city in which it is issued.

The newspaper permits the advertiser to make frequent appeals from the product to be sold, the paper being published daily or several times daily. For example, in America, business men's shopping advertisements come out in morning paper; articles for home use are advertised in the evening paper. Again, the daily price-changes of a product can best be announced easily and quickly through the medium of newspaper advertising.

Now, let us note some of the merits of the magazine in respect to advertising. People read magazines more leisurely than they do newspapers and have time to peruse the advertisements more carefully. They are a distinct class of readers, but there are variations within the class which can be appealed to by varying the character of the advertising according to the character of the magazine. For instance, the advertisement inserted in a magazine having its circulation among cultured and intellectual people must be of the highest type from the standpoint of appearance, language, and argument.

The average magazine has a life of thirty to ninety days, that is, the average magazine will be around the average home or the average club from thirty to ninety days, and during that time its advertising pages are repeatedly scanned by members of the family, neighbours, visitors, or members of the club. In some cases, indeed, the magazines are not put away until the end of the year, while in others they are carefully laid away each month as soon as a new number arrives.

The magazine reaches particular groups of people in all sections of the province or the country. In other words, its circulation is national. Then, too, a single copy is often read by several persons.

From the few aspects of the merits of the newspaper and the magazine mentioned above, it is now pretty clear that the newspaper and the magazine perform entirely different functions and have different values in respect to the advertising plan. Whether the advertiser should use the newspaper or the magazine depends upon the kind of commodity he has to sell, the class of people he wants to reach, and the character of appeal he has to make.

A COMMON SCRIPT FOR INDIA

Dr. I. J. S. Taraporevala, Ph. D., Professor of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University, discourses on a common script for India, observing

When we consider this question of script we must bear in mind several important points. The

chief requirements for a script to be acceptable as common for all India must be the following:—

- (1) It should be easy to write.
- (2) It should be easy to remember.
- (3) It should be scientifically accurate and, at the same time,
- (4) It should be based on principles quite easily understandable by the man of average education and intelligence.

To these four I might add a fifth qualification, bearing in mind this is the question of a script for India, not of an *international* phonetic script. Hence the additional qualification is:

- (5) It should, if possible, have historical associations with our own past.

In the ancient days, even from the third century B. C., we meet with the unexpected and very welcome fact that all the diverse scripts of India are really of one common parentage, and that they have all inherited to a greater or lesser degree the characteristics of their Parent. Moreover we find that the idea of a common script for all India is not a new one; and that when the whole land was united under the Emperor Asoka there was this common script for the land. About this Parent, the Brahmi, this is what Isaac Taylor says in his work on *The Alphabet*:

"In India the....monuments of primitive writing consist of a magnificent series of contemporaneous inscriptions, written before the divergence of the Indian alphabets began, indisputable in date, in a wonderful state of preservation, repeated again and again, almost in the same words, on rocks and pillars throughout the breadth of Hindustan.

"The elaborate and beautiful alphabet employed in these records is unrivalled among the alphabets of the world for its scientific excellence. Bold, simple, grand, complete the characters are easy to remember, facile to read, and difficult to mistake, representing with absolute precision the graduated niceties of sound which the phonetic analysis of Sanskrit grammarians had discovered in that marvellous idiom. None of the artificial alphabets which have been proposed by modern philologists excel it in delicacy, ingenuity, exactitude and comprehensiveness."

Here we have all the qualifications for a perfect script existing in our own land, the handiwork of our own peoples, during at least 2500 years past. We have a script exactly adapted to our special sounds which is able to distinguish them with great nicety. And the direct descendant of the Brahmi, our modern Nagari (Devanagari) alphabet, fulfils all the requirements of a perfect script.

Dr. Taraporevala points out the disadvantages of the Roman script.

THE ECONOMICS OF LEATHER TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Mr. B. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., I.T., F.R.E.S. Lecturer in Economics and Commerce, Calcutta University, writes on the economics of the leather industry, dwelling in the first article on the economic importance of leather and taking a survey of the existing leather industry.

THE RUBBER INDUSTRY

Professor Prannath Pundit, M.Sc., contributes an illustrated article on the rubber industry, concluding:—

"We have seen that India annually exports a large quantity of raw rubber. It is however a pity that the quantity of manufactured goods has not kept pace with the produce of raw-rubber. To quote the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-18):—This industry is one of those that are essential in the national interest and should be inaugurated...by special measures."

INDIGO TRADE

Mr. Doongersee Dharamsee writes on the indigo trade, pointing out:—

The cultivation of Indigo is not only of importance to the indigo industry itself, but that there are other advantages, which materially help and enrich other industries. According to Sir Thomas Holland, it has been found that, acting as a soil fertiliser indigo increases the yield of other crops with which it is grown in association or rotation. Wheat and sugar benefit greatly by association with indigo. As no synthetic substitute will be made in India, the cultivation of natural indigo is therefore a necessary safeguard for the Industries of India. An adequate production of natural indigo is an insurance against the monopoly dangers, which may arise if synthetic product is allowed to completely replace it as no synthetic indigotine is made in India.

The cultivation of indigo by Indians is on a distinctly larger scale, than that on plantations controlled by European planters. For the dye is much used by Indian dyers throughout India. If the cheap foreign synthetic dye replaces it, then the Indian industry will die an unnatural death. It is a pity that the European planters do not publish and demonstrate the results of scientific improvements and advance made by them in the growing and production of indigotine to the small cultivators, who would largely benefit by it. The research work done at Pusa has been considerable but unfortunately the results have not reached Indian cultivators yet and indigo cultivation is getting profitless as far as Indian Ryots are concerned.

Revolutionary changes in the manufacture of iron smelting are probable in the very near future, rendering the production of coke in huge quantities at a high temperature unnecessary and the production of great quantities of benzene naphthalene etc. cheaply will stop, and there is a likelihood for the natural colouring matters, such as indigo, again come to the fore.

PHOTO CERAMICS

Prof. Dr. H. K. Sen, D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor of Applied Chemistry at the Calcutta University writes on photo ceramics, explaining it as follows:—

Photo-ceramics is the art of transferring photographs to porcelain, enamel, stone-ware, or metallic backgrounds, and giving these pictures permanence by burning them into the grounds with the help

of heat. The development of this art is so closely associated with the development of the science and art of the phototype process, that inventors who worked out processes for the one, also influenced the development of the other, and indeed, the greater practical utility of the chrome-lithoprinting process caused this small but interesting art of photo-ceramics to attain its present condition of perfection.

NATION-BUILDING AND THE CRITICAL SPIRIT

Babu Ramananda Chatterjee explains in an article on nation-building and the critical spirit how the critical spirit is useful and necessary in the spheres of religion and social polity, in politics, economics, industry and in every other field of national activity, for the purpose of building up a united Indian nation.

"Current Thought"

THE OUTCOME OF MODERN BUSINESS PRINCIPLES

In the course of an article on the age of power, Mr. Wilfred Wellock points out the consequences of modern business principles.

Modern business principles could all be rolled up into one, viz that it is a man's object in business to acquire as much wealth as he can for himself and his family. By what moral laws he shall be guided to this end, it is not stated. As a fact there are none. He may make five per cent or five hundred per cent; he may "corner" commodities or form combines. The only stipulation is, that he shall hold to his bargain. It is not a crime to "cook" a market, or to take advantage of knowing a little more, or seeing a little farther than one's neighbour. The only crime is to squeal when you are caught in the trap, and particularly if you blame the man who set it for you.

The outcome may be imagined; it is the world which confronts us to-day. Materialism is working itself out to its logical conclusion. A series of ever-widening clashes has marked the course of this hopeless conflict. Each manufacturer has fought his neighbour, each combine its competitor, each financial group its rival; while, internationally, the same conflict has taken place, first between industries, then between the combines, and finally between the banks and financial groups.

At times the conflict has broken out into open hostility, within the nations in the form of strikes or, worse, civil war, and internationally in the form of increasingly ferocious war, generating all the time an unwholesome fear, and causing highly civilised nations to spend increasing portions of their boasted wealth on armies and the means of destruction.

The world war was a symptom and a warning, a premise in the logical syllogism that history is working out. That war came as a shock to hundreds of millions of people who had made the tragic mistake of allowing the Press and the Church to do their thinking for them. Yet it was but the

natural fruitage of greed. And worse wars will follow unless the attempt to carry on civilisation by the principle of greed be abandoned.

THE MACHINE WORSHIPPERS

The following extracts will give some idea of what Rene Fulop Miller calls the cult of machine worship.—

In Russia, the machine has become for the multitude the new God, insatiably devouring sacrifices afresh. All the known means are employed in the attempt to uncover its mysterious being, and to subordinate life and the world's doings to its laws.

In every slightest detail, this reverence for the machine bears the unmistakable signs of a sternly practised religious cult. This is clearly perceptible from a visit to the "Studios" or "Work-shops" of the new artists (as the mystery-temples of the Machine Worshippers are called). Upon entering these sacred precincts, along one wall are seen standing, as if mystically conjured up there, machine-like structures of steel, reinforced cement, or wood—the mystic idols of the new Machine God. The walls are thickly covered with designs showing various positions, sections, or the processes of building (incarnations)—the aspect and majesty of this God. These technical drawings, numbered A, B, C, D, etc., in their chaste, severe lines, recall at moments those austere holy pictures of the primitives—The Holy Machine cross-section A, the Holy Dynamo-generator B, the Holy Blast-furnace C, etc., and all these are bearing out testimony to the eternal truth of the All-highest, the Absolute, whose law governs the whole world—Amen!

The people of these halls, by their glances and expressions and their completely awe-inspired behaviour, display all the typical outward signs of fanaticism, revealing their inward unison with the Divine: both their head-dress and clothing have an air of the ritual costume about them. They stand for hours in the temple of their God, lost in amazement, or meditating—as if deep in prayer before the holy images—the numerous wood and steel constructions and the old designs upon the walls, those extraordinary sacred symbols of the new church. Their mass-gatherings in the presence of these idols are veritable devotional ceremonies in honour of the supreme "Deux ex Machina."

At the famous Monday-midnight rites in the "Foregger-Studios", they perform the Machine-Dance in homage to the Machine God.

Proudly, the Revolution had proclaimed the fully responsible, self-conscious man, owing no allegiance or subjection to superhuman forces, or to a God. The pictures of the old God had been ridiculed, and Allah, Jehovah and Christ derided. Simultaneously appeared the new adoration or religion, with all the paraphernalia, even with all the old ceremonial requisition, merely re-draped to suit the times but nevertheless manifesting a fanaticism and intolerance similar to that of other faiths.

In a semi-circular, red-brick building in Moscow is the office of the High Priests of the Machine-God: the Gastypes Institute for the research of Mechanistic Laws, which ascertains by means of the most exact measurements and computations, the bio-mechanic of the Machine God in man.

In the first hall, the attempt is made to determine the maximum capacity for achievement of the human organism. Four departments, with seven laboratories, are engaged upon the modern alchemistic incarnation of the Machine Man. In the Psycho-economic Laboratory, the economic productivity of the human organism is being established. How much energy is expended at every movement and how a given movement may be carried out as economically as possible, are being definitely ascertained, and the most favourable durations for periods of rest and work are being sternly graded. They have also discovered the exactly determinable psychologic frame of mind essential to the best work; and the various psychological stimuli have been estimated to a hair's breadth. Nothing remains hidden to the scientist; the time taken for every *micro* and *macro*-movement is determined down to the hundredth of a second. Precision has exulted in the most intoxicating triumphs, comparable only to those of a Caesar, in his most energetic and comprehensive study of the human organism.

Another, equally important place of initiation, a sort of second centre of the Machine Cult, is Mayerhold's "Theatre Workshop." Here the Machine Man is exhibited and demonstrated. The Theatre no longer serves as a diversion: it is a work-yard, a State factory, exclusively concerned with the work of creating the new Man, and Mayerhold is the most distinguished of his manufacturers. He it was who first portrayed upon the stage the machine works of the human body, its bio-mechanical functions. By his exact study of the anatomical and physiological constitution of the human organism, Mayerhold did away with the entire customary trappings of mechanical stage laws. In their place, he substituted the fruits of that really wonderful series of achievements, from the classic investigations of the Brothers Weber to the cinematographic analysis of the Marey Institute, bringing their results into the free realm of the drama.

In Europe and America, the Machine cult is only admitted as a secret tendency, still definitely bound to industrial activities. To the world, the spiritual aspect of a righteous intellectualism is preferred. In Russia, on the other hand, there is open confession of faith in the Machine, and this faith is lived with Russian intensity into religious ecstasy. Therefore, it is quite possible that this fanatic aberration may have stronger and more honourable outcome in the course of history than the rest of the world's customary, and slightly sour, genteel diplomatic relations between commerce and the life of the mind.

DUTCH AND PORTUGUESE IN JAVA

In his second article on the Hindu civilisation of Java, Mr. C. F. Andrews quotes certain passages which show that

At this time, terrible evils were inflicted upon the islands of the Malay Archipelago by both Dutch and Portuguese alike. When the islands could not of any help to one of the warring powers, their trees and plantations were destroyed, so as to bring famine to the population. The following is given of the last stages of their process, during all the steps of de-population. Glenweir was quite stripped of inhabitants,

the cloves were spoiled before the harvest was ripe. When the people returned, the fruit was found all spoilt on the trees.

After these proceedings the Agent visited the island and destroyed all fruit-bearing trees and sago-palms, so that the inhabitants were deprived of food and stores. The rebels were finally compelled to destroy their clove trees. Four thousand of these trees were cut down. The natives of the island would not listen; so on the night of the 22nd December we surprised the chiefs who were gathered at their assembly and all the means of livelihood were destroyed, especially clove trees. Later on, the inhabitants wishing to rebel, we went to Subo. The inhabitants of Hiton have been commanded to destroy all fruit-bearing trees and sago-palms and other necessities of food, which have been planted for no other purpose but to serve as food in time of rebellion; and it is very probable that they will make another effort to throw off the yoke of the Company. Agents have been sent round the islands to find out the situation of the clove trees, so that, in case of need, orders may be sent for their complete extermination. Our intention is to eradicate all fruit-bearing trees, except in the above-mentioned place which we are able to protect. Our own opinion is, that the first extermination of the trees will have to be followed by others, and the only means of enjoying beautiful scenery is the destruction of the clove trees and on outlying islands in order to protect ourselves against the treachery of the natives and the wicked efforts of our enemies."

Mr Andrews gives some idea of the admirable work done by Sir Stamford Raffles.

Sir Stamford Raffles had been marvellously successful in Java, as an administrator. He had been also the very first to rescue the old Hindu and Buddhist ruins in that island from further inevitable decay. Probably, his influence alone saved Borobudur from utter destruction. He discovered this wonder of the world, covered over with earth, and liable at any moment to crumble into ruins, owing to land slides and heavy rains. Posterity cannot be too grateful to this truly great Englishman for his wonderful care of antiquity and his archaeological enthusiasm and research. Long before any one was thinking of preserving ancient monuments, he began this remarkable work in Java.

The Dutch took up the work of administration, which Sir Stamford Raffles had laid down. During the nineteenth century, their administration has been on the whole, in certain economic directions, remarkably successful. The population of the island has enormously increased, so that to day it numbers nearly five times what it was in 1815.

As regards the Muhammadan invasion, Mr. Andrews observes:—

The Muhammadan invasion, which followed this Hindu civilisation, swept away the greater part of the earlier culture, and made the Malay race virile and strong in war, but weak in intellectual and artistic pursuits. A certain amount of art still remained in the music, dancing and social life of the people, but very little else was in evidence after the Mohammedan invasion had swept over the land.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

We learn from Gandhiji's article on Satyagraha in South Africa that there

Absolutely free Indians now number between forty to fifty thousands, while the 'Free Indians' so-called, that is, the labourers who are freed from their indentures and their descendants, number about a hundred thousand.

JAPANESE AND INDIAN PAINTING

According to Mr. Manindra Bhushan Gupta—

Landscape has no place in Indian art. Only in Mogul and Rajput painting, we see land-capes, and even there only as the background of pictures. The reason is that India has expressed her art through the varied moods of human life, while Japan has expressed her art through the varied moods of Nature. In our art, Man is of primary, Nature only of secondary, significance. In Japanese art, Nature is first and man comes after. The physical beauty of a man or woman has never aroused the imagination of a Japanese. The Japanese have no fascination for the human body; so rarely is any naked figure seen in Japanese painting.

Japanese art became folk-art at the time of the Ukiyoji artist. In India such a large school of folk-art has never grown up. Ajanta painting was not at all a folk-art, but Rajput painting was. Mogul painting can never be said to be folk art, as the artists were chiefly court painters. Only the Bengali village painters known as "poto" were real folk artists. Day by day, these artists are disappearing.

Value and Defects of Present-day International Law

Mr. Arthus Davies writes in *The Young Men of India*—

What is the value of the international law we have?

(1) There is a recognition that a family of nations exists. That there, therefore, ought to be and are rules that govern their relations inter.

(2) The rules have a moral content, *e. g.*, in theory the smallest and weakest nation is in respect of its independence and sovereignty on a basis of equality with the largest and most powerful. Idealists must beware of failing to appreciate that, with all its shortcomings, the world stands in a higher position to-day because of 300 years of the Grotian International Law than it would have done without it. They must likewise beware of cutting away these ideas on which what has been accomplished are based, *e. g.*, the ideas of independence and sovereignty—before the world is ready to receive any higher idea—*e. g.*, of a unitary world state. Otherwise their efforts may lead to anarchy or tyranny.

What, on the other hand, are the obvious defects of present-day international law? Some of them are:

(1) Its moral content cannot be better than that of the most backward members of the family.

(2) In fact, its ultimate arbiter is the sword alone.

(3) Nations where material interests are not concerned in any given disputes, are not required to interfere, and it is even hardly conceded that such interference is at least permitted.

(4) Many of its principles are so vague and so countered by opposing principles as to be of very little value as practical guides to conduct.

Civilising Forces in England in the Nineteenth Century

In the same magazine, Mr. J. S. Hoyland writes:—

There were three main tendencies in the sphere of ideas which co-operated in the task of arousing the conscience of England to the appalling barbarities which were being perpetrated by the new industrial system. These ideas proved in time strong enough to rouse to activity men of determination and strength of character sufficient to ensure, after a long and hard struggle, the righting of the wrongs in question and the starting of the national life upon a new upward course.

In the first place, there was the scheme of ideas which had arisen during the Quaker movement in the seventeenth century. In the second place, there was the scheme of ideas associated with the name of John Wesley and the evangelical movement in the eighteenth century. In the third place, there was the scheme of ideas connected with the French Revolution. Men affected by these three different types of thought approached the problems of national degradation and the urgent need of national regeneration, from very different points of view. In many cases they were actively hostile to each other, and to each other's type of thought. But in the end it was seen that these three tendencies supplemented and reinforced each other, and that their combined force was finally strong enough to bring about almost miraculous changes in the state of the country.

A Bill to Constitute the Commonwealth of India

In the draft of the commonwealth of India Bill, printed in *The Young Citizen*, we find the following fundamental rights defined:—

I. The liberty of the person is inviolable, and no person shall be deprived of his liberty except in accordance with law and by ordinary Courts of Law, provided, however, that nothing in this Section contained shall be invoked to prohibit, control, or interfere with any act of the civil or military forces of the Commonwealth of India, during the existence of a state of war or rebellion.

II. The dwelling or the property of every person is inviolable, and shall not be entered or expropriated or confiscated except in accordance with law.

III. Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order or morality, guaranteed to every person.

IV. The right of free expression of opinion as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, and to form associations or unions is guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public order or morality. Laws regulating the manner in which the right of forming associations and the right of free assembly may be exercised, shall contain no political, religious or class distinction.

V. All persons in the Commonwealth of India have the right to free elementary education and due arrangements shall as soon as possible be made by the competent authority for the exercise of this right.

VI. All persons have an equal right to the use of public roads, places of public resort, Courts of Justice and the like, provided they do not disturb public order or disobey any notice issued by a lawful authority.

VII. All persons of whatever Nationality, residing within the Commonwealth, are equal before the Law, and shall be tried for similar offences in Courts of the same order and by Judicial Officers of the same grade; and no person shall escape the penalty annexed to any breach of the Law, on account of his Nationality or his caste, or his class, or his occupation.

Non-Violence in Ancient India

We read in *Prabuddha Bharata* :—

It is no doubt true that in India, even from the early Vedic period, non-violence was always considered to be the highest virtue. But no virtue, however superior in itself, was ever conceded the right to rule out other virtues in their proper spheres. The disorganisation and confusion that one meets with in the various departments of life to-day, are due to causes, most of which cannot be easily traced to their origin. At a very opportune and critical period in the history of the world, the virtue of non-violence has been brought prominently before the public eye. While we believe it is through the wide acceptance and practice of non-violence alone on the part of the individuals and nations alike that any permanent peace and harmony can be established in the world, we must utter also a note of warning. So long as weakness and cowardice (physical, intellectual and moral) is allowed to masquerade under this guise, no good but harm only will be the result. Nor can any section of humanity in any particular part of the world ever realise to the full the ideal of non-violence, so long as the rest act upon the principle that might is right.

Granted this is all true, what is the alternative? Certainly, not violence. In course of time, the doctrine of force, when pushed to its logical extreme, will reveal its self-destroying nature. In the meanwhile all those who set no limits to the possibilities of human evolution, will have to go on with the patient labour of love and demonstrate both by example and precept that considerations of moral and spiritual personality of man must be the supreme goal, in the interests of which all of class, race, nationality, etc., could only be in a subordinate position.

The Arab Question

Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall observes in *The New Orient* :—

If it is necessary for England to reverse her recent policy towards the Arabs and Muslims generally, which has brought her no advantage in reality while it has ruined her prestige, it is nonsense for us Muslims to inveigh that any settlement of the Arab question can be made to-day without England. I have come across some articles in the Indian Press, expressing regret and even horror at the fact that Ibn Saud should even condescend to parley with a British Agent. Ibn Saud has come down to the sea, and every prince who has a coastline must make terms with England. It is absurd to blame a man for self-defence, or for conforming sensibly to the requirements of a given situation, which is all that the Sultan of Najd has done or is likely to do. I hope that he has come down to the sea for good in more ways than one; that he and all his people have forsaken their position of secluded dignity, however independent in the centre of Arabia, and will henceforth take an active and a leading part in the Islamic world. We need their virtues and their zeal, and their example in the way of sacrifice.

The Duty of Hindus

In the same magazine Professor Mohammad Habib says :—

The duty of the Hindu whose soul is in genuine harmony with the anthropological processes, that have produced him, is clear. He must take for his guide the selective reason that illuminated the footsteps of his ancestors, and select from among the innumerable practices and customs of his land those best suited to the needs of the day. There are no chains on his hands and no fetters on his feet. Reason—free, untrammelled, human reason—was the light that sparkled on the horizon of his forefathers four thousand years ago, and it must also be his guiding star in these latter days.

Thoughts for the Month

The Editor of the *D. A. V. College Union Magazine* gives his readers the following thoughts which have come across in his reading :—

Enthusiasm starts the race, but perseverance wins it.

You won't push far ahead by patting yourself on the back.

Any time is a good time to start carrying out a good idea.

The worse troubles are generally those that never happen.

The reason some people don't get on is because they won't get up.

Experience is what you get while you are looking for something else.

Many people have a lot of good in them, but unfortunately they keep it there.

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.

Professor M. Habib of Aligarh pronounces in the *Hindustan Review* the following considered judgment on one aspect of Sultan Mahmud's career:—

No honest historian should seek to hide, and no Mussalman acquainted with his faith will try to justify, the wanton destruction of temples that followed in the wake of the Ghaznavide army. Contemporary as well as later historians do not attempt to veil the nefarious acts but relate them with pride. It is easy to twist one's conscience; and we know only too well how easy it is to find a religious justification for what people wish to do from worldly motives. Islam sanctioned neither the vandalism nor the plundering motives of the invader; no principle known to the *Shariat* justified the uncalled-for attack on Hindu princes who had done Mahmud and his subjects no harm; the shameless destruction of places of worship is condemned by the law of every creed. And yet Islam, though it was not an *inspiring motive*, could be utilised as an *a posteriori justification* of what had been done. It was not difficult to identify the spoliation of non-Muslim populations as a service to Islam; and persons to whom the argument was addressed found it too much in consonance with the promptings of their own passions to examine it critically. So the precepts of the Quran were misinterpreted or ignored and the tolerant policy of the Second Caliph was cast aside, in order that Mahmud and his myrmidons may be able to plunder Hindu temples with a clear and untroubled conscience.

It is a situation to make one pause. With a new faith everything depends on its method of presentation. It will be welcomed if it appears as a message of hope, and hated if it wears the mask of a brutal terrorism. Islam as a world-force is to be judged by the life of the Prophet and the policy of the Second Caliph. Its early successes were really due to its character as a revolutionary force against religions that had lost their hold on the minds of the people and against social and political systems that were grinding down the lower classes. Under such circumstances the victory of Islam was considered by the conquered population as something intrinsically desirable; it ended the regime of an aristocratic priesthood and a decrepit monarchy; while the doctrine of equality, first preached in the eastern world, opened a career to the talent of the depressed masses and resulted in a wholesale conversion of the populations of Arabia, Syria, Persia and Iraq. Now Hinduism with its intense and living faith was something quite unlike the Zoroastrianism of Persia and the Christianity of Asia Minor, which had so easily succumbed before the invader; it suffered from no deep-seated internal disease and a peculiarity of the national character of the Hindus, deeply seated in them and manifest to everybody, was their intense satisfaction and pride in their customs. "They believe," says Alberuni, "that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty,

foolishly vain, self-conceited and stolid. According to their belief, there is no country on earth but theirs, no other race of men but theirs and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholars in Khorasan and Persia, they will think you both an ignoramus and a liar." People with this insularity of outlook were not likely to lend their ears to a new message. But the policy of Mahmud secured the rejection of Islam without a hearing.

A religion is naturally judged by the character of those who believe in it; their faults and their virtues are supposed to be the effect of their creed. It was inevitable that the Hindus should consider Islam a deviation from truth when its followers deviated so deplorably from the path of rectitude and justice. A people is not conciliated by being robbed of all it holds most dear, nor will it love a faith that comes to it in the guise of plundering armies and leaves devastated fields and ruined cities as monuments of its victorious method for reforming the morals of a prosperous but erratic world. "They came, burnt, killed, plundered, captured—and went away"—was a Persian's description of the Mongol invasion of his country; it would not be an inappropriate summary of Mahmud's achievement in Hindustan. It was not thus that the Prophet had preached Islam in Arabia; and no one need be surprised that the career of the conquering Ghaznavide, created a burning hatred for the new faith in the Hindu mind and blocked its progress more effectually than armies and forts. "Mahmud," says the observant Alberuni, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed those wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course the most inveterate hatred of all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places where our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receive more and more nourishment both from political and religious and other causes."

"The evil that men do lives after them: the good is often buried with their bones!" Mahmud's work, whatever it might have been, was swept off fifteen years after his death by the Hindu Revival. "Those who had taken up the sword perished by the sword. East of Lahore no trace of the Mussalmans remained and Mahmud's victories while they failed to shake the moral confidence of Hinduism, won an everlasting infamy for his faith. Two centuries later, men, who differed from Mahmud as widely as two human beings can possibly differ, once more brought Islam into the land. But times had changed. The arrogance of the Mussalmans had disappeared with the conquest of Ajam by the Mongolian hordes. The spirit of the Persian Renaissance had blossomed and died, and the new mysticism, with its cosmopolitan tendencies and with doctrines which did not essentially differ from what the Hindu *Rishis* had taught in ancient days, made possible that exchange of ideas between men of the two creeds which Alberuni had longed for in vain. Instead of the victor who had crossed the frontier in their winter spoils there came a host

from the burning villages of Central Asia longing for a spot where they could lay their heads in peace and casting aside all hopes of returning to the land of their birth. The serpent had reappeared but without his poisonous fangs. The intellectual history of medieval India begins with the advent of Shaikh Moinuddin of Ajmere and its political history with the accession of Sultan Alaaddin Khilji; the two features which distinguish it from preceding generations are the mystic propaganda started by the Chishti Saint and the administrative and economic measures inaugurated by the revolutionary Emperor. With the proper history of our country Mahmud has nothing to do. But we have inherited from him the most bitter drop in our cup. To later generation Mahmud became the Arch-fanatic he never was; and in that incarnation he is still worshipped by such Indian Mussalmans as have cast off the teaching of Lord Krishna in their devotion to minor gods. Islam's worst enemies have ever been its own fanatical followers.

Provincialism in "Co-operation"

Mr. Abdus Sathar writes in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly*:—

Should a member of a co-operative society be patriotic? By all means. But how would a co-operative society's patriotism differ from that of the citizen-patriot? Citizen-patriotism is country-bred; it is confined to one's own country and breeds the love of the country one lives in. But co-operative patriotism is patriotism for the movement, a movement as wide as the world itself, and not confined to any particular land. Therefore, co-operative patriotism is international, not provincial. A true co-operator loves the movement, not the particular aspect of it which happens to manifest itself in his own country. He is desirous of making the movement a world movement. Therefore, all aspects of the co-operative movement interest him. He is concerned with the various aspects of it as they exist in each country and with co-operative struggles as they confront each nation. Others' difficulties are his own, others' burdens are his own burdens. This is the sign of a true co-operator.

Countries there are which study a particular branch of the movement only, that branch of the movement which is prevalent in their own country.

Not only this, in their opinion to apply the name of co-operation to any other aspect of the movement is a misnomer. For example, people might call consumers' co-operation the only form of co-operation worth the name. But that is wrong. Wherever people make a joint effort to better their economic and moral condition, there is co-operation. And each of these joint efforts should form the subject of study of every true co-operator.

Citizen-patriotism breeds race prejudice and race conceit too, as is evidenced by the domineering attitude assumed by the nations of the West in their dealings with the so-called inferior races. In co-operation there can be no question of superiority. The true student of co-operation approaches each question with the humility of a true seeker after truth, a seeker who feels the vastness of that Infinite Mind whose amplifications are limitless.

A co-operative college or any school or college devoted to the study of co-operation must study all sides and all aspects of the movement.

India's salvation lies in tolerance and liberality and above all in that broad outlook which is the first requisite and the very essence of internationalism. Therefore, an Indian co-operative college should one be established, must not allow any sort of provincialism or State patriotism to creep into it. Each and every side of the movement, great or small, magnificent or insignificant, must come within its purview. It must concern itself with the successes of the great as well as the struggles of the small. To the successful, it must never deny the just praise due to them and to the struggling it must never refuse to extend its helping hand.

The Value of Horse-shows

We read in the *Journal of the National Horse Breeding and Show Society of India*:—

Before the institution of shows a breeder had no opportunity of comparing the results of his labours with those of other breeders or of gauging the requirements of the market. He could breed on his own lines and to his own ideals but he had no opportunity of checking the accuracy of these and there was nothing to rouse that spirit of emulation and rivalry to breed better stock than his neighbours; and, without the public show it was impossible to fix a standard which it should be the aim of the breeder to equal or surpass.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Bias in Writing History

MUTUAL INDEBTEDNESS OF NATIONS

Principal L. P. Jacks writes in *The Contemporary Review*:—

Every nation in Europe that can claim a history has some part of its national characteristics to its credit. During the long period of their life and

growth together, interaction has been going on, in the course of which each national type has begged, borrowed, stolen, imitated or otherwise acquired much that belonged originally to the others, while the others reciprocally have acquired much from it. It has been a vast, though for the most part unacknowledged system of co-education. This process of give and take has, of course, been far from uniform. Some nations, while giving much have taken little, or *vice versa*. France has given

much to Russia, but taken far less in return. Small nations, as a rule have taken more from their great neighbors than they have given back, though some of them, like Holland and Switzerland, have exercised a notable influence all round.

There is not a single European type in existence to-day which can be explained or understood without reference to the rest

"SELF-MADE" NATIONS AND MEN.

But, the writer observes:—

With few exceptions, now happily becoming more numerous, most national histories leave the impression on the reader, and are often intended to leave the impression, that the nation whose doings are recorded is *self-made*. There are histories of England and (still more conspicuously) histories of America which remind one of a certain type of autobiography which self-made plutocrats, under the mistaken belief that their fellowmen are anxious to emulate them, sometimes perpetrate in their old age, for the purpose of glorifying the Ego. Everything accomplished by these self-constituted heroes is, of course, set down to their own valor or astuteness, in utter disregard of the fact that at every step they were climbing up on the shoulders of their fellows, and making use of forces which originated from better men than themselves. Every history written on a purely nationalist basis is infected with the same lie. It degenerates into a vulgar autobiography. No self-respecting nation would claim to be the exclusive creator of its own power, its own wealth, or even its own character. National histories written for the purpose of making good such a claim belittle the nations which suffer the historians to represent them in that way, just as the autobiographies just referred to, written for a like purpose of self-glorification, only serve to bring their authors into contempt.

100 PER CENT. AND 5 PER CENT. PATRIOTISM

He goes on to add:—

But though we are quick enough to detect the absurdity when perpetrated by foreign historians in the supposed interest of their own countries, we tolerate it in our own without protest. But not wisely. There is no kind of Englishman more likely to bring ridicule on his country than the "hundred per cent" variety when he takes to the writing of history.

Into the total make-up of man, it may be said at a venture that not more than five per cent. of national characteristics can be introduced without making him something of a fool. Beyond that percentage, his patriotism fall under a Law of Diminishing Returns, he grows progressively more ridiculous and more dangerous, until at the hundred per cent level he becomes an insufferable monster and deserves to be executed by his fellow-countrymen as a traitor and a felon. Five per cent.—to be raised at a stretch to seven—may be freely allowed: not only allowed, but positively required as essential to the make-up of a good citizen. Everything in human life depends for its value on the other things with which it is mixed, and the ninety-three per cent of our good Englishman which belongs to the world will not be worth much unless it be well salted with the seven per cent. which belongs

exclusively to England and makes him distinctively English.

NATIONAL AXE-GRINDING

In the opinion of Principal Jacks:

It should be obvious that so long as the purpose of history is regarded by historians as a means of grinding the national axe, it will abound in distortions, half-truths and falsehoods, and there is matter for deep satisfaction in the fact that a powerful and growing revolt has set in against this mode of writing it.

WESTERN AND OTHER CIVILISATIONS

With reference to the "Unity Series" of books brought out by Mr. F. S. Marvin, Principal Jacks says:—

I would also suggest that the contributors to these volumes are on dangerous ground when they insist, as some of them do, on the superiority of Western to all other forms of civilisation. That I am persuaded, should be regarded for the present as an open question, in view especially of the unquestionable fact that without the friendly co-operation of the East, the problems of the West are insoluble. Mr. Bertrand Russell may not be right in thinking that China is nearer the line of development to be taken by the future civilisation of the world than any Nation of the West can claim to be. But at all events the Chinese will count greatly in whatever international synthesis destiny may have in store for our civilisation, and neither they, nor the Eastern nations generally, are in any mood to submit to airs of superiority on the part of Western writers. Western civilisation is still on its trial, and it is not yet clear how it will compare, in the final issue, with other civilisations on which it is now too ready to look down.

The Mecca Pilgrimage in the Life of Islam

Mr. Arthur Jeffery writes in the *International Review of Missions*:—

In a recent lecture at the School of Oriental Studies in Cairo, Professor Marghouth drew attention once again to the fact that the pilgrimage to Mecca is practically the one bond of unity in the world of Islam. Islam assuredly has no political unity, for the most recent census of the Moslem world reveals the Moslem population divided in political allegiance among some twenty different governments, and six-sevenths of that population under western suzerainty. There is not even that ideal political unity of which Pan-Islam was the symbol, for the House of Islam has not yet been able to decide which is its real Commander of the Faithful. Nor is Islam a religious unity. Not only is there the great gulf fixed between Shias and Sunnis, but its so-called orthodox sects are poles asunder, and all through its history there has been the clash of opposing doctrines within its fold. Nor is Islam a cultural unity. The Muhammadanism of Malayasia is a gloss over Malayan Animism, and Islam in China is an Arabized Confucianism, while in lands of more advanced civilization Islam has adapted itself to, and expressed itself in, the culture of the peoples whom it conquered. Not even has

its sacred tongue, the 'language of Paradise,' been a bond of cultural unity, for though it has impressed its script on other tongues and made at times a deep impression on the vocabulary of the peoples Islam has conquered yet it has created no linguistic unity in the Moslem world, for the vernaculars still hold sway, while in Java Arabic is mostly famous as the substance of charms and amulets, and in Africa it makes 'big magic.'

If Islam is in any sense a social unity, that unity is focused in the Mecca pilgrimage, when in the streets of the Holy City there meet and mingle Moslems from every quarter of the House of Islam; There are wild Bedouin of the Arabian desert, and sleek, elegantly-tailored Turks from Angora or Stamboul; rough Afghan mountaineers and soft merchants from Bombay; smooth-faced Chinamen from Khansu and bearded Russians from Kazan. There are Egyptians and Moors and Swahilis; learned scholars from Hind and densest dullards from Ethiopia; warlike Moros from the Philippines and pacific Bengalis. There are white-faced Persians and coal-black Sudanese, Caucasians from Anatolia and Mongols from Turkestan. And here during the pilgrimage they are in a sense one great family, drawn by a common faith to a common centre to share in a common enthusiasm for a common end. Here, if anywhere, Islam is one.

It is probable that Muhammad meant it to be a centre of unity, when he took it over from the pagan religion that he superseded. The pilgrimage is older than Islam.

Fame and Greatness

Mr. H. M. Forbes tells us in *Chambers's Journal*;

According to a renowned statesman, 'the world never knows its great men': according to Bernard Shaw, Hall Caine, G. K. Chesterton (all of whom I have questioned on the subject), the number of great men who die wholly unrecognised is indisputably considerable. But this interesting question apart, what about the reputation of the actual immortals? Why, for instance, is one name held in affectionate remembrance, while another—a worthier by far, as often as not—survives only as it were on sufferance?

The truth is, what keeps a reputation evergreen is not so much high talent, splendid services, an unimpeachable record, as that amazingly fascinating thing, a picturesque personality. This assertion in these days of biographical plays and pictures any producer would substantiate. Why is it that the public is so much more interested in Napoleon than in Lee, in Lincoln than in Daniel Webster, in Dr. Johnson than in Charles Reade? Why do the masses never tire of hearing about Charles James Fox, about Charles XII of Sweden,

This is speaking generally of the great masses of the population. It is true, however, that among the intellectual, Arabic is known all over the Moslem world. Some writers make a great point of this and write beautiful periods on the unity of Islam from China to Morocco and from Russia to the Cape through the universality of the Arabic language. How little practical truth there is in this, however, is shown by the whole class of interpreters at Mecca who live on the inability of the majority of pilgrims to speak Arabic.

about Bonnie Prince Charlie? All for one identical reason—that already indicated. The hero of the people must not merely be a man of action, he must be something of an actor. To live in the heart of the multitude a great man must have some other claim to immortality than mere greatness. He must be unusual in some other sense. He must collect pieces of orange peel like Samuel Johnson; he must employ bank-notes as book-marks like De Quincey; he must stuff the carcasses of dead birds with snow after the style of Francis Bacon; he must take to climbing church steeples like Clive; failing which, in the matter of personal magnetism, whatever else he may do he can never hope to be one of the darlings of the gods.

The part played by love in the scheme of immortality is incalculable. Not for nothing was the adage coined—'All the world loves a lover.' The scholar loves Dante for one reason; the man in the street for another. It is the poet's passion for Beatrice, like Petrarch's for Laura, like Burns's for Highland Mary, that has fixed these great names in the minds of the educationally unredeemed.

After adding a few more names, the writer observes:—

Amazing as it may seem next to romance it is devilment which most fascinates and bewitches the multitudes! To the man in the street Fox is never so picturesque as when running up debts to well-nigh two hundred thousand. Byron as when his tame bear was causing uneasiness to the college authorities. O'Connell as when engaged in a desperate duel.

According to Macaulay, the great ladies of London society were once much fascinated by the devil-may-care tactics of a certain highwayman, whose robberies were more than forgiven him on account of his gallantries. When he was at last captured and condemned to death, heaven and earth were moved to save him from the hangman's noose, some of the fair petitioners being the nobles in the land. The petition itself failing, the fur sought to allay their sorrow by doing homage to the remains as they rested in funeral splendour in a chamber which for the melancholy occasion had been superbly hung with trappings of wool.

But it was not only in the good old days that the desperado enjoyed a warm corner in the heart of the sentimental.

As with men, so with women. The woman who entrances the crowd is the woman with a romantic story.

Jainism

We read in the *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, which reproduces a page of a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sutra* with the picture of Mahavira enthroned:—

The faith called Jainism appears to have arisen in India simultaneously with Buddhism in the sixth century B. C. Both religions aim to lead the individual toward the perfect spiritual life, each builds its own way of salvation upon foundations of the ancient Hindu ideas of transmigration (Samsara) and inexorable causation (Karma). Buddhism emphasizes ethics; Jain-

metaphysics. While to Buddhism the soul does not exist as a separate entity, to Jainism it is immortal and may attain divinity. Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, called the Jina, is also named the "Finder of the Ford" across the ocean of universal death and rebirth.

The two religions have had an opposite history. Buddhism is nearly extinct in India, while counting its hundreds of millions of adherents elsewhere in eastern Asia. Jainism has survived in India alone. It was once important politically, and still is influential through the character and wealth of its adherents. The percentage of crime is asserted to be lower among the Jains than among the Hindus, Muhammadans or Christians in India; and it has been estimated that half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity. Jainism has left its impress upon Indian art in architecture, sculpture and painting. The Jain shrine at Mt. Abu, built of marble with elaborate sculptured ornament, has been called the most superb temple in India and comparable only with the Taj Mahal.

Illustrated manuscripts like those of the Museum collection are very rare even in Jain libraries. The pages retain the form of the strips of palm leaf or birch bark used before the introduction of paper. The illustrations are colored drawings about three and one-half inches high and two and one-half to three and one-half wide, placed as if pasted on the page. The faces and figures depicted are most remarkable in character, and, like the composition of the different scenes represented, adhere strictly to canonical forms. The illustration reproduced below is the first page of a manuscript of the *Kalpa Sutra*, a sacred book held in high esteem by the Jains for a thousand years. The manuscript is dated 1497, and, with the possible exception of a similar manuscript in the British Museum, is the oldest known. An inscription states that it was prepared on behalf of a certain merchant, his family and colleagues. Several leaves from the manuscripts are at present shown in the Indian Corridor. G.

Gandhi Number of "The World Tomorrow"

The December 1924 number of *The World Tomorrow* is a Gandhi number. It has a Portrait of Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the cover and the following articles among others:

- Gandhi. By John Haynes Holmes.
- The Influence of Mahatma Gandhi. By C. F. Andrews.
- The Soul of Mahatma Gandhi. By E. Stanley Jones.
- Since Gandhi's Imprisonment. By T. H. K. Renuke.
- Gandhi and Indian Industrialism. By Taraknath Das.
- What Gandhi Faces. By Syed Hossain.
- Does Non-Cooperation Succeed? By A. Fenner Brockway.
- Books on Gandhi and India.

Future Cultural Relations of East and West

In an article in *The New Orient* of New York on future cultural relations between

east and west, Mr. Bertrand Russell discusses the considerations which lead him to the conclusion that,

In so far as Western culture consists of industrialism, it is fated to conquer the East. Japan, at an early stage, adopted this view and acted upon it; hence the political independence of Japan at the present day. India is being industrialized by British capital, on account of the cheapness of Indian labour. China will have to industrialize herself or submit to being industrialized by foreigners. The Soviet Government is bent on industrializing the regions under its control as quickly as possible. The Near East is cursed by the possession of oil, and is therefore subjected to the joint exploitation of all the Western nations. Persia, at the moment, is on the way to becoming a dependency of the United States; the rest of the Near East is mainly controlled by England and France. Nowhere is it possible to resist the Western thirst for oil which entails a great measure of industrial development.

Assuming that Asia is to become industrial, is it possible to retain any of the distinctive traits of the various Asiatic civilizations? Or must all Asia become gradually more and more like Pittsburg?

Marx taught that the economic factors of a civilization are the source of all its other characteristics. If he was right, Asia, by becoming industrial, must inevitably become just like industrial Europe and America unless its industrialism were to take some different form from that of the West.

He also mentions the reasons why,

Although I think the civilizations of the East in many ways better than that of the West, I do not expect to see any of their distinctive characteristics preserved, with the sole exception of religion. And even religion, while remaining nominally unchanged will, in practice, cease to be other-worldly and enter the service of the State as the handmaiden of the drill-sergeant.

One conclusion which is forced upon us by the above arguments is that any future civilization must be a world-civilization, not the civilization of a nation or even a continent. Asiatic ideals cannot be preserved in Asia except to the extent to which they can be spread over mankind. The days when isolation was possible are past; Asia must teach the West or unlearn her distinctive virtues. In order to teach the West, compromise will be necessary; something of what the West has to teach in the way of technical efficiency will have to be assimilated, since otherwise the East will continue to be exploited and oppressed by the West, and however unjustly, despised by the average Westerner, who is incapable of admiring anything except efficiency.

The evils at present associated with industrialism are not inherent in it as a method of production; they spring from its accidental association with competition and private monopoly.

The East has less respect for the successful hustler, and might therefore succeed in humanizing industrialism. In order that this may be achieved, it is necessary to mitigate competition, especially in the form which is at present most prominent: the competition for the possession for raw materials by means of armies and navies. All raw materials

ought to be owned internationally, and rationed to the different nations according to their needs. This would constitute a true international government such as can never result from a purely political institution like the League of Nations. The main reason for modern wars would be eliminated if no nation and no group of capitalists could reap a private profit out of the monopoly of some important source of raw materials. The result might be that industrialism would be devoted to increasing human happiness not, as at present, to the spread of ferocity and destruction. To bring this about is to my mind, the great work which Asia (including Russia) has to perform for mankind in the future.

When a typical Westerner is confronted with the ideal of an industry not under the lash of competition, he objects that it would not be efficient. This may be partly true. But when men's main purposes are bad, efficiency is only harmful. It would be far better to pursue the common good with some slackening of efficiency than to pursue mutual destruction with the energy and ruthlessness which the West admires. Although while the present system lasts, the East may need (as we said a minute ago) to acquire something of Western efficiency, this should be only a transitional stage, leading on to a world where industrialism is used to give leisure and a civilized existence to all. This is a distant goal; perhaps the Western nations will destroy each other in mutual suicide before it is reached. But it is a goal which must be reached if industrialism is to be made endurable, and it is better, than anything that is possible without industrialism. It would result naturally from the application of Eastern ideals to the modern economic world. I, therefore earnestly hope that Asia will come to the rescue of the world, by causing Western inventiveness to subserve human ends instead of the base cravings of oppression and cruelty to which it has been prostituted by the dominant nations of the present day.

The World's Largest Koran

We read in *The Living Age*:—

Of all the strange and precious objects (of art and otherwise) that have been auctioned off at Sotheby's in London, one of the strangest came up for sale last month. It was a Koran (intended for use in a mosque) which is said to be one of the largest, if not the largest, in the world.

The book is four feet tall, with pages two and a half feet wide, and is a foot thick. The covers are of wood. It takes two men to lift this truly ponderous tome. Each page contains but ten lines of script which is four inches high, and the borders are richly illuminated with floral designs. The whole book is covered with gold brocade. It was sold to an Oriental for two hundred pounds, and will probably go back to its home in the ancient East. For the same reason that leads curators of museums to juxtapose ostriches and humming birds, the auctioneer offered for comparison a tiny Koran measuring one and a half inches square.

The Destiny of South America.

Manuel Ugarte writes in his book *El destino de un continente* ("The Destiny of a

Continent") thus, in part, with regard to South America:—

The people of a virgin continent of fabulous undeveloped wealth, born under new conditions unprejudiced by social precedent, inspired by democratic ideals, ought, in a century of economic rivalry like our own, to face life with a practical preparation fitting them to deal with the problems thus presented. Instead of that, we have taught our people the routine learning of nations that have already fulfilled their destiny. Latin, *belles-lettres* and purely scholarly attainments are worthy contributions and precious possessions of a higher culture, but they can exert little or no influence on the development of societies in process of formation, that are struggling to subdue nature, that are called upon first of all to defend themselves, to establish themselves, to make themselves master, by their own intelligence and toil, of their particular patrimony. This antithesis between practical needs and empirical instruction is the source of all our difficulties. It is the cause of the conflict between our urban intellectuals with their pretensions literary accomplishments, and the country population, which, in spite of its illiteracy, performs the really useful work of the country; and its final fruit is stagnation and dependence upon foreign enterprise and capital.

Our communities, prepared for anything else better than for the practical task that fate has assigned them, either let their resources lie undeveloped, or alienate them to the foreigner. And bear in mind that by undeveloped resources I do not mean merely treasures to be drawn from the soil and the subsoil—mines, forests, petroleum deposits and the like—but the social apparatus through which a modern State functions: railways, public works, sanitation, clothing, food, and other things innumerable. In each of these branches it is exceedingly rare for the native to become a practical provider to the community. This is not due to his indolence, as is often charged. His indifference is rather the effect of his disillusionment and his mental misdirection. The ultimate cause is his supercilious literary pride, which unfits him for practical pursuits, and his lack of scientific preparation, which reduces to a minimum his efficiency in any productive vocation.

Even those who start out to devote themselves to agriculture, stock-raising, or other occupations suitable for a country in the earlier stages of its development, do so without professional preparation, and with no knowledge of the modern methods pursued elsewhere.

Our school courses have not even the remotest connection with the demands of our age, our physical environment, our state of social progress, our needs as a community. Primary instruction has been confined to teaching merely auxiliary acquirements such as reading and writing, while advanced courses have been monopolized by the useless and ornamental accomplishments of a parasitic group. That explains why we must go abroad for experts for engineers, for skilled artisans, every time we have to build a highway, a railway, or a bridge.

By confining education to these purely ornamental subjects the Latin Americans have surrendered the profits of their rich territories to strangers, and have made their countries tributary nations. Their wealth has been systematically extracted and converted into useful forms, transported, man-

factured, and sold with the aid of foreign capital, and by firms, specialists, and traders whose sentiments and interests are those of distant lands. Every object of personal use—our clothing, household furniture, even much of our food; all our public services and works, such as tramways, telephones, street paving; all our national enterprises, such as railways, telegraphs, and armaments, are furnished by other countries. To be sure, every nation is more or less dependent on its neighbors, and international trade is the lifeblood of the community of peoples. But for this very reason, that wealth is never durable which is derived solely from the fortuitous fertility of the soil and local markets. Trade does not redound to the advantage of a nation except when the people of that nation hold it in their hands. A country is never prosperous unless it can pay for what it gets abroad with what it produces at home, and lives within its income.

Thus, a faulty and misdirected education, unfitted to encourage enterprise initiative, industry and a fruitful economic life, condemns us to pay tribute to the stranger in connection with almost every act: when we take a tramcar, when we attend a movie-show, when we use a telephone, when we sign an insurance contract, when we enter an automobile, when we open a book, when we turn out a light, when we ascend in an elevator, when we do business at a bank, when we purchase a bicycle, when we tread a carpet, when we wear glasses, when we look at our watch—for every one of these articles, conveniences, or necessities come from outside the country and is supplied by foreign firms. The paper in our favorite periodical, the pen with which we write our letters, the very bunting from which we make our national flag, has been manufactured outside our boundaries, and what is worst of all in many cases from raw materials taken from our own territories without our people receiving the slightest profit from the transaction.

What Latin America actually buys in final analysis is not physical goods, but the scientific superiority, the technical skill, the business capacity, that come from an education that she herself might give to her own sons with no more effort than is necessary to draft a sensible plan and consistently to apply it. We have become so accustomed to our inferiority in many matters that the very thought of overcoming it strikes us with surprise. But our condition is not something irremediable and beyond the power of man to change. The idea that we may sometimes build our own ships, manufacture our own arms, manage our own railways, utilize the metals from our own mines, conduct our own freezing works and packing house, and do a thousand other things of the same sort, is just beginning to dawn in the minds of our younger generation, which at last shows an ambition to address itself to the great task of developing the continent that stands at our elbows inviting our enterprise and labor.

While the prejudices begotten of our faulty education unfit us for practical pursuits, they are claimed to make us superior in the realm of art and letters. Our people often say, "The Anglo-Saxons are the masters of practical life, but we excel them in the higher spheres of thought." The falsity of this is so evident that one almost shrinks from discussing it. Even assuming that the natural aptitudes of the two races were different in this respect,

we should be no less foolish for that reason to neglect the practical pursuits on which national power is founded. But do we unquestionably possess the superiority in purely intellectual achievement of which we boast? Do our thinkers and artists actually have a precedence in art, philosophy and science? Can we cite definite masterpieces and inventions to prove this assertion?

Rarely has history produced a people more richly endowed than ourselves with native intelligence, quickness of perception, and imagination. But absence of inspiring intellectual guidance, lack of moral discipline, a purely mnemonic education, dearth of high ideals, and devotion to routine, have kept the latent capacities of our people from bearing fruit.

When the Japanese were forced to open their islands to the trade of the world and found themselves face to face with the formidable superiority of occidental culture, they instantly took measures necessary for self-preservation, instead of continuing to worship their ancient legends. They met their rivals on their own ground; they borrowed from the West whatever promised to be of profit to them, and realizing that political independence is the child of economic independence, they promptly applied themselves to winning the latter.

If Latin America would substitute for her present system of education one suitable for the modern age, she might gradually accomplish similar results. In speaking of a new education, however I do not mean that we should confine ourselves to a merely trade education in the various practical vocations to the neglect of all higher forms of culture. Without the latter, knowledge is but a body devoid of soul. It is only the highest elements of culture that give men a spirit of initiative, intellectual freedom, and creative energy. First of all, we should throw overboard the primitive idea that education is merely acquiring a certain stock of information. It is far more important, more exalted, than that. It becomes a beneficent and creative force in national life only when it is directed toward positive goals of social progress, solely when it serves a national ideal to which each individual subordinates his personal good.

When Latin America gives her sons a technical and moral training for life, suitable for the day in which we live, our wasted energies will find more profitable employment than fomenting revolutions and we shall rid ourselves of the unhappy illusion that we own the wealth of our country merely because it is produced beneath our flag. In many respects we remain to-day virtually colonies of Europe and the United States, and our subordination will not end until we steer our course through the centuries by a new chart, and equip ourselves to reach a nobler port.

These passages in English translation are taken from *The Living Age*. We have made such long extracts because, though India is not "a virgin continent" like South America, our problems are in many respects not unlike those of that continent!

Seeing Without Eyes

We read in *Current Opinion* :—

That it is possible for a human being

without using his eyes, and without recourse to hypnotic suggestion in any form, is the conclusion reached by a French savant, Jules Romains (Louis Farigoule), who has just published the result of his painstaking researches in what he calls "extraretinal vision" or "paroptic sight." In order for this paroptic sense to function, the normal eyesight, and to some extent the normal consciousness, must be abolished, another state of consciousness being induced in its place. In his book "Eyeless Sight," M. Romains contends that practically anyone may attain some degree of success in developing extraretinal vision, by constant experimentation upon himself.

Various areas of the body seem to be instrumental in rendering possible this secondary vision. These are: the finger-tips, the forehead, the back of the neck, and particularly the skin of the chest, over the "solar plexus." Sometimes objects are perceived which would lie wholly outside the normal field of vision—when apparently seen by the back of the neck for example. Sometimes the objects are merely placed in space at a distance of about a yard from the subject and in front of him.

There seem to be two types of paroptic vision; in the first, the subject feels that he somehow sees with the sight-centers of the brain, in the usual manner; this M. Romains calls "homocentric vision." In the second the subject sees with his "solar plexus"; this is called "heterocentric vision."

It was found, by experiment, that as soon as the normal optic apparatus was stimulated in any way, this secondary vision ceases. It is as though the secondary vision were acquired only after much effort, with return to the normal order of things as soon as the slightest opportunity is given.

How may this remarkable phenomenon be accounted for? M. Romains believes that it represents a power, still possessed by all humanity in more or less limited degree, which was originally inherent in all living beings. The most simple organisms seem to possess a sort of diffused sense or sight, all over their bodies, which becomes specialized, into the eyes and general optic apparatus only among the higher organisms. These organs having usurped the special function of sight, the rest of the body loses it; but M. Romains feels that it has never been lost completely, and that by means of suitable experiments it can again be stimulated into activity.

But, as the *Scientific American* comments, this would indicate that there are still left within the skin hundreds of thousands of very minute and primitive "eyes" capable of reacting to the stimulus of light in an appropriate matter. Can this be shown to be the case? As the result of his researches, M. Romains believes that he has proved the existence of such primary organs, or ocelli, to which the paroptic sense must be attributed.

Birth Control

S. H. Halford states in *The Socialist Review*—

Some years back I was responsible for a contribution to the *Review*, entitled, "Sex and Statistics,"

in which figures from our own Registrar General's reports were given showing how birth restriction was affecting the population, not merely numerically but in quality.

Briefly, both his investigations and mine prove that birth control does and must reduce the proportion of intelligent persons in the populations in which it is practised. It does not really need much unprejudiced thinking to convince any but the most deluded believer in the effect of environment that this is so. Necessarily, the more intelligent social strata most extensively adopt restriction and therefore must reduce their proportion of contribution to the general population.

Even in regard to its effect upon sexual morality we are not now so entirely without evidence as Dr. Bentham seems to think. Those who like to go to the expense of purchasing the Blue Book containing the minutes of the recent Joint Committee on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, will find there, in the evidence tendered by the Home Office and Scotland Yard, some very useful and remarkable facts and figures out of which a great deal can be deduced. They tend to prove that birth control knowledge encourages and extends very largely habits of promiscuous intercourse favourable to a large increase of venereal disease. I know how extensive, powerful, and blind British prejudices are in any matter relating to sex, but they must be extremely so in persons who imagine with any confidence that birth control knowledge will reduce immorality. It may indeed reduce mercenary prostitution and the diseases consequent thereon but the evidence I have referred to suggests that it will and does enormously stimulate non-mercenary prostitution; with the much greater disease rate that attaches to that as compared with the mercenary type. Indeed, as the Home Office witness stated to the Joint Committee, if anyone who has known the West End of London twenty years or more ago will walk round it now after dark, he will see with his own eyes a difference so vast as to easily convince him.

A Call to Combat Race Suicide

The following extracts are taken from an article in *The Literary Digest* with the above heading:—

A happy marriage is the greatest of blessings, and there is no career which compares in all its rewards with that of motherhood. The pronouncement, tho it comes from the lips of a great educator who is himself happily married and a father, might be considered as too obvious for repetition, but it is coupled with the statement that parenthood among the educated is declining at a rate unpleasant to consider. Investigation shows that Harvard graduates over a long period of years average only 1.7 children. It is, therefore, for the old-fashioned view of marriage and its responsibilities, lest race suicide continue at its present rate among peoples of European stock, that Dr. Charles W. Eliot pleads. The plea is contained in a recent address before the Harvard Dames, a group of the wives and sisters of men connected with the University of which Dr. Eliot is President Emeritus. Personal inquiry conducted by Dr. Eliot among a number of younger people brought from the majority of men the opinion that marriage is the most important event in life.

But Dr. Eliot found some women who entertain hopes or expectation about their own careers who are not so sure that marriage is of such importance. The apparent reasons for this hesitancy on the part of women, says the veteran educator and philosopher, are the desire for independence of all ties and the desire for a better career for women. To Dr. Eliot the idea that there is a better career than that of motherhood is a delusion, "but it is a delusion which obviously in these days is harbored and entertained by a certain small proportion of young women." Actually, asks Dr. Eliot, as we quote him from the *Boston Globe*, does not marriage open to women "the highest, most beautiful, most rewarding career in life—a career in comparison with which all other careers open to women are inferior?" He goes on:

"It may be inferior because of the physical disadvantages in the women, it may be inferior because of unfortunate circumstances connected with her childhood and youth, but at bottom, is there not danger that these new expectations in women are going to have serious effects on the habits of women throughout life? I believe that marriage, and the natural normal result of marriage—the bringing up of children—is infinitely the best career for women and for men also.

"If we look about at our acquaintances in the society in which we live, I think we may easily see that the number of happy marriages is very much greater than the number of unhappy marriages, and also that the unhappy marriage is the worst disaster that can befall any one—the worst disaster. Does not that go to show that marriage is the most important event in life? If failure in marriage is the greatest of disasters, so a happy marriage is the greatest of blessings."

It seems, however, that modern education is

tending to discourage marriage and parenthood and to that extent is cutting off the flower of the race

Dr. Charles W. Eliot concludes his address by saying: "I hope you all realize that there is no career in life which compares in promise, in expectations, in satisfactions, in all the rewards of a career, with that of motherhood"

Gandhi's Great Achievement

Mr. Wilfred Wellock observes in *The Socialist Review* :—

The only point at issue is as to whether a nation can be raised to the level of moral elevation whence non-resistance can be successfully applied. Gandhi has gone far, both in South Africa, and in India, toward proving that it can. That, indeed, is his great achievement. He has not only worked out the theory of non-violence, he has applied it in a mass direction, and on a gigantic scale. This I regard as his real contribution to modern civilisation. In many ways Gandhi's exposition of non-violence is superior to Tolstoy's, and for the reason, I think, that his character is superior. Gandhi is first and foremost a saint; but he is something of a thinker too; and he is also a man of action, whose contact with "affairs" has neither weakened nor impaired his principles nor stained his character. It is beyond refutation that no man who has ever lived has influenced so profoundly in his own lifetime the lives and the conduct of so large a number of human beings as has this physically insignificant Indian saint, whose thoughts and struggles are recorded in these three wonderful volumes.

NOTES

Excuses for Usurpers and Exploiters

In reviewing a certain historical work on the origin and growth of the British power in India, an Indian reviewer of a leading Indian daily says that the following points gathered by him from the first three volumes of the work throw some light on England's mysterious success in India :—

(1) Dupleix found out that no power could succeed in India without the cooperation of the people of the land. They had no patriotism and were divided among themselves. It was so easy to set them against one another and take sides.

(2) They had intelligence and physical courage and would prove excellent fighters if trained on western lines.

(3) Their simplicity, trustfulness, faithfulness and devotion to their leaders made them an easy prey to the English.

(4) The "heathens" were hypnotised by the smooth and specious promises of the English Christians. They were made to part with their liberty and earthly possessions. The rise of the British power in India was like the progress of the white ants.

(5) Whenever it was their interest to do so, the English violated the solemn engagements they entered into with the people of India. Colonel Malleon summed up the causes of the Great Indian Mutiny in two words—bad faith.

(6) The Indian rulers made the mistake of keeping in their service officers of European extraction. These were never loyal and were glad and ready to betray their masters.

(7) The planting of British Residents in the courts of Indian Rulers enabled them to foment domestic dissensions and prevent union with their brethren. "The British Friend of India Magazine" for March, 1843, asks "how did the Company acquire Bengal, but by perjury and forgery. Or Arcot, or any other principality."

(8) The system of subsidiary alliance was meant to wipe out the French from India as also the independent existence of the Indian States.

(9) The grant of concessions by Indian Rulers to foreign Christian Traders led to their supremacy.

(10) The ruin of Indian trades and industries and the political downfall of India began when the Moghal Emperor, in mistaken generosity, granted to English merchants such concessions as the rulers nowadays would give to any power, Christian or otherwise.

(11) The deliberate destruction by Watson and Clive of the Indian Navy paved the way to the rise of the English.

After mentioning these points in his own words, the reviewer observes that these views of the author are supported by the documents which he has cited, and proceeds to add :—

They however lose sight of or do not lay sufficient emphasis on these facts:

(1) We ourselves were our enemies and lost self-rule.

(2) If they have come by their acquisition wrongly, it is but human nature and we might have done the same or worse.

(3) If they played us against one another, it is our fault that we allowed them to do so. Jayachandra of Kanauj led the way.

(4) If they took away our liberty and undermined our national institutions and character, they have given us something—their civilisation with all its good and evils.

(5) If they are here to-day, it is only because we are not united in asking them to go away.

It is not our purpose in this note to criticise the critic so far as the merits or demerits of the work he has reviewed are concerned. Nor do we wish to enquire whether the author has lost sight of or retrained from laying sufficient emphasis on the points mentioned by the reviewer. Our object is to draw attention to some general principles and to some characteristics of Indian civilisation which may be deduced from India's ancient history.

We do not claim that on the whole we as a people are superior to other peoples, and it may be that on the whole we are as bad as or worse than the English. What we submit is that two wrongs do not make one right. It may be that, if placed in the position in which the English were placed, we might have behaved as ill as or worse than the English. But that does not justify what they did. There are liars, cheats, thieves, robbers and murderers among the inhabitants of all countries; but their existence everywhere has not led to the revision and modification of the moral code of mankind. Similarly, if it could be shown that all nations or all trading companies or incor-

porated bodies have been guilty of particular kinds of unethical conduct, that would not justify or whitewash those kinds of conduct, nor lead to the lowering of the standard of international or intergroup morality by which moralists judge nations and groups of men. It is one of the duties of a historian to narrate how certain events happened and how certain nations or bodies of men behaved under certain circumstances and pronounce moral judgment on them. If other nations or groups of men have behaved similarly or worse, they were also wrong.

We have said above that on the whole we do not claim any superiority for ourselves as a people. But it may be that in some respects our ancestors behaved better than some other nations of the earth. Take the case of doing good to other people by helping them to be spiritually-minded, cultured and civilised. The reviewer says that though the British people have taken away our liberty and undermined our national institutions, they have given us their civilisation with all its good and evils. Let us refrain from discussing whether the doing of evil may be justified by the subsequent doing of some good, also whether the "civilisation" of India by the English was an act of disinterested and deliberate philanthropy or a by-product of the pursuit of power and pelf. Let us only say that the British people or the peoples of European extraction in general have not been the only "civilisers" in the world's history. Indians also did some civilising work in ancient times. And the question which we would ask all our sisters and brethren to put to themselves is, how did our ancestors do it?

Did our ancestors domineer over and exploit other countries without themselves settling in those countries and mixing with the indigenous population thereof, and did they civilise them in that way? We have no proof that they did any such thing in the country in which we find abundant proofs of Indian culture in ancient times.

Take the case of China. Great Chinese scholars have said that Indian teachers and Indian civilisation helped China greatly in her progress in culture, civilisation and spirituality. The other day Bishop Fisher said in his lecture in Santiniketan that no country had ever been able to conquer China, but that on the contrary China had absorbed all her invaders. He made an exception only in the case of India. India's conquest of China was however, he observed, a conquest of love.

effected by Indian Buddhist missionaries and other teachers. This view was subsequently endorsed by Prof. Lim, a Chinese scholar, in one of his lectures in Santiniketan. The influence of India on China still endures. This is admitted by Chinese scholars themselves. Of course India also learnt many things from China. But what we wish to emphasise here is that India's influence on China was not exercised by conquest or commercial exploitation : it was an altruistic achievement.

What is true of China is also true in the main of Tibet. So, we ought not to remain hypnotised in the belief that Indians have all along been like the British or that it is possible for Indians to do things in a better way than the British have done.

In Central Asia, remains of extinct civilisations have been unearthed by the labours of European explorers, to whom our heartfelt thanks are due. These civilisations were Indian in origin. But there is no proof that these regions were governed by migratory Indian governors and officials sent out by some Indian ruling power in India and commercially exploited and sucked dry by migratory Indian business men through the destruction of the indigenous industries of those regions by the exercise of political power. These extinct Central Asian civilisations were products of intermingling of races and cultures.

Japan was influenced by India in ancient times but not through conquest and political, commercial and industrial exploitation.

Islands in the Indian Archipelago like Java, Bali, &c., were civilised by the Hindus. Similarly the countries of Anam, Cambodia, etc., called Indo-China, were civilised by the Hindus. But the process was different from and better than the political and economic imperialism of the West. Moreover, though when the Hindus began the work of civilisation in these countries, they were inhabited by backward and sometimes savage races, the civilisers raised the indigenous peoples to a higher level, and thus the resulting culture and civilisation were the work of two peoples fused together. Hence it is that whatever remains of Indian culture and civilisation we find in these countries are not purely Indian but the product of Indian and indigenous genius combined.

The civilising work abroad of peoples of European extraction has been in the main carried on by the co-operation of merchants, missionaries and military men. India's civilising work abroad has been in the main far

different. Her teachers and missionaries have crossed oceans, snow-covered mountains, deep and broad rivers, waterless deserts, forests infested with wild beasts and regions inhabited by men perhaps wilder and more ferocious. Many such Indians lost their lives, without indemnities being claimed or extorted by India. Of course, there have been Indian merchants and colonisers also. But we do not know that they deliberately destroyed or monopolised indigenous industries abroad, or exterminated or enslaved any native races. It may be suggested that they did not because they could not. In any case, the guilt of extermination and industrial Vandalism does not rest on their shoulders.

We do not like the kind of comparison of which the object is to bring out the superiority of our own selves or of our ancestors. It is an odious task. And it does not do any good to anybody. On the contrary, it tends to make our people vain boasters and idlers. Modesty and humility are to be preferred. We do not believe that all that is occidental is material and worldly, and all that is Indian is spiritual and heavenly. We do not believe that we are all spiritually-minded and live up to the highest ideals of our country, and that all occidentals are worldly-minded and do not live up to their spiritual ideals, which certainly exist.

But we cannot agree to believe, we are not willing to be hypnotised into the belief, that there are not *some* achievements at least to the credit of our people which are superior to the achievements of some other peoples or that it is unthinkable that the behaviour of our people under certain circumstances might possibly be better than that of some other people under those circumstances.

The reviewer has spoken of the British people giving us "their civilisation with all its good and evils." It is well known that Britain also has been indebted to India in many ways. We do not refer here to the material benefit which Britain has derived from her connection with India. That has been immense, and too patent to escape the eyes of any unprejudiced observer and student of history. We speak here of the non-material advantage which Britain has derived from contact with India. That Indian thought and ideals have greatly influenced Britain and other Western countries has been admitted by many thinkers. Only the other day we came across the following sentence in the *Japan*

Weekly Chronicle, edited by Mr. A. Morgan Young.—

"Indian thought has had a profound influence on the thought of Europe during the past century."

It may not therefore be unjust to infer that for any benefits conferred on India by Britain, India has more than amply paid by the material and non-material wealth which the British people have received in return. But for the wrong done by the British people to India compensation has still to be made. This forms part of the compensatory effort which many Western Christian peoples should make. So far as we are concerned, we are grateful for all the really altruistic services which these peoples are rendering. But so far as they themselves are concerned, it will be time for them to begin to be self-complacent when they have liberated as many countries as they have enslaved, saved as many tribes as they have exterminated, enriched as many peoples as they have ruined by economic warfare, and rescued as many persons as they have killed, maimed and disabled.

It is to be noted here that what good India has been instrumental in doing to Britain has been done without political and economic subjugation and exploitation. Japan has also similarly influenced the West. As the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* says:—

Japanese influence is to be seen in far more Western homes than western influence is to be seen in Japanese homes. The aesthetic influence of Japan has been profound, and decoration in the West is very different to-day from the soulless symmetry of a hundred years ago.

This Japanese influence is not the result of Japanese conquest and exploitation.

It is well known, too, that though the British or any other Western power has not conquered Japan, that country has made far greater progress in self-rule, modern education, modern science and modern mechanical arts and industries in half a century than India under British rule has done in nearly two centuries. China is also making progress in these spheres of human activity without being conquered by any Western power, perhaps we ought rather to say that the progress of Japan and China is due to their not having been conquered.

So, as the reviewer has raised the question of what we might have done in certain hypothetical circumstances, or what generally it have been, we also say as a mere matter of speculation that, not only was it possible in ancient times, but even in our

modern days progress can be achieved without being conquered, enslaved and exploited.

If Chesterton Lived in India

The Catholic Herald of India says that in the first copy of Mr. G. K. Chesterton's new paper, *G. K.'s Weekly* what the paper's policy will not be and what readers will not find in it is detailed as follows, in part, by the editor:—

"Arrangements for photographing Mr. Lloyd George's smile, Mr. Baldwin's pipe, Lord Birkenhead's cigar, Mr. Churchill's hat and Lord Beaverbrook's coronet, are not yet completed and never will be.

"Similarly, readers anxious to enter the competition to decide who has the Most Beautiful Grand-Mother in the British Empire should not send in photographs after the end of last week.

"All serious students of social conditions interested in the experiment of strong-minded American heiresses refusing to live with their husbands, will search the paper in vain for anything about it."

If Mr. Chesterton had started his paper in India, he would perhaps have added:—

"All serious students of social conditions interested in the illustrious career of the Muslim ex-mistress of a Hindu Maharaja, who subsequently became the concubine of a rich Muslim young man who was murdered in the attempt to abduct her from his automobile will search the paper in vain for anything about those male and female human beings or their beatific portraits."

Bombay Malabar Hill Murder

The murder of any person, be he saint or sinner or placed somewhere between them, is deplorable, and the murderer should be sought out and properly dealt with. The attempt to abduct any woman or disfigure her, be she of good character or bad, ought certainly to be also condignly punished. Therefore, what the Bombay police are doing to arrest and bring to book those who murdered one Mr. Abdul Kadir Bawla in the attempt to abduct or disfigure his mistress, a dancing girl of the name of Mumtaz Begum, is worthy of praise. But we cannot appreciate the publication in the papers of the portraits of the woman and her murdered lover, and details of her past life. She might have been the mistress of more Maharajas and rich men than she has actually been. But even that would not have made her a

heroine whose career would deserve to be recorded day after day in column after column of numerous newspapers. If newspaper readers desire to feed on garbage or wallow in salacious filth, surely it is not the business of journalists to supply such stuff.

It seems that Mr. Bawla was a public man of a sort. No one can grudge him his due meed of praise for the degree of dutifulness which he showed. But should not men be judged by their characters also? If a man drives in the company of his mistress and flaunts his vicious life, if he does not make her his wife even though neither the scripture nor the custom of his community stands in the way, it cannot be said that he cares for social purity and the sanctity of family life as every man ought to, or that he really has any respect for womanhood. Rich libertines have often given to the women they have injured more than a hundred thousand rupees, but that has not been accepted as a proof of the nobility of their nature or of the purity and genuineness of their love or of their love or of their idealism in relation to woman.

Nor can the state of that society be considered healthy and desirable in which driving and living openly with a dancing-girl is not considered disgraceful. The blunting of the moral sense must have proceeded far when so much is being made of those who led impure lives, simply because of their wealth and "connection" with men in "high" position.

In the story of the murder of Mr. Bawla the heroism and nobility of four British officers, Lt. Seagert being the most prominent among them, stand out as the bright relieving feature. They were passing along when the murdered man and his mistress and secretary were attacked, and immediately came to their rescue. Though Lt. Seagert received some shots, he did not let go one of the miscreants whom he had caught.

Mrs. Robinson's Case

In England some degraded specimens of humanity formed a conspiracy to blackmail Raja Hari Singh, nephew of the Maharaja of Kashmir, in consequence of which he was discovered where he ought not to have been. To hush up the matter, he agreed to part with £300,000. A woman named Mrs. Robinson, her husband, and some other rascals were to share in this loot. We need not

enter into more details, which have been published, in the papers. Owing to the notoriety which these facts brought the adulteress, Mrs. Robinson, a paper called *The Sunday Chronicle* got her to contribute serially an account of her life and immoral adventures. It betokens a very degraded state of society that a woman and her husband should with other persons form a conspiracy of this disgraceful character to fleece an ass of a libertine. And it betokens still deeper degradation that a public print should find it possible and profitable to print an account of her vicious life written by herself. What sorts of homes are those into which such a paper finds ready entrance?

We have no desire to throw stones at English society, seeing that, if Bombay's Mumtaz Begum had possessed any literary talent, some "enterprising" Indian paper would have most probably secured her as a contributor.

The vast sums which Hari Singh has squandered abroad are said to be his private property. But in the last resort, they must have been derived from the poor people of Kashmir. Of course, there are other princes who are as great spendthrifts. But that does not prove that Hari Singh is fit to rule, though it is probable he will succeed the present Maharaja of Kashmir; for the less impeccable an Indian chief is, the more squeezable must he prove to be, considering the relation in which the Indian states stand to Britain.

The Evening Standard, a British paper, in its issue of December 5, 1924, had an article by one Miss May Crommelin, with the heading, "With 'Mr. A.' in Kashmir" It is introduced by the editor thus:—

While wandering round the world, Miss May Crommelin the novelist, happened upon the Court of Kashmir during the wedding festivities of Sir Hari Singh, the "Mr. A." of the "affaire Robinson". She gives here a vivid pen-picture of a remarkable young man.

This shows what makes a man a society hero in England.

May Crommelin has indited the following paragraph among others:—

I was shocked to hear an Indian Prince called so unjustly a "nigger" last week in court. But I was far more shocked a few hours ago—shocked and sorry—when I found that "Mr. A." was the fine young Hari, so loyal to us.

Whatever the other qualifications or disqualifications of a biped of the genus homo may be, he who is "so loyal to us" must be fit to be a ruler of men. So the people of

Kashmir may rest assured that "the fine young Hari" will be their Maharaja some day. A strong-minded intelligent man of good character can neither be easily fleeced nor be easily made to "grant" concessions ; —the opposite sort of man is more convenient to deal with. So he cannot but be "fine".

Contradictory Accounts in the Press

New India notices the fact that the account of Lord Lytton's visit to Jessore in a Calcutta Indian paper is exactly the opposite of that in a Calcutta Anglo-Indian paper. The Indian paper states that all shops were closed and the streets were deserted. The Anglo-Indian paper states on the contrary that the whole town of Jessore turned out to welcome His Excellency.

We know from a very reliable source that when the Governor of Bengal visited another town, a telegram appeared in some papers that there was complete boycott of the visit by the towns-people though that was not the fact. When a copy of a paper containing that telegram reached its correspondent in that town, he and his companions laughed and made merry over the fact that they had been able to hoodwink the public!

According to these unscrupulous fools, disregard for truth is a means of national salvation.

What's in a Name ?

Our attention has been drawn to a curious practice of the Bengal Government which calls for a word or two of comment. It would appear that officers of the Provincial Service are ordinarily styled in the official gazette as 'Babu' or 'Moulavi' according as they happen to be Hindus or Mahomedans. According to our information, so strictly is this rule observed that they are never designated as 'Mr.' unless they can prove to the satisfaction of the Government, that they live in European style. In pursuance of the rules governing promotion in these services, a few of these officers are, from time to time, appointed to what are called 'listed' posts, i.e., posts in the superior service which are reserved for officers of the Provincial Service. When a Provincial Service officer occupies one of these posts as officiating Additional or District Magistrate (or Judge, his nomenclature is at once transformed from 'Babu' or 'Moulavi' to 'Mr.'. The reader must not ima-

gine that this metamorphosis is necessarily correlated to any change in the habits of life of the individual thus honoured. The new style of address is adopted without his leave or license, whether he abandons his national mode of living or not, and as a matter of course. But the funniest part of the story yet remains to be told. The position of a Provincial Service officer, when he begins to officiate in the higher service, is analogous to that of a chrysalis which has not yet developed into a full-fledged butterfly. He has to pass through many a vicissitude of fortune, and has to revert to the Provincial Service many a time, before his confirmation as a member of the superior service takes place. During his periodical reversions, he is again officially styled by his whilom appellation of 'Babu' or 'Moulavi' and thus made to know his place and keep it. An observer of this unexpected transformation unaccustomed to the ways of Bumbledom will be tempted to exclaim 'O Bottom, thou art changed ! Bless thee, thou art translated !' Indeed, so ridiculous does the situation sometimes become that in the same gazette, while in one part the official in question, as relinquishing charge of his 'listed' post, is addressed as 'Mr.', in another part, a few pages down, where his posting in the Provincial Service is notified, he is styled as 'Babu' or 'Maulavi.' And so hide-bound is officialdom to its traditions, that it gravely perpetrates this piece of practical joke, and invests the same officer with a dual personality like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in Robert Louis Stevenson's famous story, without a twinge of its facial muscles, or without being once moved to think how absurd it must all appear to the man in the street.

We do not mean any disrespect to the Judiciary and Magistracy who belong to the Provincial Service. They are all our countrymen, and many of them we dare say, are most estimable gentlemen. But are there not even a few among the holders of these 'listed' posts, who have presumably risen to their high rank by reason of their superior merit, who have the courage to point out the anomaly of the practice referred to above, and protest against its continuance? We have reasons to believe that some at least of them feel the ignominy of being thus made the victims of official caprice in the style of their address, and would prefer to be called 'Babu' or 'Moulavi', for almost all of them live in Indian style both before their promotion to the 'listed' posts and after their retire-

ment from such posts. Only an exiguous number adopt the European style of living, and that only in part during the time they hold these posts, and to them alone the title of 'Mr.' should be given. But if the title is conferred on all holders of 'listed' appointments without distinction, why, in the name of common sense, should it not be continued for the rest of their service, after it is once bestowed? And above all, what does the adoption of this title of address, in the case of every holder of a superior post, and its revocation in the case of the same officer as soon as he has to revert to inferior rank, indicate? Does it not clearly denote that in the bureaucratic code no Babu or Maulavi can be a member of the superior service, and on the other hand no one belonging to the Provincial service can, as a rule, aspire to the dignity of being addressed as Mr.? In other words the English title of address is supposed to possess an intrinsic superiority which it is mere presumption on the part of a Babu or Moulavi to claim. The humiliation underlying such an assumption ought not to be put up with by any self-respecting member of the Provincial Service and indeed so entirely devoid of justification is this practice that we believe that it has only to be pointed out by those concerned to be relegated to the dustbin of obsolete customs and invidious distinctions which have had their day and are no more.

In our opinion, every officer living in Indian style and used to being called Babu or Moulavi, should, when promoted to a post usually reserved for civilians living in European style, be asked whether he would prefer to be addressed by his usual designation or to adopt the title of Mr. and his choice should decide the question so far as he is concerned, and the upward and downward curve of his future career should not thenceforth be denoted by his designation in the official gazette as 'Mr.' and 'Babu' or 'Moulavi.' In these days of democratic government, it is really going too far to taboo the titles of Babu and Moulavi from the ranks of the superior civil service. They must be officially rehabilitated to a position of equality with the title of 'Mr.' and no artificial character of nobility should be conferred on the latter so as to vest it with a dignity and distinction it does not intrinsically possess and cannot therefore claim.

Would any member of the Bengal Council take up the matter and see that justice is done to Indian titles of address and that they

are treated on a par with the English title of address in official notifications and other official documents? The offensive word native has been substituted in official correspondence by 'Indian', and it is time that the last strongholds of bureaucratic prejudice and racial invidiousness should be made to yield to common sense and fair play in these matters

Sydney Smith on the Licentiousness of the Press

"A vast concern is expressed for the liberty of the press, and the utmost abhorrence for its licentiousness; but then, by the licentiousness of the press is meant every disclosure by which any abuse is brought to light and exposed to shame—by the liberty of the press is meant only publications from which no such inconvenience is to be apprehended; and the fallacy consists in employing the sham approbation of liberty as a mask for the real opposition to all free discussion. To write a pamphlet so ill that nobody will read it; to animadvert in terms so weak and insipid upon great evils, that no distrust is excited at the vice, and no apprehension in the evil-doer, is a fair use of the liberty of the press, and is not only pardoned by the friends of government, but draws from them the most fervent eulogium. The licentiousness of the press consists in doing the thing boldly and well, in striking terror into the guilty, and, in rousing the attention of the public to the defence of their highest interests. This is the licentiousness of the press held in the greatest horror by timid and corrupt men ..."

Essay on the Fallacy of Anti-Reformers.

Sydney Smith on Good Government and Official Exposure

"As Mr. Bentham observes, if there be any one maxim in politics more certain than another, it is that no possible degree of virtue in the governor can render it expedient for the governed to dispense with good laws and good institutions ... It is quite obvious to all who are capable of reflection that by no other means than by lowering the governors in the estimation of the people, can there be hope or chance of beneficial change. The greater the quantity of respect a man receives independently of good conduct, the less good his behaviour likely to be. It is the interest, therefore, of the public in the case of each to see that the respect paid to him should, as completely possible, depend upon the goodness of his behavior in the execution of his trust. But it is, on the contrary, the interest of the trustee that the respect, the money, or any other advantage receives in virtue of his office should be as secure, and as independent of conduct as possible ... public men must expect to be attacked and sometimes unjustly. It keeps up the habit considering their conduct as exposed to scrutiny. The friends and supporters of Government always greater facility in keeping and raising it than its adversaries have for lowering it."—*Ibid.*

Opportunities of Studies in America

There has been a considerable amount of misunderstanding in India about the recent immigration legislation of America as affecting students from India. Though restrictions of entry have been increasing a great deal I may note here that there is no difficulty for a really *bona fide* student to enter the United States of America.

If India is to hold her own in world politics, if we desire to emancipate ourselves from the economic thralldom of the Western nations, the only way is to send hundreds of boys and girls to foreign lands for first-hand knowledge of Western methods of production, distribution, organization and management. America offers the best field for such a study. This is the only place where exceptional facilities are available for research work.

There is no doubt that entirely self-supporting students are debarred from entering the States, but even then a really intelligent student, who finds himself in monetary difficulties and who works outside his college hours without neglecting his studies is allowed to stay in the United States by the immigration authorities.

The Indo-American Information Bureau, P. O. Beacon, New York, U. S. A., (whose temporary address up to May 1925 is c/o Clark University, Worcester, Mass., U. S. A.) would be very glad to supply any information needed by a needy student on receipt of one rupee in Indian stamps or currency. The deposit is needed as a guarantee of good faith and genuine enquiry and will be refunded to the depositor on his arrival in this country.

V. V. OAK

Sydney Smith on Female Accomplishments

Sydney Smith's Essay on Female Education, written more than a century ago, amply repays perusal. In his time, in England, a woman, of forty was more ignorant than a boy of twelve, so the conditions were more nearly akin to what they are in India today : much of what he writes, therefore, though long out of date in his own country, applies with full force to us in India. In his time, there was much jealousy among men respecting the education of women. The novelty of teaching women more than they were already taught was apt to raise in the manly mind the sensation of the ludicrous. To all such Sydney Smith's reply was :

'Nothing is more common, or more stupid, than

to take the actual for the possible,—to believe that all which is, is all which can be : first to laugh at every proposed deviation from practice as impossible—then, when it is carried into effect, to be astonished that it did not take place before'.

Educate women as well as you educate your men—this is the burden of Sydney Smith's Essay.

"The pursuit of knowledge is the most innocent and interesting occupation which can be given to the female sex ; nor can there be a better method of checking a spirit of dissipation than by diffusing a taste for literature. The true way to attack vice is by setting up something else against it."

Sydney Smith has no illusions as to the power of education to improve the character. He says :

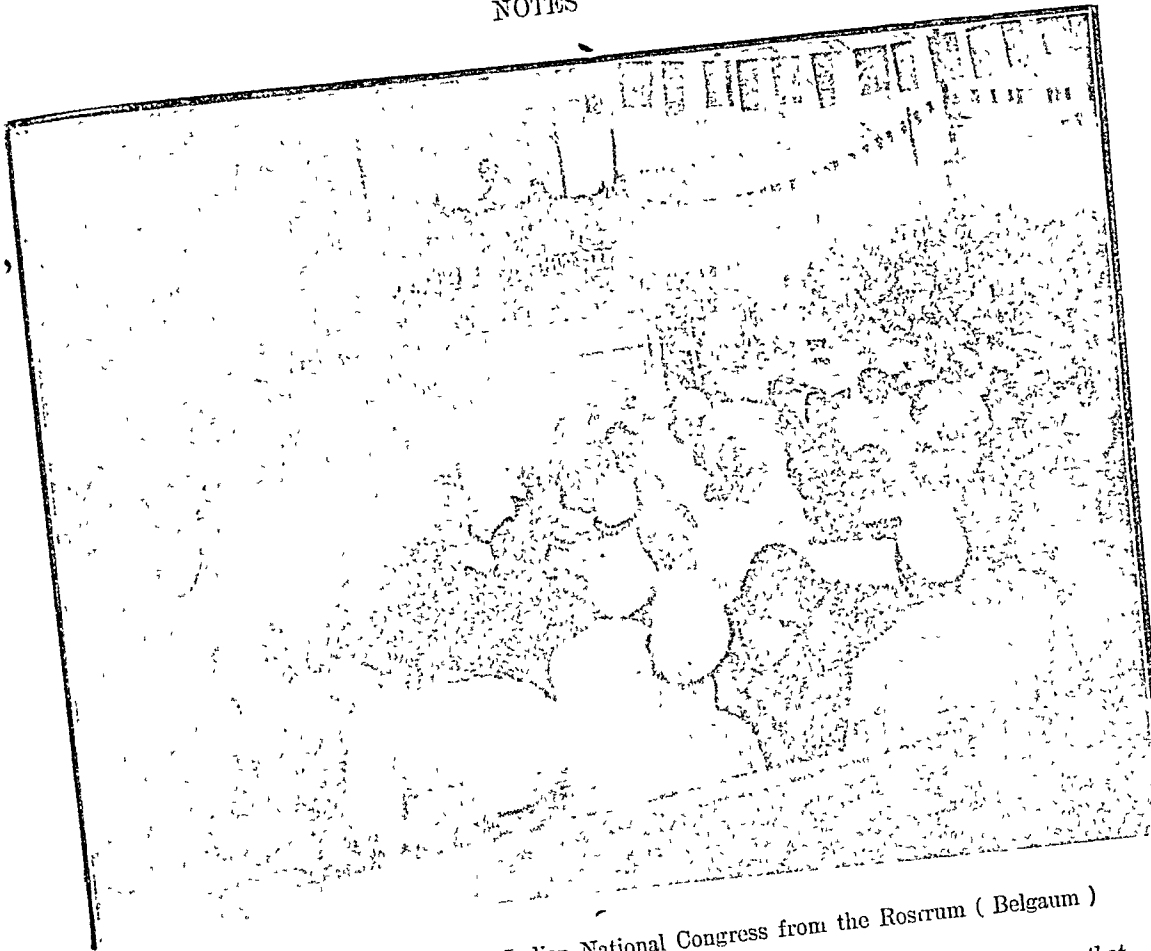
"It is true, that every increase of knowledge may possibly render depravity more depraved, as well as it may increase the strength of virtue. It is in itself only power : and its value depends on its application."

Women hazard everything upon one cast of the die ;—when youth is gone, all is gone. One of the greatest pleasures of life is conversation, and they are enhanced by every increase of knowledge.

"Education gives fecundity of thought, copiousness of illustration, quickness, vigour, fancy, words, images, and illustrations ; it decorates every common thing, and gives the power of trifling without being indignant and absurd." "Diffuse knowledge generally among women, and you will at once cure the conceit which knowledge occasions while it is rare."

The formation of character during the first seven or eight years of life depends almost entirely on women. If the education of women were improved, the education of men would therefore be improved also. But Sydney Smith does not treat of female education as a mere accomplishment. A mind full of ideas possesses the elastic spring which the love of knowledge can alone convey ; it diffuses, equally over the whole of existence, a calm pleasure, suitable to every variety and every period of life. Instead of tying their whole lives to one unvaried line of petty and frivolous occupation, the minds of our women should be filled with strong sense and elevated curiosity. Much of a woman's life is solitary, there are sufferings which she must endure alone in silence. Daughters should not therefore devote their whole time to sewing, patching and mending kept with nimble fingers and vacant understandings till the season for intellectual improvement is utterly passed away.

A century before Sydney Smith's time, the prevailing taste was for teaching women housewifery ; in his time, it was for accom-



Mahatma Gandhi Addressing the Indian National Congress from the Roscrum (Belgaum)

plishments. This is the stage at which we in India have now arrived. It will therefore be instructive to hear what Sydney Smith has got to say on the subject.

"The object now is to make women artists, to give them an excellence in drawing, music, painting, and dancing... Now one great evil of all this is that it does not last... No mother, no woman, who has passed over the first few years of life, sings, or dances, or draws, or plays upon musical instruments. These are merely means for displaying the grace and vivacity of youth, which every woman gives up, as she gives up the dress and the manners of the eighteen, she has no wish to retain them, or if she has, she is driven out of them by diameter [i.e. girthing] and derision. The system of female education, as it now stands, aims only at embellishing a few years of life, which are in themselves so full of grace and happiness, that they hardly want it, and then leaves the rest of existence a miserable prey to idle insignificance. No woman of understanding and reflection can possibly conceive she is doing justice to her children by such kind of education. The object is to give to children resources that will endure as long as life endures—habits that time will

ameliorate, not destroy,—occupations that render sickness tolerable, solitude pleasant, venerable, life more dignified and useful, and fore death less terrible; and the compensation which is offered for the omission of all this a lived blaze,—a little temporary effect, which no other consequence than to deprive the remainder of life of all taste and relish. There be women who have a taste for the fine arts who evince a decided talent for drawing, music. In that case, there can be no objection to their cultivation; but the error is, to make things the grand and universal object—to upon it that every woman is to sing, and and dance—with nature, or against nature, bind her apprentice to some accomplishment to prefer [it] to real solid improvement in knowledge, and understanding. A great deal is in favour of the social nature of the fine arts, gives pleasure to others. Drawing is an amusement of which does not enter in her exercises it, but is diffused among the world. This is true; but there is nothing all, so social as a cultivated mind."

Woman's education must necessarily to some extent from man's, but it not differ in essentials and need not be



Mahatma Gandhi Reviewing Volunteers (Belgaum)

in quality. We should remember Robert Louis Stevenson's warning:

"Man is a creature who lives not upon bread alone, but principally by catchwords; and the little rift between the sexes is astonishingly widened by simply teaching one set of catchwords to the girls and another to the boys."

The life of frivolous dissipation, and of petty accomplishments, which make such a brave show but in reality mean so little, is coming into vogue among the upper middle classes of our society. Our unfashionable grandmothers were mostly without education, and they often missed the joy of elevated thoughts which education brings in its train; but they took life more seriously than their grand-daughters, for whose butterfly existence they would feel nothing but contempt. In a sense, both have, in a large measure, missed the meaning of life, and that being the case, the humility of our feminine ancestors is much to be preferred to the grand airs of

the 'accomplished' girls of today. And in that part of education which consists in the cultivation of the emotions as distinguished from the understanding, there are not many who would hesitate to give the palm to our self-sacrificing female forbears. If we are to educate our girls at all—and educate them we must—we should remember that what is wanted is not the picking up of a few so-called accomplishments, but the acquisition of real, solid knowledge, with all that it stands for in the realm of deepening, broadening and uplifting the mind

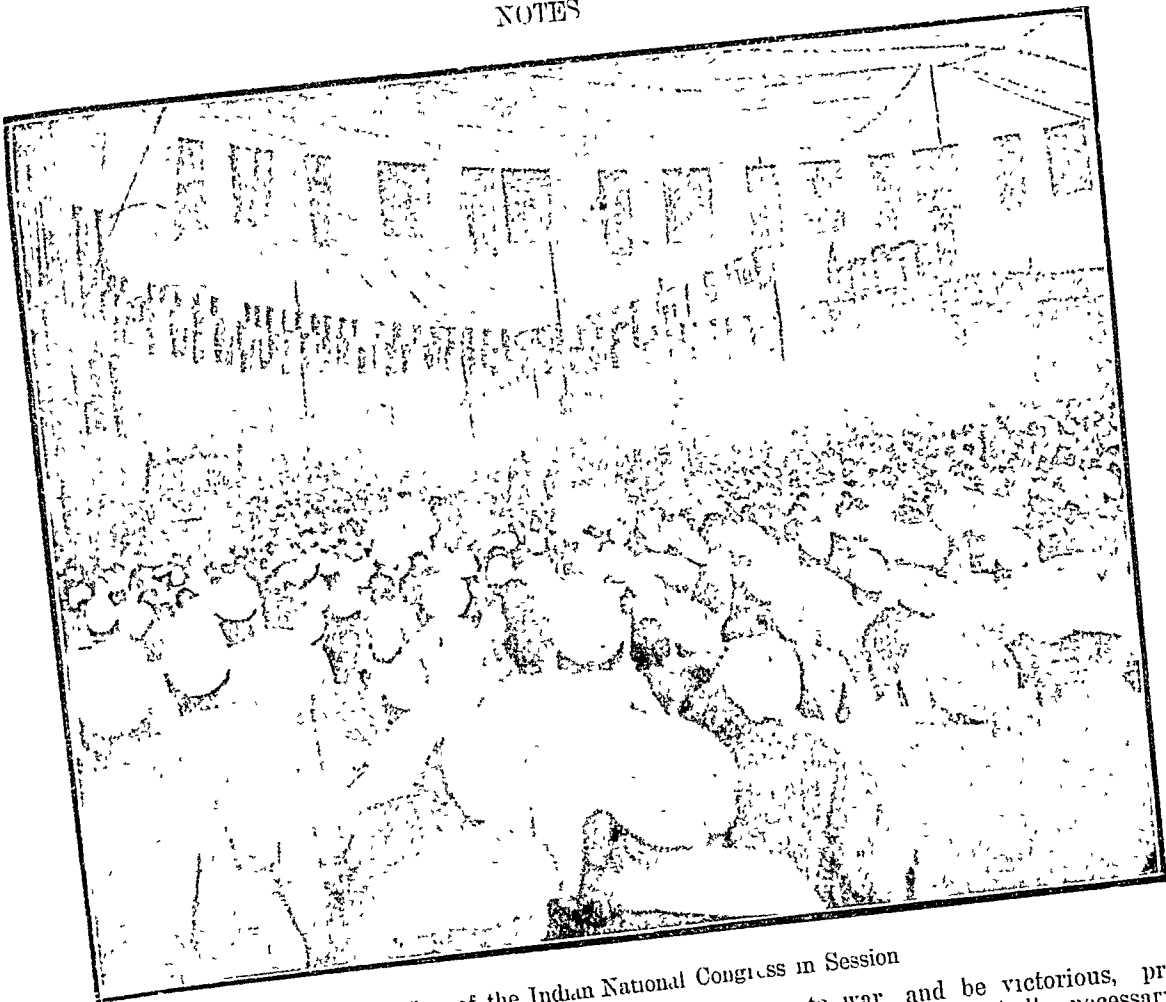
X.

Passport.

The Japan Chronicle states:

No more passport visas are necessary for persons travelling between Japan and the following countries: France, Italy, and Holland. This is a very good sign. The passport system has been kept on

NOTES



A View of the Indian National Congress in Session

all this time not because of any need, but simply to get a little squeeze from travellers. Great Governments are gradually waking up to the fact that such petty extortion is beneath their dignity.

What is the object of the passport system as enforced in India, or elsewhere in the case of Indians?

Preparedness

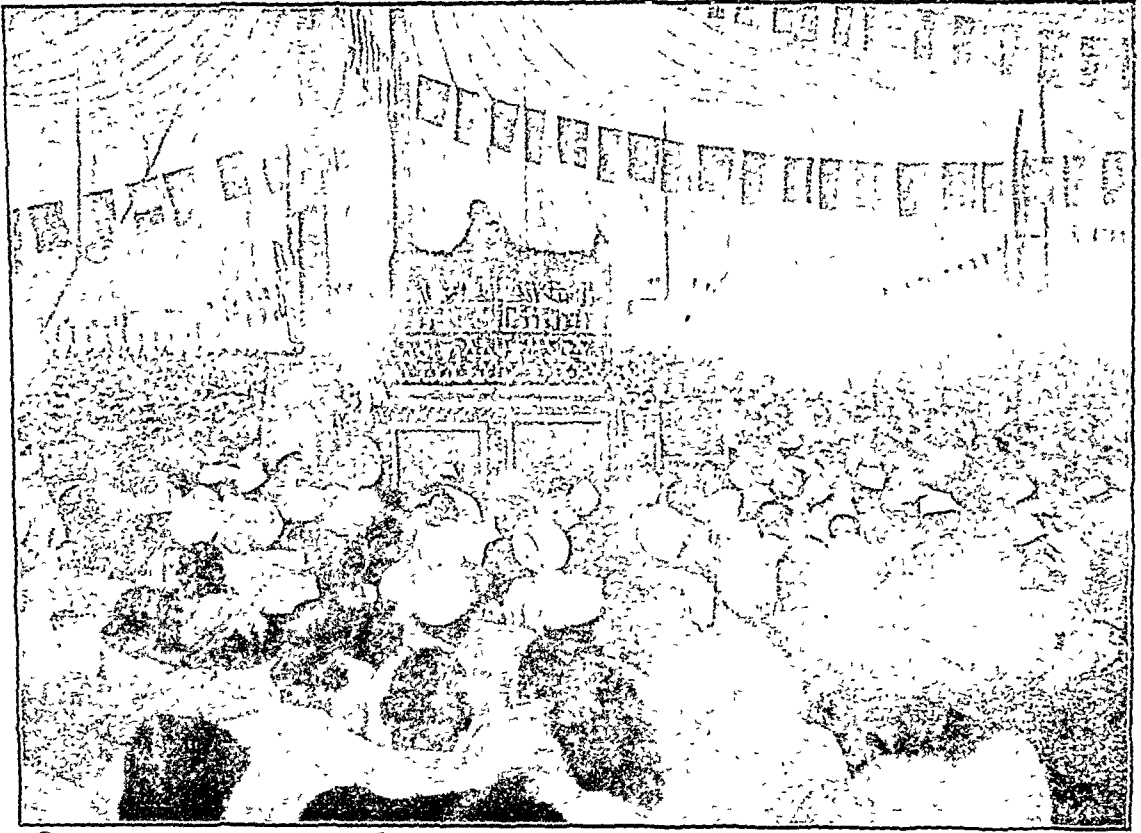
We read in the same newspaper—
“The formula that unpreparedness increases the chances of war was repeated by Mr. Wilbur, America's Naval Secretary, in his plea for more armaments,”

It would be interesting to know what in the opinion of diplomats and generals increases the chances of peace.

Preparedness seems to be like whisky. If it is cold, drinkers will advise you to take “drop” of whisky; if it is hot, the prescription is again a “drop” of whisky.—If a nation

wants to go to war and be victorious, preparedness is considered essentially necessary; if a nation longs for peace,—why, preparedness is, again, what is wanted!

But in reality, there will never be either disarmament or peace, so long as some “great power” does not courageously and in loyal adherence to a great ideal set the example of disarmament, even at the certain risk of being invaded and conquered. No great ideal was ever realised except at the cost of martyrdom,—at any rate, at the risk of martyrdom. Individual greatness is achieved by individual fidelity to a great ideal and the consequent actual or possible martyrdom. The way to national greatness lies exactly in the same direction. We speak of real greatness, not of overflowing wealth, big navies, large armies, and numerous squadrons.



Another View of the Congress in Session (Belgaum)

meant not the subservient discretion of the weak, but that which comes from consciousness of power which is achieved only through righteousness. Whether India is to gain her salvation through conflict or through the other method more consonant with her ancient tradition, there can be no misgiving about her future. For there is something in Indian culture which is possessed of extraordinary latent strength, by which it has resisted the ravages of time and the destructive changes which have swept over the earth. And indeed a capacity to endure through infinite transformations must be latent in that mighty civilisation which has seen the intellectual culture of the Nile Valley, of Assyria, and of Babylon wax and wane and disappear, and which to-day gazes on the future with the same invincible faith with which it met the past.

The veteran's confession of faith ought to hearten all privates in the ranks.

On "Misquotations"

The Catholic Herald of India (December 10, 1924) writes with reference to Babu

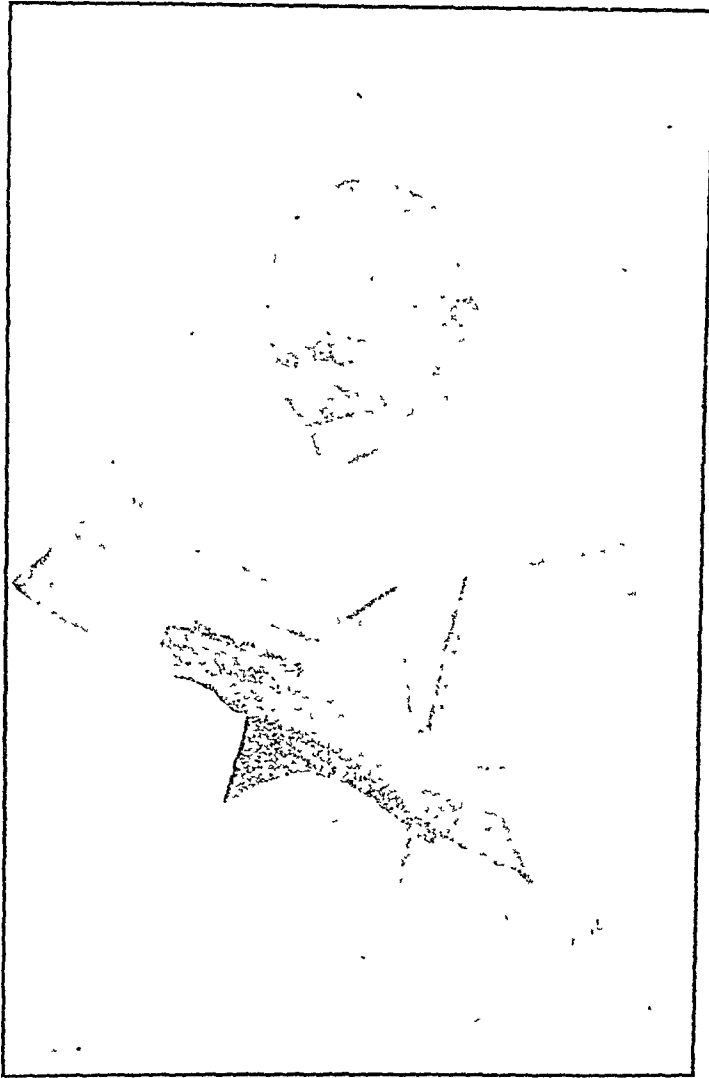
Maheschandra Ghosh's reviews of biblical books :—

MISQUOTATIONS

a. In a previous issue we read that according to the scholarly work of Dalman, Jesus taught the existence of a merely material banquet in heaven. On tracing the reference we find, to our pleasant surprise, that Dalman says *just the opposite*, and most emphatically, in so many words, immediately after the words quoted by M. C. Ghosh (Luke XXII, 29). "Never," says Dalman, "did Jesus mean these words to be taken in a literal sense".

Babu Maheschandra Ghosh quoted Dalman in his review of Professor J. Eslin Carpenter's "*Buddhism and Christianity: A Parallel and a contrast*", which was published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1924. The passage in which Dalman was quoted in that issue, p. 661, runs as follows :

Jesus and his followers used to drink wine. Eating and drinking at his table in his kingdom was a special privilege of his apostles. (Lk. XXII, 30). "This repast was no mere figure of speech" (Dalman : *The Words of Jesus*, p. 111). Jesus himself said that he drank wine and that his enemies



Mahatma Gandhi, the President of the Belgaum Session of the Indian National Congress

called him a "winebibber" (Matt. XI. 19 ; Lk. VII. 34). This proves that some of his enemies condemned drinking; but he, the Messiah, had no objection to drinking.

Here we do not find Babu Maheschandra Ghosh asserting that "according to the scholarly work of Dalman, Jesus taught the existence of a merely material banquet in heaven". He simply quotes some of Dalman's words—from a sentence which, as we shall see, Pfeiderer also quotes in a footnote. Neither Pfeiderer nor Babu Maheschandra gives Dalman's context, not considering it essential. But let us come to the "misquotation".

In "*The Words of Jesus*" by Gustaf Dalman (authorised English version by D. M. Kay, B. D. B. sc. 1909), page 111, the passage quoted from runs as follows ;—

From the Gospels it may be inferred that the conception of an actual repast for the pious was already an old established idea. Even for Jesus this repast was no mere figure of speech. But he speaks of it in plain language only for the purpose of emphasising the fellowship which the righteous of all ages are destined to enjoy. Never did He refer to the repast as a mere repast.

Here we do not find the words, "Never did Jesus mean these words to be taken in



A View of the Congress Camp (Belgium)

a literal sense," which the *Catholic Herald* prints within inverted commas and ascribes to Dalman.

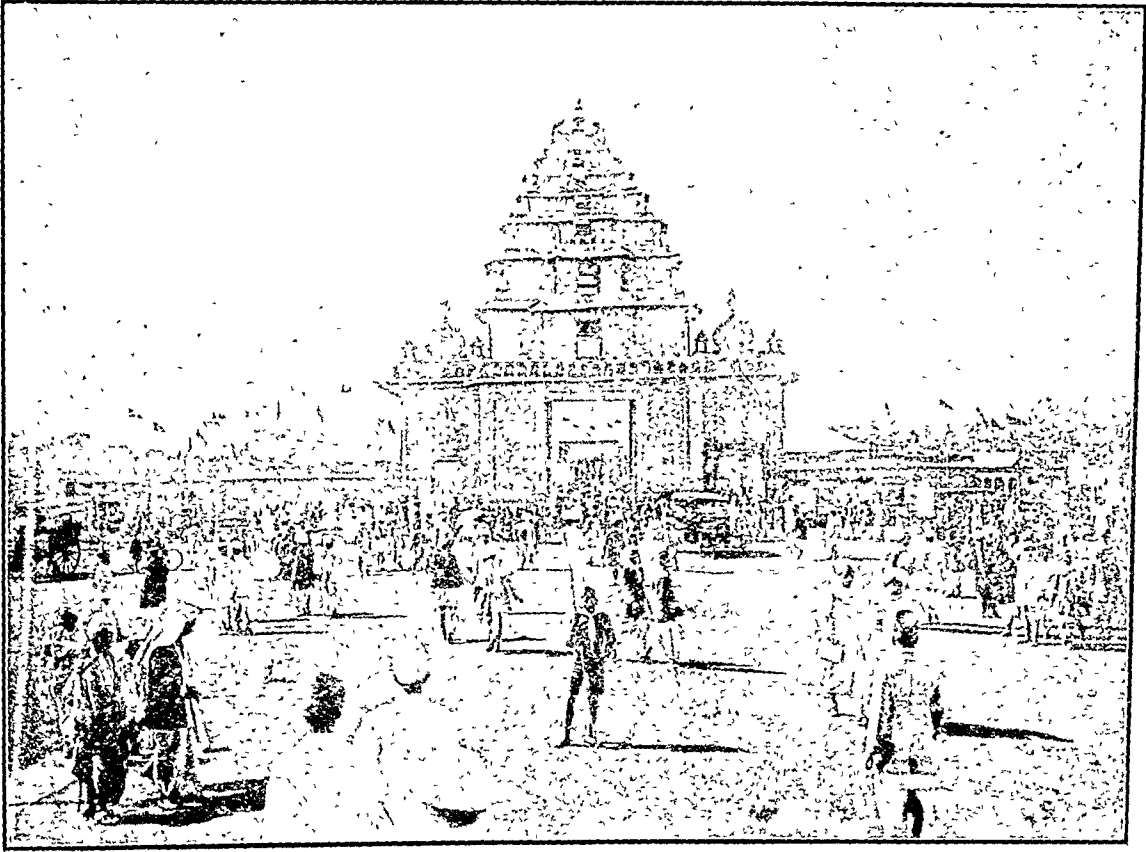
Regarding the meaning of what Dalman has written, our opinion is (and it is admittedly the opinion of one whose vernacular is not English) that Dalman held that by the repast Jesus meant neither only a material feast nor only spiritual fellowship, but partly both.

Not being biblical scholars, we do not venture any opinion of our own regarding the actual meaning of what Jesus said. But we may be permitted to quote the opinion of Pfleiderer, who writes:—

"Dalman is doubtless right in remarking: '...The difference between the preaching of Jesus and Jewish views consists, not in the idea of 'the life', but in what Jesus has to say of the theocracy (*Gottesher-schaft*) and of the righteousness without which life in the theocracy can never be attained' (*Worte Jesu*, p. 132=E. T. 162). Naturally, it consists in a condition of perfect happiness, of complete joy and satisfaction. Therefore the loyal servant has held out to him as his reward the prospect of entering into the 'joy of his Lord' (Matt. XXV. 21). Frequently this joy is represented as a partaking in the Messianic feast, the guest at

which shall sit at meat with the patriarchs, or eat and drink at Christ's table (Matt. VIII 11. Luke XIII. 29, XXII. 30). Now, as that is not to be thought of as a mere figure, and as the scene of this ferial joy is certainly the 'land' of Canaan (Matt. V 5 cf. Ps XXXVII. 11, Enoch V. 7, XC. 20), Jesus seems to have thought of the condition of the partakers in the Reign of God, not as a supersensuous existence comparable to that of heavenly spiritual beings, but as an earthly existence raised to a higher power and freed from the evils of the present life. That was certainly the way in which the primitive community of His followers understood it, as may be concluded from the fact that they supposed the description which is found in Apoc. Baruch (XXIX. 5.) of the fabulous fruitfulness of field and vine (in the Messianic times) to be a prophecy of Jesus, and even though they were mistaken in this, the mistake would be unintelligible if Jesus had thought and taught the direct opposite—if he had represented the unending life under the Reign of God as completely freed from earthly conditions and as the blessedness of heavenly spirits.—

* Dalman, *ut sup.*, p. 81 (= E. T. III) : "Even for Jesus, this repast was no mere figure of speech". Joh. Weiss (*ut sup.*, p. 120) considers the arguments for figurative interpretation of this conception "extraordinarily trivial"—meaning thereby, no doubt superficial and untenable.
Pfleiderer's foot-note.



The Entrance to the Congress Pandal (Belgaum)

Pfleiderer's *Primitive Christianity*, Vol. II, pp. 417—18 Translated by W. Montgomery, B. D.

The Catholic Herald complains that "under the pretext of reviewing books," Babu Maheschandra Ghosh criticises Christ and Christianity. There is no pretext at all. The books reviewed relate to Christ and Christianity, and there is no natural or supernatural-law which forbids the statement of views relating to those subjects held by others, besides the authors whose works are reviewed. Macaulay wrote many of his essays as reviews of books in a famous quarterly. Many other authors have done the same thing. They did not confine themselves strictly to the contents of the books reviewed. But we are not aware that they have been generally considered guilty of pretext. Babu Maheschandra Ghosh's reviews may be bad or indifferent, but he does not do anything "under the pretext of" doing something else. Moreover, for the most part, he quotes standard authors in support of his views.

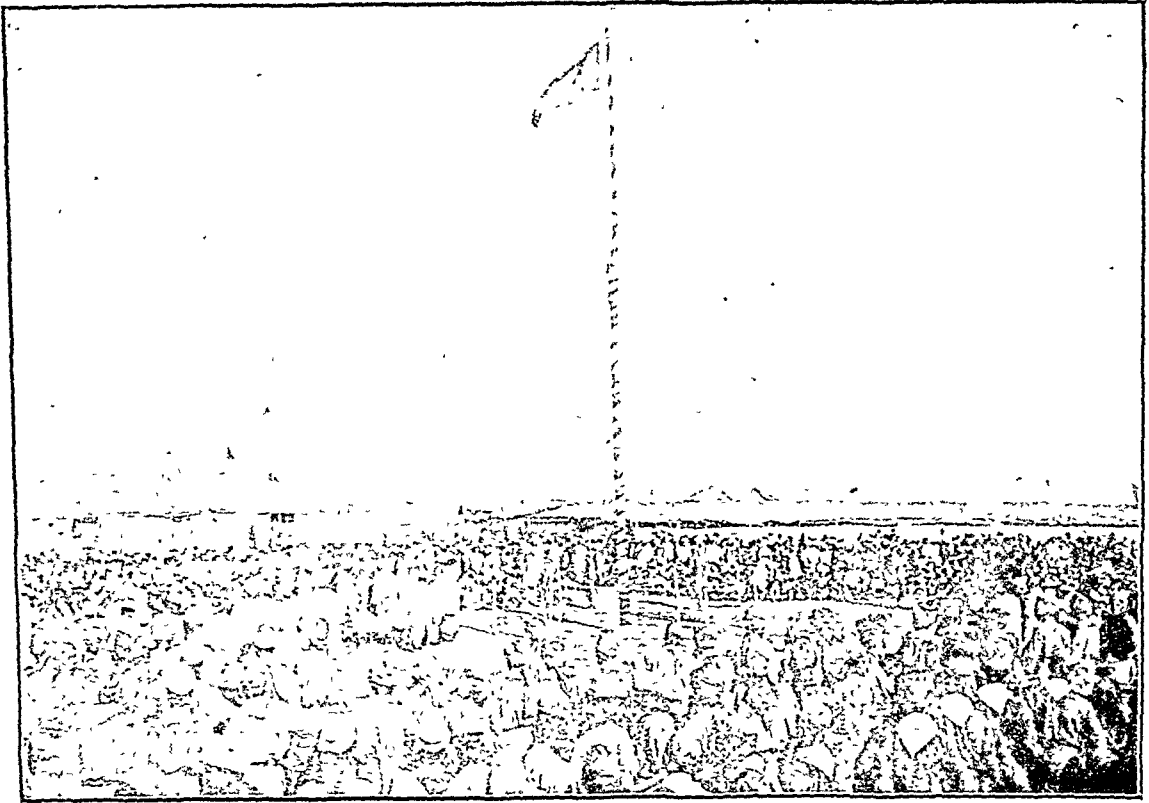
The Working of Local Self-government in Bengal

Lord Lytton said at Jessore that

He had received a most favourable impression of the working of Local Self-Government institutions in the Province. This was a matter of which practically nothing was known in England, and when he went back the best evidence he could submit to his countrymen of the fitness of India for Responsible Government would be derived from the working of the representative element in the Local Self-Government machinery of the Province. All the difficulties which were so often quoted as obstacles to the concession of political responsibility were there present though in a smaller degree. On Union Boards, Local Boards and District Boards he found Muhammadans and Hindus, as well as all castes of the latter, working together, and solid work for the improvement of local conditions was being done.

What has Lord Sydenham and other die-hards got to say to this testimony? Here is a British Governor on the spot who of his own accord bears witness to the fitness of the people for Responsible Government.

Lord Lytton expressed the further opinion



Boy Scouts Saluting the National Flag (Belgaum Congress)

that "the will to effect local improvements was also present. What was chiefly needed was more money." He concluded:—

During the two years which still remain of my term of office I hope to concentrate upon this problem of increasing the wealth of the Province, and thereby the ability of Government agencies, whether Local or Provincial to supply local needs. Wealth is of two kinds and may be derived either from human resources or from the resources of the soil. Human wealth is at present greatly diminished, both by ignorance and disease, and it is also common knowledge that the soil of Bengal is capable of a much greater yield than is at present obtained from it.

The problems of Education, Public Health and agricultural improvement, therefore, require special attention from the point of view of increasing wealth.

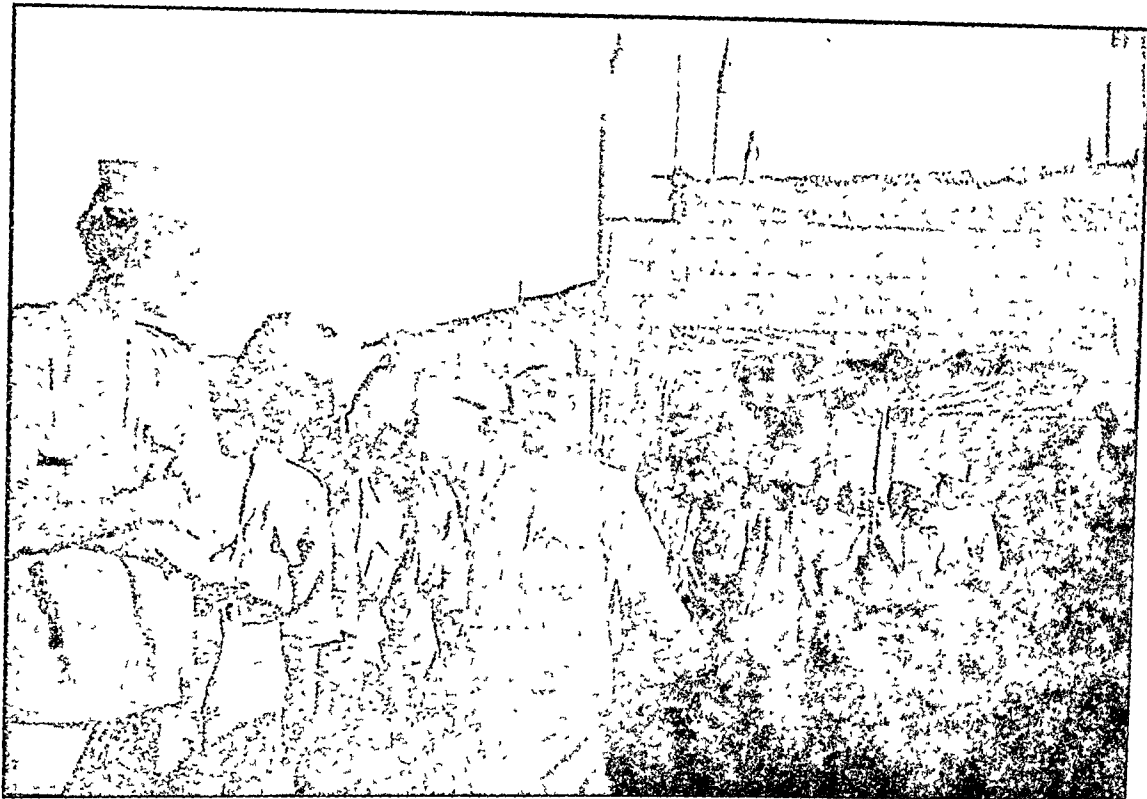
Governors, like other men, must make every effort to fulfil their promises. At the Joint Conference of the Departments of Agriculture, Industries and Co-operation and the Veterinary Department held at Government House, Calcutta, on the 4th and 5th July, 1921, it was resolved:—

This Conference is of opinion that a liberal policy of Government loans is essential with a view to developing special forms of Co-operative Societies.

This Conference urges on Government the importance of irrigation as a factor in agricultural improvement, especially in Western Bengal, and, in view of the considerable development of small irrigation projects in Western Bengal the advisability of increasing the staff of Co-operative Officers and of posting competent Irrigation Engineers in each district where such development is proceeding, or is possible.

After his visit to Bankura Lord Lytton wrote to the Magistrate of that district on the 30th January, 1924.

"I should like you to know how very pleased I have been to see the interesting examples of co-operative self-help which were shown to me in the Bankura District. The work being done by co-operative irrigation societies in providing by local effort against the dangers of drought and crop failure, is most encouraging and the best possible guarantee of the future prosperity of the district. The members of these societies have shown how wealth can be created even by very poor Communities, and I hope that their example will be widely followed. I have said on other occasions



A View within the Congress Grounds (Belgaum)

that Government help ought to be proportioned to local effort, and according to this principle, the people of Bankura have established a strong claim upon the assistance of the Government. I shall not forget this admirable effort and shall see that it is properly encouraged.

We should like to know what Lord Lytton has done to give effect to the resolutions quoted above and to keep the promise made in his letter to the Magistrate of Bankura. Assuming that his ministers ever stood in the way of his carrying out his good intentions, we may point out that there are now no such officers. He is practically all in all. The disadvantages of one-man rule are many. But so long as the autocrat has good intentions, there may be some advantages also. So, let the people of Bengal have the advantages of what is practically one-man rule so long as it lasts.

The vital need of irrigation and agricultural improvements in West Bengal was also pointed out independently some time ago by Mr. J. N. Gupta, I. C. S., as commissioner of the

Burdwan division. Let us now have adequate steps taken.

Lord Lytton's Unwisdom

Lord Lytton made a speech at the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council at which leave to introduce the Bengal Ordinance Bill was refused by a majority of votes. The speech was made in an excellent spirit and tone. But the line of argument he adopted showed his unwisdom.

He took it for granted that the belief of the people of Bengal that the police not unoften fabricated evidence to get innocent persons convicted rested only on the single instance of what is known as the Musalmanpara Bomb Case, in which one Nagendranath Sen Gupta was accused of having committed murder by throwing a bomb, but was acquitted after trial by a full bench of the Calcutta High Court. His Excellency, therefore, tried to show that the High Court judges were wrong in acquitting the accused, the strong-



The Belgaum Congress in Session

est argument advanced by His Lordship being that the accused himself had now confessed that he did commit the murder. So Lord Lytton thought that the police could be trusted with discretionary powers. We have no desire to comment on this belated, safe and probably not entirely disinterested confession. But we wish to point out that the Musalmanpara Bomb Case is not the only ground for the belief in the unreliability of evidence got up by the police. In fact, the very day after the delivery of His Lordship's speech the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had no difficulty in referring to many other well-known cases in which the police had been judicially found to have concocted evidence. Probably, other papers also may have drawn attention to such cases.

As regards the Musalmanpara Bomb Case, Mr. J. Chandhuri, Barrister-at-Law, has shown in his *Calcutta Weekly Notes* that Sen Gupta was acquitted by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the Chief Justice, and Justices Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Holmwood, because they found

that some of the evidence adduced was fabricated and utterly unreliable. It appears, therefore, that, assuming Sen Gupta's belated confession to be true, the police wanted to make assurance doubly sure by gilding gold and painting the lily—they tried to make the true evidence truer and more convincing by means of falsehood, and thus spoilt the whole thing.

Lord Lytton ought not to have placed such implicit reliance on his advisers as to believe so easily that three such distinguished judges as Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Justice Holmwood had come to a wrong conclusion from the evidence placed before them. He seems to have some cocksureness in his nature. For he said in his speech that simply by going through the papers of Sen Gupta's case in the India Office in London he could at once see that there had been a failure of justice in the case as the man appeared to him to be clearly guilty.

We do not believe that every policeman or officer is dishonest and untrustworthy;

but we do hold that there is so much dishonesty, corruption and lack of character in the police force that police officers cannot indiscriminately be trusted to make a proper use of discretionary powers. Sir Reginald Clarke was the Police Commissioner of Calcutta for a long period. He knows all about secret police reports and the arrest of men in consequence of such reports. Speaking of a weapon like Regulation III in the hands of the Executive, he has recently said in England that "it is one of the most dangerous weapons that any Government can use". As regards spies, informers and secret agents of the police, he observes:—

"I have had much experience of these agencies in the East and often wonder whether they do not raise more devils than they lay."

Discourtesy to Mrs. C. R. Das

Visitors were not allowed to attend the recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council at which Lord Lytton spoke, though policemen in plain clothes were seen there. Mr. C. R. Das had been very ill and had been pronounced out of danger only on the morning of the very day on which the Council met. Though very weak, he insisted on attending it. He was carried upstairs in a chair by some M.L.C.'s who were his friends, because other bearers were not allowed to enter. Mrs. C. R. Das wanted very much to accompany him in order to help and nurse him if necessary. But the president of the Council, Sir Evan Cotton, refused her permission. In doing so, he observed that he had cancelled the visitors' tickets of even his own wife and of Lady Wheeler, wife of the Governor of Bihar. But it was not necessary for either Lady Cotton or Lady Wheeler to accompany a sick husband to his place of duty to nurse him in case of need, which it was necessary for Mrs. Das to do. So there was little force in his argument. We do not know if Sir Evan Cotton also meant to suggest that as two English ladies of high position had not been allowed to come in, there was no harm in shutting out the Indian Mrs. C. R. Das. If he meant any such thing, he ought to have known that in her own community Mrs. Das occupies a position not inferior to that of those English ladies. As for the status which wealth gives, Mr. C. R. Das earned and has given up a larger income than what provincial governors enjoy. The position of governors as such is not higher than that of the leader of a

people. There is a story current that on one occasion during an official interview, Queen Victoria felt nettled and reminded Mr. W. E. Gladstone, her prime minister, that she was the queen of England. "But, your Majesty," replied Gladstone, "I am the people of England". The queen had the good sense to take the hint. The wife of the leader of a people may be considered to have a position not inferior to the wives of high-placed public servants

Certification of Bengal Ordinance

The Bengal Ordinance Bill could not even be introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council. And there has been all but unanimous condemnation of the Bengal Ordinance from all parts of India. Still it has been certified and must become law!

We do not say that at all times and in every respect public opinion must be right. But we cannot also say that at all times and in every respect, the bureaucracy must be right. In fact, there is a greater probability of the bureaucracy being in the wrong than the people. In the present case, the people were right in holding that no case had been made out in favour of emergency legislation, as the executive and the police already possessed more than ample powers to deal with the situation.

Government had alleged that revolutionaries could not be brought to open trial, because of the intimidation of witnesses, jurors and judges by the terrorists. The hollowness of this plea has been exposed in detail in the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* and other papers and by the Indian Association. Government was bearded in its own den by a string of interpellations demanding definite information regarding the alleged intimidation. But the questions were disallowed! That was a practical confession that the Government case had no legs to stand upon.

As we are not yet a sufficiently united people, we cannot effectively oppose Government. We can only observe that it is folly to seek to govern a people without convincing its reason and satisfying its conscience.

The disunited condition of the people has emboldened government so far that it has not cared even to carry out the suggestions of its friendly critics. It has not, for example, made any provision for speedily bringing to trial all persons arrested under the provisions of the Ordinance.

Swarajist Strategy

Government was defeated on the Ordinance Bill by a combination of Swarajists with the Nationalists and Independents. According to *Forward*, Sir P. C. Mitter led the opposition as the mouthpiece of this united party. But he advocated the reenactment of the Rowlatt Act with certain omissions and alterations. Do the Swarajists and others want this sort of legislation?

Professor Sten Konow

Professor Sten Konow came to the Visvabharati University with a great reputation. The expectations raised have been more than fulfilled. During his stay at Santiniketan he delivered lectures regularly on the following courses:

Indian Religions: A Survey of the Development of Indian Religious Thought from the Indo-European Origin to the Present Day.

Critical and Philological Interpretation of the Kharosthi Dharmapada.

Reading of the Vajracchedika and other Texts in old Khotanese.

A Course of Lectures on Kalidasa's Sakuntala.

In Calcutta, under the joint auspices of the Visvabharati and the Calcutta University he has delivered a course of lectures on the Indo-Seythian Period of Indian History: Introduction to the Interpretation of the Later Kharosthi Inscriptions.

His first lecture at Santiniketan has been published in the January number of the *Visvabharati Quarterly*. Probably all the lectures will be published in the form of a book. Some idea of the scope of the lectures may be formed from the introductory paragraphs of the first lecture, which are extracted below.

About a hundred years ago, in the year 1820, Ram Mohun Roy published his *Precepts of Jesus*, a highly interesting work which exercised a not inconsiderable influence. It dealt with the leading ideas underlying Christianity, and dealt with them in a way which showed that its author was filled with sympathy for the tenets of the religion of Europe.

One would have thought that his enterprise had been hailed with enthusiasm by European priests and clergymen. Such was not however the case. The learned doctors of divinity were rather displeased. They did not think that Ram Mohun dealt with Christianity in the proper way; his view was not the orthodox one; and orthodoxy has often, in most countries, been considered as a necessary condition for being entitled to discuss religious matters.

In these lectures I am going to do just the opposite of what your illustrious compatriot did a hundred years ago, and I am venturing to do so without his deep penetration and intimate understanding of religious mentality. It would therefore be quite natural if some of you might think that my undertaking is a preposterous one and ask what qualifications I, a European, have for speaking to you about matters which are dear to your heart and which you must be presumed to understand much better than I. I know that I run a grave risk, but still I take the risk, and I shall try to tell you why.

Since I was a boy in the Norwegian University I have devoted most of my time to the study of Indian History and Indian civilisation, and I have learnt to love India and to consider her as my sacred home. I have tried to follow the development of Indian thought and Indian religions during the centuries, and I willingly confess that it has seemed to me to be almost impossible for a European to grasp the Indian mind behind all the different stages of that development. There appeared to be such a fundamental difference between many of the different forms which religion has taken in this vast country, that one might sometimes be inclined to doubt that it was the same mind which manifested itself in all of them.

In the hymns of the *Rigveda* we see a stormy warlike people praising mighty heavenly gods and coveting their favour through sacrifice, well knowing nevertheless that the celestial kings had the power of blessing as well as of withholding their favour, in spite of hymns and sacrifice. Then, in the Brahmanas, we seem to be met with quite a different mentality: the sacrifice, the *yajna*, is all-powerful, and the great gods appear to have been reduced to mere puppets in the great drama, where the chief actors are the priests who know all the details of the complicated ritual. And again in the *Upanishads*, the knowledge, the deep insight itself, appears as the cosmic power ruling and framing the universe and leading man on to eternity.

Then follow, as a natural consequence of such a frame of mind, religions like Jainism and Buddhism, where it is pointed out that the way to bliss leads away from the multifarious life in which the Vedic Aryan rejoiced, away from the sacrifice which was so highly praised in the Brahmanas, through the abnegation of the I to realisation of eternal truth. And again, apparently in direct opposition to this view, we find the Bhagavatas, with their belief in a merciful personal God, who only asks man to meet Him in devotional love, and then draws him into His eternal heaven of bliss.

It would seem as if these different views cannot be reconciled, as if there were, within Indian religions, several different layers without any internal connection between them.

But an old Rishi has told us that such is not the case.

Eternal truth is one, but it is reflected in many ways in the minds of the singers.

He says this about his own time. He saw the differences, but he also saw the unity; and he leads us to think that where we seem to see nothing but various tenets and beliefs there may yet be a uniting bond, an eternal reality, of which we perceive the varying formulas.

In reply to the address of welcome given

NOTES

to Dr. and Mrs. Sten Konow in Sanskrit, the professor spoke in Sanskrit. At the annual meeting of Visva-bharati also he spoke in Sanskrit. This Sanskrit address was followed

proved powerless when people rose against people and each of them, in the name of the King of Peace, called upon men to take up arms. The Church invoked His name to support in turn the cause of each contending country. From the pulpit men were exhorted to kill one another.

The outlook in the West seemed hopeless when the Poet came and asked us to seek salvation through faith in new ideals. Wise men of the world smiled, but there were individuals who felt that there was yet hope for humanity. The Poet's vision must some day come true. The nations of the world must join hands in a common endeavour to build anew the history of the world.

I am waiting for such new development. It will not do to bring every country and every continent under European rule and European civilization. Asia, asleep for ages, must make her own contribution to the world culture. All the peoples of the world must come together working towards common ideals for the universal welfare.

There are differences and there are conflicts of interest and it would be idle to ignore them. But it is the endeavour of Visva-bharati to study them with a view to effect a reconciliation. Life is harmony, rich in variety. Death alone is uniform. The object of Visva-bharati is to achieve unity in diversity.

I take it to be a good omen that the Visva-bharati has been started in India. India has never attempted to conquer the world by force or violence. Millions in India have kept their faith in lofty ideals. Let us move forward inspired by the Spirit of India to fulfil the Poet's vision.

In reply to the farewell address in Sanskrit at Santiniketan, he spoke first in Sanskrit and then in English. It is to be regretted that these speeches have not been reported.

Professor and Mrs. Sten Konow have left at Santiniketan an abiding impress of their personality. From Santiniketan the professor visited Kenduli, the birthplace of the poet Jayadeva, where every year a religious gathering of Vaishnavas is held. What he said there in Sanskrit made a profound impression on the *bauls* and other Vaishnavas.

The professor's faith in the lofty Indian ideals has led us to think whether we Indians



Bhatta Sri Saila Kanva and Srimati Savitri Devi
[Professor Dr. Sten Konow and Mrs. Konow]
—Photograph by Babu Krishna Lal Ghose

by these few words in English, as reported in the *Visva-bharati Bulletin* :

My friends, we bow down to-day in reverence to him to whom we owe the idea of Visva-bharati. It is a poet's vision. To this home of peace (Santiniketan) men can come from every quarter of the globe in a common endeavour to promote mutual understanding and goodwill.

It is a poet's vision, but it came at a time when men were in sore need. The Gospel of Jesus had

and she has succeeded better on the whole in painting man than woman. The only book in which she has made any definite effort to tell the story of a woman's mind is her *Janma-Aparadhi*, where a depraved husband maltreats his wife and neglects her. The story has a gruesome ending and it must be said that to paint the moral more effectively the colours have often been laid on rather too thick. Yet, in spite of the missionary zeal of the author, her picture of the patient, uncomplaining suffering wife of a worthless, bad-tempered and oppressive husband is one that dwells in the mind as a sad reality.

A great many other women authors have come into the field of literature in recent times and some of them have already established their claim to be counted. But their works all bring out the truth of the observation that none but woman can paint the woman's mind.

When after serial publication in *Prabasi*, *Udyanlata* appeared in book-form, it was favourably reviewed in *The Times* by the late Dr. J. D. Anderson, Reader in Bengali to the Cambridge University. *Didi*, *Chirantani* and *Rajanigandha*, and *Sheikh Andu* (by Sailabala Ghosh-jaya) also appeared in *Prabasi*.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Hinduism

Last month at the Marwadi Vidyalyaya, Bombay, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered an address on what should be done to improve the condition of Hindu society. The following has been reported in the press as the substance of part of his speech:—

As a cure for that state of affairs he advocated efforts to unify all subcastes into one great Hindu community, to spread knowledge of their scriptures among the lowest as well as the highest castes amongst them, to do away with untouchability and early marriages, to advance physical culture and to give equal rights to all castes in society and religious practices. He said they must not fail to welcome even Moslems and Christians to gatherings where Hindu scriptures were recited or propounded. He quoted chapter and verse in support of all that he advocated and earnestly pleaded for the spread of the programme of work of the Hindu Maha-Sabha."

Many orthodox Hindus of an advanced type will support Malaviya's programme.

Adi Hindu Resolutions

We print below some of the resolutions passed at the seventh All-India Anti-Untouchability Conference held at Belgaum in December last. We have one remark and one suggestion to make. We are against communal representation; but if it be considered

justifiable in the case of any community, the Adi Hindus are pre-eminently that community. The Adi Hindus are, however, divided into so many castes and sub-castes, that it would not be possible to satisfy them by giving all of them representatives and appointments in the public service.

Our respectful suggestion is that the Adi Hindus, in spite of provocation, should not adopt the policy of separatism and retaliation. Now for the resolutions.

COUNCIL REPRESENTATION

1. (a) In view of the fact that representation by nomination of the Depressed Classes in Council has been found not only a total failure but at times a source of mischief, this Conference records its conviction that the Depressed Classes should have their own elected representative on all local and central representative bodies whose number will bear some proportion to their population in respective jurisdictions. This Conference also deems it desirable that appropriate electorate to return their representative wherever possible be constituted.

PUBLIC SERVICES AND LOCAL BOARDS

2. (a) This Conference requests the Government to insist upon preferential treatment being given to deserving candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes, not being converts to Christianity and Mahomedanism, and requests the Government to declare from time to time the percentage of posts reserved for such deserving candidates.

MILITARY SERVICES

3. This Conference requests the Government that a certain number of Regiments be reserved for the Depressed Classes, and if this is not possible, in particular regiments, Companies manned by them may be organised.

BOARDING SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

4. This Conference urges Government to establish Boarding Schools for the Depressed Classes students, two at least in each linguistic Divisions in India of the High School grade where selected students could be given special training and rendered fit for admission to the College classes. It further urges that adequate scholarships tenable by poor deserving boys of the Depressed Classes should be instituted in all grades.

RELATION WITH THE HINDU MAHA-SABHA, ETC.

5. The Adi-Hindus present in this Conference emphatically lay down that so long the Adi-Hindus are not admitted to all the rights of Hindu religion and society including entry into temples, the Adi-Hindus do not and should not treat the Hindu Maha-Sabha or the Bharat Dharma Maha-Mandal or any other similar Body, as in any way representative of their communities.

ADI-HINDU AS AN ALL-INDIA TERM

9. Inasmuch as the so-called Depressed Classes in India considered untouchables, feel very highly nettled by such question-begging designations as above, this conference thinks that it is most fitting to be hereafter called by the name Adi-Hindus in the whole of India and outside. This Conference empowers its Secretaries to move the Local and

Central Governments and all other Bodies concerned so that they will use this changed name of these classes.

CONGRATULATION

10. This Conference thanks Karmavir V. R. Shinde, founder and member of the D. C. M. Society for having handed over the Poona D. C. M. Society to the Adi-Hindu communities request the other Societies working for the welfare of the Adi-Hindus to do the same throughout India.

PACT WITH THE CONGRESS HINDUS

11. In view of the several pacts like that of Lucknow, which the Indian National Congress have from time to time entered into with Mahomedans this Conference now deems it a very high time that all other Hindus should come to a certain definite understanding with the Depressed Classes with a view to bring about first a real effective Hindu unity before entering into such pacts with non-Hindus in future and in this connection requests the following gentlemen to negotiate with the Committee appointed by the recent All-Party Conference in Bombay.

(1) Mr. V. R. Shinde, B. A., founder of the D. C. M. S. of India, and Chairman of the Reception Committee of this Conference.

(2) Mr. C. R. Reddy, M. A., M. L. C., President of this Conference with two members of the Adi-Hindus to be co-opted by them jointly.

Mr. Chintamani on Constitutional Methods

The report of a recent speech of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's contains the following passage :—

The liberal party stood for attainment of full responsible Government for India at the earliest possible date and did not believe that, in the existing circumstances of the country, any political method, other than constitutional, stood any chance of success.

But it did not swear by constitutional methods as if it were the Vedas or the Bible. If in a good situation, the Liberal party found that there were methods other than constitutional which could be employed effectively with a greater chance of success and with no risk of doing more injury to the country itself than to its opponents, he had not the slightest doubt whatever that the Liberal party would unhesitatingly discard, on such an occasion, what was called constitutional methods and adopt other methods which it might believe to be more effective.

Cultural Features in the Daily Press

It is a happy sign of the times that our daily papers have been gradually introducing various cultural features. Even a half-anna daily like *The Bengalee* has been able to publish important contributions from eminent writers, sometimes with illustrations.

Speaking of illustrations, one cannot but admire those to be found in *New India's*

weekly supplement. They are generally well executed and reproduced, and their selection is unexceptionable. *New India* has never been horsey and doggy and has never gone in for sensational and vulgar pictures. It has reproduced many works of art in its supplements, and the portraits reproduced therein have been those of persons who have done something worthy.

The Bengali Stage in Calcutta

Of late many of the Calcutta dailies have begun to devote much space to the Bengali stage in Calcutta, some also publishing portraits and pictures of the actors and actresses in their stage costumes.

The theatre is not merely an institution for popular amusement but it has been in many countries an instrument of culture and enlightenment and may be a similar means of popular awakening everywhere. We are not, therefore, against the stage or actors and actresses. But as the cause of social purity must be promoted by all the means in our power, we have to enquire whether the Bengali stage in Calcutta is a hindrance or a help.

It is wellknown that the professional actresses in the Bengali theatres in Calcutta are drawn from the class of prostitutes, and that their profession does not enable them or is not used to enable them to give up their immoral lives. On the contrary it enables them to gather round themselves a larger number of gay Lotharios than they would otherwise have been able to do. Examples are not wanting of young men who previously led good lives being ruined by their seductive wiles.

It is generally for this reason that the advocates of social purity have considered the Bengali theatres of Calcutta as sources of corruption. That is to say, the question has been looked at from the view-point of the moral safety of the male sex. Consequently theatre-goers have replied that if weak-minded persons succumb, it is not the fault of these theatres. To which the rejoinder may be that it is the duty of all guardians of public morality to remove sources of temptation. It is for this reason that opium-smoking dens, liquor shops, and brothels are removed,—at least from public thoroughfares. But we do not at present want to carry on any controversy along these lines. We only want the public to

the matter from a different angle. We have asked them to do so more than once in the pages of *Prabasi*.

Are we justified in having any places of amusement whose existence presupposes and depends on the existence of a class of prostitutes? There are vigilance Committees and there are laws for minimising or doing away with the evils of prostitution. So it may be taken for granted that all decent people want that commercialised vice must be destroyed root and branch. But there are many respectable ladies and gentlemen who patronise the Bengali theatres, who at the same time want that there should be social purity. They do not pause to think that social purity is unattainable so long as there is a demand in some form for a class of women of ill fame; and under present conditions, the demand for being entertained by professional actresses in Bengal is a demand for the existence of a class of women of ill fame.

The problem before us is this. If we want social purity, we must not have any institutions which directly or indirectly depend for their existence on commercialised vice. So either respectable women would have to take to the profession of acting, or the theatres must be so reformed that the women of ill fame who are professional actresses there may find it necessary and easy to lead pure lives. If neither of these two alternatives be possible, the Bengali theatres should not be patronised by people who want all women to lead pure lives. The larger the number of our theatre-goers, the larger would the number of theatres be. That would mean an ever-increasing number of professional actresses, which, as matters stand at present, would be equivalent to an ever-increasing number of women of ill fame.

It is not that no reform of the Bengali stage is possible. For in many countries there are professional actresses who are good daughters, wives and mothers like other virtuous women.

Humour in "Hindu Polity"

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's "Hindu Polity" is a serious study of a serious subject. But there is humour in its preface. For example, the author says therein that the manuscript of the work was ready in April, 1918.

"The book was made over to Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, who kindly took upon himself the

publication of the work, placing it on the university syllabus.

"When a few chapters had been in type the author was informed that scientific plagiarism was at work. Then, the manuscript was stolen from Sir Asutosh, no other belonging out of the group from which the box of manuscript was missing was touched by the critical though secret admirer. Sir Asutosh informed the police, with the result that a professor who claimed to have recovered the manuscript made it over to Sir Asutosh. After three days' confinement, the book obtained liberation."

"Set a thief to catch a thief", so runs the proverb. We do not know whether in the present case the wisdom of the proverb was proved by some tame plagiarist discovering the manuscript from the study of a brother artist.

Mr. Pal's Apology

We were rather surprised when we found the portraits of Mr. Bawla and his mistress in *The Bengalee*. We thought it must have been due to Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal's absence from Calcutta. We are glad to find Mr. Pal apologising for the publication of these portraits, saying:—

"This has been done in my absence and without my knowledge and authority, and I express my sincere regret for the prominent publication of the portraits of Mr. Bawla and Mumtaz Begum that have no title to this notice."

Mrs. Basant on Communal Differences

At the All Parties' Conference Mrs. Basant is reported to have said that communal differences would exist so long as foreign rulers were there to throw the apple of discord. This is true; but it is not the whole truth. We cannot but admit that there are some causes of communal discord arising out of our own beliefs, fanaticism, bigotry, "religious" arrogance and superstitions with which foreign rulers have little to do.

Bounty for Steel Industry

In addition to the protective tariff, the Indian people will have to pay a bounty of 75 lakhs of rupees to the steel industry. So more than two crores of rupees must be paid to the Tata Company's shareholders by the Indian people, though that Company has not been required by law to promote the interests of either the Indian working-men or the Indian technicians.

Mr. Chumanlal opposed the grant of protection to steel industry. He severely criticised the management of the Tata Company which lavishly distributed dividends to shareholders four years ago without taking into account that depression might come. The Tata Company had broken every promise given in respect of their labourers. Incidentally he asked for a ruling whether shareholders of Tatas who were in this house would be entitled to vote.

The President said that the practice in the House of Commons was that where a shareholder of any Company which received subsidy or protection was a member of the House he would be entitled to exercise his vote but as to the propriety of his voting it was a matter entirely for personal judgment of the member. The same procedure would be followed here as well. It was difficult to apply hard and fast rule. The motion of Sir Charles Innes was carried.

That the Tata shareholders would vote for the bounty to fill their own and their co-sharers' pockets can be easily understood. But did those Swarajist members who were not Tata shareholders vote for it because it was once declared by a Swarajist leader that the Swaraj Party would ask capitalists to contribute to their party funds.

Sir John Marshall on the Antiquity of Indian Civilisation

Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India, interviewed by a representative of the "Bombay Chronicle," expressed great enthusiasm for the recent discoveries at Mahen-jo-Daro and Harappa. The discoveries would, he believed, extend the history of Indian civilization to ascertainable eras of pre-Babylonian times. The discoveries up till now have brought them to nine buried cities revealed under alternate strata of mud and similar material. They expect to excavate still deeper, say about thirty feet. There may be still three or four or five more ancient cities buried under the portions which still remain to be excavated. They would bring them to somewhere near 7 to 9,000 B.C. The cities that have been already laid bare display, he said, the most interesting panorama of ancient structures, the layout of towns and streets and an unusual amount of antiques including seals of great variety and distinction. There were, he added, brought to view the finest bricks he ever saw. The finds required the most careful handling. And it would be premature, he observed, to anticipate too definitely at this stage the nature and character of the forgotten chapters of ancient history of this country now thrown for examination by the scholars and the historians of the world.

Communal Representation and the Indian Christian Community

Three times, year after year, has communal representation been condemned from the presidential chair of the Indian Christian Conference. Though the Indian Christian

community is far less numerous than the Moslem community, the former have sufficient faith in God, in their own ability and public spirit, and in their non-Christian countrymen not to want any seats in representative bodies and any appointments in the public service to be reserved for themselves. There is no doubt that their wisdom and charity will be justified by the results

The Wisdom and Patriotism of Bengal Moslems

A small clique of self-seeking persons, headed by Sir Abdur Rahim and others, wanted the Moslems of Bengal to support the Bengal Ordinance and thus earn the special favour of Government. With this object in view they convened a conference of their co-religionists in Calcutta and chose Nawabzada Sved Mohamed Hosain of Shaistabad as their chairman. But they did not know their man. So when the Nawabzada went on reading a very patriotic speech, there was consternation in the ranks of the schemers, and Sir Abdur Rahim and some others beat a hasty retreat from the place of meeting. The Nawabzada rightly called upon his fellow-believers to make common cause with all their other countrymen, as they are children of the same soil and neighbours, sharing one another's joys and sorrows.

At a subsequent and larger public meeting of the Bengal Moslems, the Ordinance was condemned.

Hindu-Moslem Unity at Nagpur

The Moslems of Nagpur have shown great good sense and generosity and evinced confidence in their Hindu neighbours by not demanding that the latter are not to lead musical processions before mosques even at the time of public prayers. It is for the Hindus to show that this confidence has not been in the least misplaced.

Kohat Settlement

From what we have read in the Lahore *Tribune*, which keeps up its reputation for level-headedness and persistent endeavour to be fair, it does not appear that the Kohat "agreement" has been accepted by the Hindu refugees in general. It is a pity that the hoped-for settlement is not yet an accom-

plished fact. But how can it be so, if the Hindus do not feel that they have got even bare justice and that their honour, lives and property would be safe in future?

Fine Arts and Music in Lucknow

Lucknow is to be congratulated upon holding a successful exhibition of works of Indian Art, old and new, of various schools. Perhaps at no other Indian Art exhibition were so many fine old water-colours and albums shown as at Lucknow. The usefulness and delightful character of the exhibition were much enhanced by the lectures and talks of Dr. James H. Cousins, who is so unflinching in his labours to bring about a right understanding and appreciation of the Indian Fine Arts and who possesses quite unusual insight and powers of lucid exposition.

Mr. N. C. Mehta, I. C. S., who initiated the movement for this exhibition and worked hardest for it, has thereby earned the thanks of the Indian public.

There has also been a successful All-India Music Conference at the capital of Oudh. A movement has been set on foot to establish a Music College and Art Gallery there for which more than Rs 40,000 has been already collected.

The First Kamala Lecturer

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee endowed the Kamala lectureship in connection with the Calcutta University in memory of his beloved daughter Kamala Devi, who predeceased him. And he also chose Dr. Annie Besant as the first Kamala lecturer. No better choice could have been made. As the lectures are named after a woman, it was quite in the fitness of things that the most learned woman in India was chosen to deliver the first course of lectures. Those lectures have fully demonstrated the rightness of the choice by their thoughtfulness, insight and scholarship.

Sir C. Sankaran Nair's Presidential Address

In the striking presidential address which Sir C. Sankaran Nair delivered to the Social Reform Conference at Belgaum he dealt chief-

ly with the status of the women of India and that of the submerged classes, and the caste question. He spoke, in part, as follows:—

Tradition going beyond the dawn of history declares that women were free, in fact as free as men both in social and political life. We have accounts of those who are wrongly called primitive tribes, amongst whom women, on their own account and not as servants of man, took part in all the varied activities of life such as now are regarded as peculiarly masculine.

Early marriage, compulsory marriage, compulsory widowhood, denial of freedom to a grown-up woman to choose her husband must all disappear. Age of consent must be raised. It was said by an English member in the Legislative Assembly that in a generation the mortality of mothers due to early marriage was 3,200,000. Polygamy must be abolished. Right to contract a second marriage is conceded only if the wife is given the right to elope, divorce on the same ground together with a share of the husband's property. Polygamy had been a safeguard to the wife who for reasons of health was unwilling to live as wife. A wife in such circumstances should be protected from her husband.

It appears to me that our supreme effort should be directed to securing women the same right as men so far as right to vote in elections of members and the right to be elected as members of municipalities, Local and District Boards, Provincial Councils and Imperial Legislative Assembly, is concerned. The power to vote will secure the return of their supporters. The pressure they will exert as voters or members will secure the necessary reforms. We are fighting for freedom ourselves. But

If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works a sister's pain
Are ye not base slaves indeed
Slaves unworthy to be freed?

Let us therefore make up our minds that women shall have votes like men in all Councils and that either women are elected as members or only those who pledge themselves to do all in their power to remove women's grievances.

REVIEW AGAINST CASTE TARIKAS

The other great question with which the social reform association deals is that of the depressed classes. As in the case of women, the time has passed when the Non-Brahmin caste Hindus and the other casteless Hindus pay any attention to the arguments based on religion. The Non-Brahmin Congress which is now holding its session in this town is an answer to those who still want to maintain the caste system. The Non-Brahmin Hindus have determined so far as it lies in their power not to recognise the superiority of the Brahmins, not to co-operate with them in those movements which involve the recognition of these sacred texts which show the Brahmin superiority.

These facts are enough to show that in the case of these low castes as in the case of women the main efforts of the social reform association should in my opinion be directed to giving them the power to vote and the right to be elected as members to all the Local Councils in particular and also to the superior councils.

Sir Sankaran Nair on Franchise Exclusively for Manual Work

Sir C. Sankaran Nair in moving at the Social Conference the resolution conveying greetings to Mahatma Gandhi supported the latter's suggestion that the franchise should be given extensively to manual workers.

"We are concerned," said Sir Sankaran, "with his social activities. He has taken up the great task of uplift of the depressed classes and the removal of untouchability. He has referred to it even in his Presidential address. One of the proposals in his scheme for Swaraj is that the qualification for franchise should be manual work. This is the first time such a proposal has been put before the world and it is one of far-reaching importance. But India is not prepared for it. India is no more fit for it than Jerusalem was prepared for the advent of Jesus nearly 20 centuries ago. The intellectual classes and the propertied classes have up to now held the right to go to Parliament. But neither of these should have the right. It is those who engage in manual labour that should represent the country in the Assemblies."

We cordially agree that manual labourers should have the vote. But we do not agree that *they alone* should have the vote. If the underlying principle be that those who do some kind of honest work or other, should enjoy the franchise, then common sense and simple observation show that there are many kinds of work other than manual labour which also are necessary for human society, which are useful and beneficial and which are honest. Why should these kinds of work be disfranchised?

We have also shown in a recent number of the Modern Review by quoting from the sayings of Sri Krishna, Buddha and Jesus that these great teachers of mankind did not understand merely manual labour by "work."

Let us briefly consider some of the reasons why persons are considered entitled to vote. They are considered entitled to vote,

(1) Because they are the inhabitants of a country interested in its weal and woe. According to this principle, all persons, including children, should have the vote. But as children cannot use any discretion because of immaturity, therefore, in those countries where there is universal suffrage irrespective of sex or other considerations, there is only *adult* suffrage, *not* franchise for children. This shows that it is an accepted principle that the voter should have some maturity of judgment and some power to discriminate between right and wrong. It cannot be said that manual workers are the only adult inhabitants of a country in-

terested in its weal and woe who possess some maturity of reason and conscience

(2) Because they do some useful and necessary work for the country. We have already seen that it is not true that manual labourers alone do useful and necessary work for the country.

(3) Because they are fit by their intelligence, knowledge, capacity, judgment and possession of conscience, to take part in or manage the affairs of the country. It cannot be said that manual workers alone possess this kind of fitness

There are many kinds of manual work which can be and is done by machines, and these machines have been devised and made with the aid of the human intellect. Some machines turn out more work and more accurate work than labourers. All this shows that the exercise of the intellect is work of a higher order than mere physical work. Manual workers are to be given the vote, not merely because they perform certain results but because they possess in addition reason and conscience. If mere physical movements and their result were the reasons for proposing to give the vote to manual labourers, then it would not be easy to explain why the human being who plies the handloom is to have the vote and why the power-loom which does more weaving is not to have the vote, why the man who drives the plough is to have the vote and why the steam-plough which does more ploughing is not to have the vote, etc., etc.

In fact the manual worker is fit to have the vote because he is a man; and man is distinguished from brute beasts and machinery not by the capacity for physical work but by the possession of reason and conscience. If manual work were all in all, why then is Mahatma Gandhi the leader of the people, instead of some illiterate strong peasant who is capable of far greater physical labour than the Mahatma being our leader? It is rather curious that men who owe their pre-eminent position to their own superior intellectual and spiritual development, not to their superior physical capacity for mere manual work, entirely ignore the claims of intellectual and other non-bodily work.

In Russia more than in any other country the claims of manual work have obtained the greatest recognition. But the greatest leader of the Russian revolution, Lenin, was not a manual worker. He was a graduate in law of St. Petersburg University who practised law for some time.

Should manual labour be ever in no police the franchise, the result would be that intellectual men would be the minimum amount of manual work necessary to qualify for the vote, but it would be their intellect and devotion that would carry them to the topmost rung of the ladder, not their little bits of manual work. Even in Russia intellectual superiority of a certain kind has got its due.

We do not in the least despise or deny the dignity of every kind of manual labour. But we cannot admit that it alone possesses supreme value. If manual labour were the only thing or the chief thing or the chief thing of value to man, then the man who gives all his energy to manual work would be the greatest of men. But is it not a common experience that mere manual work without any other kind of occupation, *dehumanises*? Even a six hours' day for labourers would dehumanise them, if in their leisure hours their minds were not usefully and innocently occupied.

Extremism is not necessarily the highest wisdom, even if it be the extremism of Mahatma Gandhi, or of his quondam detractor and recent admirer Sir C. Sankaran Nair.

Mahatma Gandhi—A Heretic

It is popularly believed that according to orthodox Hinduism it is only the Brahmans who know the Sastras and who are entitled to lay down what is according to the Sastras and what not. But a recent Bombay meeting presided over by a merchant of the trading caste has made the pronouncement that those who want to abolish untouchability are heretics. Some of the men assembled there wanted even to lynch the heretics, including Mahatma Gandhi. Of course, Mahatmaji would be only too glad to undergo martyrdom; for that would toll the death-knell of untouchability. But as he fights with the weapon of soul force, we suggest that he is not worthy of the steel (or is it the rope?) of the Bombay heroes, and that they should tackle Mahatmaji's Big Brother Maulana Shaukat Ali. It strikes us, moreover, that lynching is not an orthodox Hindu practice, it is prevalent in the *melancholia* land of America and is, therefore unfit to be practised by the holy Bombay heroes. We hope this pleading of ours, if nothing else, will save the heretics from lynching.

By the by, it so happens that according to the Hindus, *Shuti* takes highest rank among the scriptures, and we are credibly informed that there is no authority in *Shuti* for untouchability.

Mr G K Devadhar's Presidential Address

For some years past there have been two Indian Social Conferences held in December. This year one was held at Belgaum and the other at Lucknow. The latter was presided over by Mr. G. K. Devadhar. Of him *The Leader* justly observes:—

In the field of social service Mr. Devadhar leads a dedicated life and has by concrete results shown how much service one individual can render to the cause of humanity and progress provided he is inspired by the spirit of service and sacrifice. He is the moving spirit and the guiding genius of social service organizations in Poona and Bombay which eloquently proclaim the faith that is in him and his visible demonstrations of his marvellous organizing capacity.

With reference to his address the same paper observes:—

It is a truism to say that internal causes are responsible for the rise and fall of nations. Reaction and conservatism in the social sphere lead to decay no less than they do in the political sphere, and the Liberals, whose eyes are directed to the future and who profoundly believe in the necessity of progress, have therefore always regarded social reforms as 'a vital force' to use the words of the president, 'for the improvement of the vast masses of our countrymen even for their political advance'. The president pointed out the essential objective of social reform which is nothing but social justice. Effete and antiquated institutions, injurious customs and practices and everything which breeds intolerance and class arrogance, narrows the intellectual and spiritual outlook, leads to social cruelty and inequality and in short enslaves instead of emancipating the manhood and womanhood of a community must be treated as inimical to growth and progress. In the words of Mr. Devadhar, 'human being as such must be respected wherever he is or her condition or status in life and irrespective of his or her sex, caste and creed the principles of spiritual equality inculcated by a liberal religion that emphasises the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God and of equal citizenship necessitated by common nationalism must be recognized cheerfully, ordinary human rights and civic privileges being the foundations of spiritual equality and equal citizenship'. Social reform inspired by such a high democratic ideal is necessary to solve the problem of Indian nationality, unite the various communities—Hindu, Muslim, Parsee and Christian, in one loving bond and furnish the basis for national greatness. The removal of untouchability is one of the principal planks of the Congress platform, and the proceedings of the Liberal Federation would show that the Liberals are also equally keen on the subject. . . . The question has been earnestly taken up by the Hindu Mahasabha

also. The devoted labours of the Arya Samaj for bringing about their rights of equal citizenship and movement. It recorded the view that the caste system was the greatest obstacle to national solidarity and that it should be immediately discarded. The system has struck such deep roots that its destruction is likely to take a pretty long time. A wider and a keener recognition of its evils is necessary before much headway can be made. The relaxation in the rigidity of caste-rules in various parts of the country may, however, be regarded as the beginning of the end.

Political Principles Affected by Colour of Skin

When any people of European extraction revolt and assert their independence, the government established by them is recognised by European states, if not at once, at least in course of time. But the Moors are not Europeans and therefore the "Republic of the Rif" established by them has not been thought worthy of recognition by France which has recognised the Soviet Government of Russia. The unfriendly attitude of France will be understood from the following extract from *The Literary Digest* :—

The Moor's pride of Ancestry and the memory of a magnificent past in having been thrice victorious over Spain is said to have been hotly rekindled by his success against the Spaniards in Morocco, where, after fifteen years of continuous warfare, he has forced the Spanish to the coast and to adopt a defensive position. Thus, it is pointed out, the Spaniards lose all their gains in the mountainous district of Morocco where Abd-El-Krim, the Moroccan leader, not only wants to hold the ground taken, but seems resolved to establish the independence and self-determination of his people. He contends that the Moors alone are able to preserve the peace and administer the country in accordance with the wishes of its inhabitants. But the Spanish press note that the evacuation plan being carried out under the supervision of General Primo de Rivera, President of the Spanish Military Directorate, and High Commissioner in Morocco, did not contemplate the relinquishment of rights held by Spain under the Franco-Spanish agreement of 1912. On the other hand, the Madrid *Epoca* reports that Abd-El-Krim not only claims the right to establish an autonomous government in all the territory occupied by him when the war with Spain began, regardless of the boundary lines drawn in the Franco-Spanish Treaty of 1912 but he actually has civic authorities functioning and is said to have formed a cabinet.

The "Republic of the Rif" is the name the tribesmen give to their political homestead and they claim that they have never recognized the validity of Morocco's partition into zones and protectorates. According to the Rif view, there is only one means of demonstrating sovereignty, and that is actual occupation. In support of their contention they assert that the judicial authorities are functioning normally in all the territory occupied by their forces. Now the international aspect of the Morocco

question is full of dangerous possibilities according to *La Revue de France* (Paris), which fears a tribal rising in the French zone, and it declares that France is bound to occupy the Spanish zone, if it be shown that Spain cannot subdue the natives.

Russia and Narcotics

The following welcome news has come from Russia. In many ways New Russia is setting an example to the older imperialist nations of Europe. The message runs as follows :—

On November 6, 1924, the Council of People's Commissaries of R.S.F.S.R. issued a decree prohibiting the unlimited distribution and sale of all articles acting or liable to act as forms of intoxicants, and which are injurious to people's health, such as cocaine and its salts, opium and its compounds, morphium, heroin, etc. In accordance with this decree the Health Commissariat fixes the quantity of such substances required annually for medical purposes. The production of narcotics may only be carried on by the departments of the Supreme Economic Council after previous agreement with the Health Commissariat, and the import and export of such articles are conducted exclusively by the departments of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade only with the approval of the Commissariat and within the limits established by law.

—Russian Information & Review, Nov. 29, 1924, p. 351.

Lord Robert Cecil referred to Russia as one of the countries which was standing outside the League of Nations and might therefore upset any arrangement arrived at by the nations within the League. This declaration which practically embodies the American proposals of restriction of opium to the amount required annually for medical purposes should relieve the mind of any fear concerning Russia's attitude.

C. F. A.

Inter-Religious Unity

The following brief account has reached me from the Rev. J. C. Winslow concerning a retreat held by an International Fellowship group near Bombay. Amid much activity to promote Hindu-Muslim Unity such quiet work as this should not go unrecorded. He writes as follows :—

"The bungalow in Juhu, near Bombay, where Mahatmaji convalesced after his operation, was through the kindness of its owner the scene of an interesting gathering from the evening of Dec. 5 to that of Dec. 7. This was the first 'Retreat' of the Bombay International Fellowship, when between forty and fifty Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians and Parsees assembled in conference to discuss the implications of brotherhood, and still more to live

out brotherhood in two days of friendly intercourse and quiet work-ship together.

The discussions were held under the chairmanship of Mr. Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, whose able summing up at the close of each meeting added enormously to the value of the conference. The racial implications of brotherhood were dealt with by Dr. Zacharias; the political by Professor Wadia; the economic by Mr. R. M. Joshi and Mr. N. M. Joshi; the religious by Dr. MacNicol. The discussions which followed, while indicating plenty of healthy diversity, yet left the impression of a solid central agreement, which if only it could be widely disseminated throughout the land, would form the foundation of a strong edifice of unity.

But far more valuable than the discussions were

the times of intimate fellowship in prayer and social intercourse. Here all barriers of race and caste and creed were surmounted. We fed together, played together, prayed together. There was no Hindu and Mussalman, Parsee and Christian, Indian and European, but one family of God's children. It would have delighted Mahatmaji's heart, as he lay earlier in the year on his couch on that upper verandah, if he could have seen in vision the gathering which would assemble there before the year was out. I am convinced that it is by such experience of actual fellowship, of unity in action, that the mists of misunderstanding and prejudice will be most quickly cleared away, and a unity which is no mere lip-unity, but a heart-unity, achieved".

C. F. A.

THE MAHARSHI DEVENDRANATH TAGORE*

By PROFESSOR DR STEN KONOW

WE have come together here to-day to commemorate the anniversary of the death of one who occupies a unique position in the history of Santiniketan, as in the development of thought in India on the whole.

Twenty years have passed since Devendranath Tagore left this world, but he still lives amongst us, and on every festive occasion we come together here, at the very spot where he so often sat down in meditation and sought and found peace.

His whole life was devoted to the search of truth, which from time immemorial has been the leading feature in the longings of the noblest men in this country. He was himself, in his family traditions and in his whole spiritual attitude, a successor of the thinkers and seers of bygone ages, who had given up every search for wealth and worldly profit in order to realize man's ultimate aims.

And above all he was filled with the spirit of the Upanishad, with its lofty flight of thought into the realms where man's thought ceases to vibrate in response to the impressions of the senses from contact with the multifarious objects which constitute our daily life, and where it is crystallized in sacred rapture and holy silence before the unfathomable truth underlying life and the universe.

But at the same time his mind was open

and he was prepared to acknowledge truth wherever he found it, in the scriptures of other religions as in the Upanishad. There was everywhere the same test, which he applied: wherever God, in his exalted purity, revealed himself, there truth was to be found. The whole universe is only a single, grandiose revelation of Him, the only one, who listens to the prayers of our heart, and whom we can only come near in the spirit. Unnecessary are temples and sacrifices and austerities, whoever purifies his heart, can come to Him, when he turns away from sin and sincerely repents of his shortcomings. And before Him high and low, rich and poor are equal, because the heart alone counts.

He was universal in his conception of God, but all the same he was intensely Indian. His mind was searching for the infinite, the eternal, behind all the changing things in life and in the world, and he felt how this search had nowhere led man higher than in India, in the thinking and the visions of the Upanishad.

He wandered about in his country, and his unselfish idealism and his pure character won for him the devotion and affection of his people, who gave him the name under which we remember him, the Maharshi.

His spirit is here among us. Here there is

* Read in Santiniketan on the anniversary of the Maharshi's death, January 19, 1925.



Maharshi Devendranath Tagore

no difference of caste or class or race. There is one thing which unites us all, the feeling of the eternal truth as the underlying principle in everything. It gives strength to him who is weak and depressed, and it fills his mind with bliss, in the feeling of the harmony and beauty in truth's revelation in the universe.

And this true eternity is to be found within ourselves. We need not search outside, we need not think that it is hopeless

to find it, because we are weak and mortal beings. We need not throw away ourselves. He who reveals himself in the great and harmonious universe, he who makes the sun and the moon and the stars shine, he is the light within our own heart.

We come from different surroundings, from different places of the world. But the whole world is nothing else than the reflex of the same eternal light, truth itself. And it has been shining for ages, and it is this

light which we can see in the highest thoughts, the loftiest ideals, which every nation, every civilization has produced.

We should remember this, if we want to follow in the footsteps of the Maharshi. Everyone of us is, with thousand links, bound up with the flashes of eternal light which our forefathers have seen. And we are better able to see as they did than otherwise, because our eyes are like theirs. Let us not search outside of ourselves, not away from the path of our ancestors, let us not be dazzled at what at first sight appears more beautiful, more

exalted. We ourselves, with all our traditions and all our inherited ideas, are the reflex of the same light, and we must try to see it with our own eyes.

And when we bow down to-day in reverence to him whose spirit we feel in these surroundings, which were once familiar to him, we shall gather strength in the memory of him, who taught us to go our way forward towards the one truth, besides which there is nothing else, where there is peace and bliss.

Om santih, santih, santih.

HINDU POLITY*

(A Review)

IN an age during which politicians of every creed and colour (white, brown, black etc.) are vying with one another in order to "give constitution" to India, as a panacea for all evils, the "Hindu Polity" of Mr. Jayaswal may appear as a sublime Joke! With serene self-confidence he brushes aside the constitutional hustlers, and dubs their ultramodern constitutional fabrications as anachronisms! "You seem to believe, Sirs, that India is constitutionally incompetent to evolve a constitution?"—so we seem to listen to Mr. Jayaswal interrogating our constitutional *visvakarmas*, with a devastating irony! Well, facts are sometimes terribly disconcerting and Mr. Jayaswal's challenge is based on the solid foundation of *facts*. Every page of his monumental work discloses some solid, indisputable facts about the constitutional life of the Ancient Indians. People may differ from him in matters of detail, touching explanation and interpretation but none can dispute that he is the first constitutional historian of India who has not only rediscovered the most precious pages of our political life but has made that lost history live again in all its titanic struggles and deathless grandeur.

With profound insight Mr. Jayaswal divides his book into two parts tracing faithfully the two main lines of Hindu Constitutional

evolution—monistic and pluralistic—which seem to be the political counterpart of the metaphysical evolution of ancient India. He shows that "the early Vedas know only monarchy." But so much moonshine and nonsense has been written on "oriental" monarchies (synonymous with barbarous tyranny as a matter of course!) in general and Indian monarchy in particular by omniscient foreign historians that Mr. Jayaswal has been obliged to describe the republican traditions and institutions first; so that the mind of the reader may be prepared to realise correctly the strictly legal and responsible character of Hindu monarchy. "Going back to the oldest literature of the race, we find from the Vedas that national life and activities in the earliest times on record, were expressed through popular assemblies and institutions. The *Samiti* was the national assembly of the whole people or *Visah*. "It could elect the *Rajan*. It could re-elect a king who had been banished and were thus "the sovereign body from the constitutional point of view". He quotes from Rig Veda (X. 191.3) a prayer for a 'common *saniti* and common policy of state, a common aim and a common mind'.

Mr. Jayaswal has resisted the temptation, to which ordinary minds with the pretensions of scholarship would have succumbed, to lay down the causes of the origin of Hindu Republics! The Greek analogy would have been handy, but the author of *Hindu Polity* does not possess the easy circumlocution

* *Hindu Polity : A Constitutional History of India in Hindu Times*. By K. P. Jayaswal, M. A. (Oxon.) Barrister-at-law. Published by Butterworth & Co., 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta (India), 1924.

of our too numerous scholars of antiquities, and he has therefore spared us from voluble quotations from Greenidge on this point. From the *Samiti* and *Sabha* Mr. Jayaswal passes on to the discussion of republican institutions. With a rare mastery of the entire body of our Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit literatures he leads us through the trackless path of antiquities to the precincts of constitutional liberty upon which the fabric of our ancient civilisation was based. He first states the earliest references to non-monarchical constitution in the early Brahmanas and then proceeds to the critical examination of such technical expressions as *Samgha* and *Gana*. He repudiates the equation of *Gana* with tribe; because such an equation would stagger Panini, contradict the sense of *Jatakas*, and make the expositions of such works as *Amara-Kosa* and *Kasika* hopelessly absurd in order to maintain the infallibility of Monier Williams. Mr. Jayaswal quotes a Jaina text to explain *Gana*. It states that "there is also an abuse of the term. The examples given of its right use are, the *Gana* of the *Mallas* (a known republican community.....) and the *Gana* of the *Pura*, i.e. the *Pura* Assembly. As an example of its abuse, the *Gana* of *Vasus* (*Vasu* gods) is given by the commentator .. In other words; the application of the word to a non-constitutional body is distinguished. The constitutional *Gana* is the real *Gana* and in the eye of the Jaina authority it has a mind. It is an organised conscious body of men like the political assembly of the *Mallas* or the Assembly of the corporate *Paura*. It is a corporate assembly as opposed to a mere multitude or chance collection." (p 32)

Mr. Jayaswal has shewn how mere grammatical works such as those of Panini, Patanjali, and Katyayana can yield to a juridical mind ample materials for the reconstruction of the constitutional life of the ancient Hindus. The most significant fact with regard to Panini is that he does not know the religious *Samgha* of the Jains and Buddhists, to him *Samgha* is a technical term which "denoted the political *Samgha*". There are great scholars in our country as well as abroad who may say to us, "you might have republics, but they are of the tribal stage". The implication of this statement is very obvious to any student of constitutional history. But Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out to us that this attitude was anticipated long ago by Panini who was not only a great grammarian, but was a seer who had anticipated the degradation of the

modern Hindus, and by a simple grammatical rule the great Panini dismisses the possibility of there being any mistake with regard to the real nature of the ancient republics. His rules (V.3. 114 to 117) point unmistakably "to the stage of a developed, the familiar Hindu society, as opposed to a tribal stage." But alas ! Panini, we forget, is more quoted than read !

The results of Mr. Jayaswal's discussion "are that *samgha* is contrasted with monarchy and that a *samgha* or a Hindu republic had Brahmin members, Kshatriya members and other castes, i. e. the personnel of the *samghas* was not composed of one state, caste or tribe".

The author's interpretations of *Sastropajivin* and *Rajasabdopajivin* *samghas* are extremely illuminating. According to him "their respective constitutions enjoined on the members to be skilled in military art in the former and on the rulers of every privileged member to bear the title in the latter." The *samghas* were political institutions and not originally religious. But the religious *samghas* furnish us with the elaborate rules of procedure that safeguarded the maintenance of political organisations against party factions. Mr. Jayaswal has shewn that the Hindus were not only thorough in their philosophy and religion but what is not admitted, were also extremely definite and careful with regard to their polity. Our gifted author shows "that the history of the birth of the Buddhist *Samgha* is a history of the birth of the Monastic Order in the world. This history, therefore of the birth of the religious brotherhood of the Buddha from the constitutional womb of the Indian Republic is of interest not only to this country, but to the world at large". He proceeds to say that though "it was a case of borrowing no doubt, yet at the same time, there was an original idea behind it which only a great mind could conceive. The originality consisted in transferring the constitution of a political corporation to religion and conjuring up an organisation to perpetuate the being of that religion".

The Greek raid led by Alexander did not produce any striking results on the civilisation of the ancient Hindus, but the crop of writers whom Alexander brought in the train of his army is cited by modern historiographers from quotations to prove certain facts congenial to the official mind. To many people the Greek evidence is regarded as a sort of divine favour for their case. Though not subscribing to this mentality, yet in the present case we are grateful that the Greeks

ever came to record their testimony to the glorious and flourishing condition of Hindu Republics in the Punjab. Modern cultre-historians who do not know the difference between oligarchy and aristocracy and regard Pliny as a Greek writer, accept *Republic* as a Greek invention but the Greeks were brought up in the nursery of political institutions, and their evidence on this point is extremely interesting. Alexander came and fought republics of various nature, some were aristocratic, some democratic, others combining the good features of both, and several others were ruled by joint kings. Mr. Jayaswal's identification of the sites and peoples mentioned by the Greek writers with those mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and his repudiation of already accepted identifications will not only necessitate an early revision of text-books but place the history of India in a continuous plain of evolution which really makes all histories worth reading. We are grateful to Mr. Jayaswal for having identified the immortal Kathas of the Kathopaniṣad with the Kathas who "were one of the most powerful nations of India reputed for courage and skill in the art of war". The familiar dictum is once more illustrated that the nursery of free thought is freedom. Their men and women married by choice and their women observed the practice of "Sati". According to Strabo amongst them, "the handsomest man is chosen a king."—Rather a strange constitution! What a chance for our great poet Tagore in such a republic! Not less masterly is Mr. Jayaswal's exposition of the technical Hindu constitutions. Mr. Jayaswal here does not speak in the term of European categories, but resuscitates the old technical terms such as the *Bhaujya* which means "temporary rulership", the *Svarajya* which signifies "that the *Svarat* ruler was taken from amongst equals and was made President and that selection was based upon merit which evidently refers to an election or selection of the President from amongst the members of the Gana or Council," the *Dairajya* which was a democratic constitution of an advanced type according to which "the whole country or nation took the con-secration of rulership", the *Dairajya* or the dual rulership which obtained in Nepal in the sixth and seventh centuries, the *Ara-jaka* or non-ruler State, the ideal of which was that "Law was to be taken as the ruler and that there should be no man-ruler. The basis of the State was considered to be by mutual agreement or social contract between the citizens. This was an extreme

democracy almost Tolstoian in ideal, and lastly the *Vinuddha Rajani*" or States ruled by parties. Mr. Jayaswal then enquires into the real basis of these States. His observations are very important. He says: "The basis of every State has been in all ages and in all climes to a great degree ethnic—tribal or national. The real question is whether a State organisation is yet tribal—primitive, habitual and customary or it is the outcome of intelligent thinking of theories, of conscious experience and experiments. The stage when state is felt to be based on contract and the ruler is regarded to be a servant of the ruled and when political loyalty is ever open to strangers is a high water-mark of constitutional development. Voting and ballot voting, motion, resolution and legislation, legalism and formalism in procedure of deliberation are other indices of that stage".

It is impossible within the narrow space of a magazine review to condense the many original things which Mr. Jayaswal has so brilliantly said in his monumental work. We shall try to draw the attention of the readers to several points of first-rate importance, in our future studies. The concluding lines on the disappearance of republics from India, have been probably written not with ink but with tears. "With the end of the fifth century, republics disappear from Hindu India. The old Licchavis quit the political scene, a branch immigrating into Nepal. The young Pushyamitras vanish in the air. The following century saw the final exit of Hindu constitutionalism from the stage of History. All that was good came down from the age of Vedic Forefathers, all that progress which had been achieved since the composition of the first Rik, all that gave life to the mechanism of State bade good-bye to the Land. Republicanism was first to begin the Great Departure to lead the dirge of political Nirvana. We have understood only one verse of that epilogue—the praise of the sword of destruction which nature gives into the hand of the barbarian. But the other verses are yet a riddle. The real causes of that Departure which the epilogue should disclose remain undeciphered.

From 550 A. C. onwards Hindu history melts into brilliant biographies—isolated gems without a common string of national and communal life. We get men great in virtue or great in crime—we get Harsha and Sasanka, Vasudharman Kalki and Samudragharya, but they are so high above the common level, that they are only helplessly

admired and sacredly respected. The community ceases to breathe freedom."

In a political world where republics existed side by side with monarchies, the latter cannot be purely autocratic. There is very little evidence to prove that the Hindu monarchy was absolute, but there is plenty of evidence to show that the kings of Hindu India were responsible and constitutional heads of the state. In the Vedic age, the *Samiti* was the sovereign Assembly and the high functionaries who represented the various interests of the community were called the "king-makers" and though at a later stage, "the kingship has become hereditary," "the theory that Hindu kingship was elective was never forgotten". "The theory was a living force as late as the time of the Pala kings of Bengal Gopala claims the benefit of the principle of election in his inscription. He says that the people joined his hand with Sovereignty and put an end to anarchy." "By the inscription of Emperor Kharavela it is evident that Hindu Coronation could not take place before the completion of the twenty-fourth year of the king-elect.... This was the age when ordinarily a Hindu was supposed to have completed his academic career in the period of Upanishads." The profound juristic scholarship of Mr. K.P. Jayaswal comes into full play when he discusses the much-misquoted theory of divine origin of kingship. He shows that the Manava Dharma-Sastra which "was written under the Revolutionary regime of the Brahmin Pushyamitra preached that the king should not be despised because he was only a man; he was a deity in human form... The Manava Code twisted the import of the Coronation ritual invoking the help of gods to the elected king in his new career.... The theory of the Manava Code was never approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book. By constitutional writer the very theory was converted into a divine theory of *servitude*

of the king to the subject, that the king was a mere servant or slave of the people and that he was made so by the Creator." Thus brushing aside the fictitious theory of the divine origin of kingship Mr. Jayaswal proceeds to discuss the constitutional safeguards of Hindu monarchy without which of course the theories would not have been worth our notice. The chapters on the Law and Administration of Justice, Taxation, Economics in Government and Theory of Ownership in Land (discussions of which we reserve for a future study)—contain facts which had never been suspected before. From the institutions of the Vedic democratic monarchy to its transition into autocracy under kings like Vena and its suppression by the people and the introduction of limited monarchy placed in the sacred chains of Brahmanic rituals and coronation oaths and led by a popular ministry controlled by a Council of State representing all castes and the popular assemblies of the realm, to the Gupta Government through district officers and the representatives of local government and the impersonal rule of the Ashtapradhanas (Board of Eight Ministers) had been sketched by the author with consummate originality.

This noble work has an epic form, and shows a restraint, strength and brilliance of expression which occasionally reminds us of the best sutras of ancient India. Each statement of the author has been supported by text in foot-notes which show the encyclopaedic scholarship of Mr. Jayaswal. We congratulate him heartily on this production. Mr. Jayaswal has however done a great injury to many ambitious writers of Indian history by antiquating their works by several decades and has proved that a mere desire to write a book does not entitle any one to be an author (much less culture-historian) even in the much-abused field of Indian antiquities.

KALIDAS NAG

ERRATA

In *The Modern Review* for January 1925, p. 110, Column 2, line 15 from bottom, before the words "not been able to accomplish," insert the words "been Christians for centuries have:" so that the whole sentence will read as follows.—

"It is not clear, however, how that which people who have been Christians for centuries have not been able to accomplish, could be brought about by people who have been pagans from time immemorial."

Also in	Page	Col.	line	for	read
	16	I	18 from the top	flav	flux
	103	II	last line	but with	but without
	108	II	20 from the bottom	marval	marvel





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Emperor Muhammad Shah and His Court

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C. I. E.

LIFE-STORY OF THE DELHI EMPIRE

THE first Muslim State of Delhi was born at the close of the Twelfth century, and from this centre it continued to expand with varying fortunes for two hundred years till at last it embraced the whole of Northern India and even overflowed into the Southern land beyond the Vindhya range. Thus all Hindustan came to be placed under one civilization, one official language, and during some short spasmodic periods under one sceptre also. Then, at the end of the Fourteenth century came the hopeless decadence of the royal house; the unifying and protecting Central Government disappeared; the Empire was broken up into jarring fragments whose mutual conflicts and the consequent set back to culture and material prosperity fill the next century and a quarter, till 1526, when the Turkish adventurer Babur laid the foundation of a mightier political structure in India. This new-born Mughal Empire, after a short and all but fatal contest with the Afghan house of Sur, became established beyond challenge under Babur's grandson Akbar soon after 1560. In the succeeding hundred and thirty years, its growth in territory, wealth, armed strength, art and industry was rapid, uninter-

rupted, and dazzling to the eyes of the Asiatic world and even of lands beyond the confines of Asia. The whole of Hindustan and much of the Deccan too bowed under one sceptre; administrative and cultural uniformity was given to all parts of this continent of a country; the roads were made safe for the trader and the traveller, the economic resources of the country were developed; and close intercourse was opened with the outer world. With peace, wealth, and enlightened Court patronage, came a new cultivation of the Indian mind and advance of Indian literature painting architecture and handicrafts which raised this land once again to the front rank of the civilized world. Even the formation of an Indian nation did not seem an impossible dream.

But in the second half of Aurangzib's reign we first see this national progress arrested, and then, after a quarter century of heroic struggle by that monarch, when at last he closed his aged eyes in death (1707) we find that decline had unmistakably set in; Indo-Mughal civilization, whose agent was the Empire of Delhi, was now a spent bullet; its life was gone, it had no power for good left in it. But dissolution did not take place

immediately after Aurangzib's death. His wonderful capacity, strength of character, and lifelong devotion to duty had generated a force which held together the frame of the Delhi Government seemingly unchanged for thirty years after him. Whatever might happen in the frontier provinces, the Central Government still stood intact. But with a succession of weaklings and imbeciles on the throne, the downfall of the Empire was bound to come at last. The dry rot in the heart of the Mughal State manifested itself publicly when Baji Rao's cavalry insulted the imperial capital in 1737 and his example invited Nadir Shah's invasion and the utter collapse of the Government of Delhi in 1739.

INDIA AFTER NADIR SHAH'S INVASION

By the end of April 1739 the horrors of Nadir's conquest came to a natural close in Delhi. Laden with the plundered treasure of the richest empire in Asia, the Persian conqueror left the Mughal capital on his homeward march on 5th May. Eight days later the Emperor Muhammad Shah held his first public audience after his restoration and coins were once more stamped in his name, replacing those issued for Nadir Shah in the interval. The Court chroniclers record that on this occasion the nobles offered their presents and the Emperor on his side conferred robes of honour and rewards on them. Thus the usual ceremonies of the imperial darbar were gone through as if no political disaster of the first magnitude had taken place in the meantime. But nobody present could forget that things were not as before the Persian invader's coming. The Emperor and his wazir were there as before, but the second officer of the realm—the Head of the Army Khan-i-Dauran, had perished as well as Sadat Khan Burhan-ul-mulk, the most powerful of the provincial governors, and the Emperor's personal favourite Muzaffar Khan, besides a host of officers of lower rank but high connections. Ten to twelve thousands of the regular soldiery had fallen on the field of Karnal and 20,000 people had been put to the sword within the city of Delhi itself. Sack and massacre had devastated lesser towns like Thaneshwar, Panipat, Sonapat etc. The imperial treasury and the nobles' mansions had been

drained dry to supply the indemnity exacted by the victor,—fifteen *crores* of rupees in cash besides jewellery rich clothing and furniture worth 50 *crores* more. The imperial regalia had been robbed of its two most famous and costly ornaments, the Koh-i-nur diamond and the Peacock Throne. The imperial family and the proudest peers had been forced to descend to a still lower depth of humiliation. The Khurasani leather-coat weaver's son had married his son to a princess of the family of the Padi-shah, and he had dragged to his bed all the virgin wives and maiden daughters of Muzaffar Khan, lately killed in battle.

[*Ashub*, ii.]

In the months immediately following Nadir Shah's invasion Heaven seemed to have taken pity on the sorely afflicted people of Northern India. In the next season there was adequate and timely rainfall, the earth yielded a profuse harvest, and all foodstuffs became cheap and plentiful, "as if to make amends for the people's recent sufferings." (*Ashub*, ii. 416) But Nature is not half so much the cause of a nation's misery as Man. To outer seeming, "some dignity and splendour returned to the Delhi Court after Nadir had left India, and the Emperor and the nobles turned to the management of State affairs and gave up all sorts of uncanonical practices." (*Ibid.*) But the moral canker in the Mughal Empire was too deeply seated to be killed by such outward show of piety and obedience to lifeless convention. A Nemesis worked itself out inexorably on the destiny of the Empire from the character of the Emperor and his leading ministers.

CHARACTER OF MUHAMMAD SHAH

Muhammad Shah had come to the throne (1719) at the age of 17. For seven years before that event he had been kept under confinement in the palace harem and had received no education such as might fit a man to rule a kingdom or lead an army. He possessed natural intelligence and a good deal of foresight; but the fate of his predecessors, who had been set up and pulled down by their wazirs, effectually crushed any desire that he might have once had to rule for himself and to keep his nobles under control. He, therefore, totally withdrew himself from public

business, leaving it to his ministers and plunged into a life of pleasure and amusement, hardly ever going out of Delhi during his 28 years of reign, except to visit parks in the neighbourhood (usually at Loni) and occasionally to see the annual fair at Garh Mukteshwar (a hundred miles east of Delhi). His only two military movements were to follow in his wazir's train in the short and futile campaigns against Nadir Shah and Ali Muhammad Ruhela.

At his accession he was a fresh youth, extremely handsome, large of limb, and strong. But his sedentary life of inactivity and sexual excess soon impaired his constitution and he became a confirmed invalid by the time he was only forty. The evil was aggravated by his taking to opium, and this drug habit made him weak and emaciated, till at last it became impossible to move him from his palace.

His sole diversion outside the harem was witnessing animal fights on the sandy bank of the Jamuna below the window of morning salute in the Delhi palace, occasionally varied by the cares of a bird-fancier. We can understand his wish to enjoy from a safe distance the excitement of the heroic and dangerous game of elephant-combats, which his forefathers had reserved as an imperial prerogative. But when we read how Muhammad Shah spent his morning hours not in doing public justice or holding State councils, but in viewing a wrestling match between two bears, or a fight by "three pairs of bears, a goat, a ram, and a wild boar, which were wrapped in tiger skins and trained to attack an elephant" (as he is recorded to have done on 25th April 1743), we wonder whether such spectacles would be considered a worthy diversion by any one outside a nursery unless he were a vulgar country clown, and whether the lord of a hundred and fifty million souls at the ripe age of 41 had no more serious use for his time and no higher tastes.

As the fires of youthful passions burnt themselves out in Muhammad Shah, a deep melancholy settled on him, and towards the end of his life he loved to frequent the society of *faqirs* and to hold long converse with them, discussing spiritual questions like an initiate. Three such hermits became his spiritual

guides, and the Court nobles and the common people followed his example.*

Thus, throughout his long reign the administration was utterly neglected by its supreme head, the nobles divided the land and political power among themselves or fought for these things, as if no master existed over them. Muhammad Shah would assent to every good advice of his wazir or any other minister, but could never summon up enough courage to take the necessary step; like other weak men he found supreme wisdom in putting off action from day to day, till a crisis precipitated itself and things took their own turn. Such a man is destined to go through life as a puppet moved by his favourites, who were shrewd men with the most charming manners and strength of character, and this was Muhammad Shah's ignoble fate too.

But though he was a mere cypher in respect of his public duties, he had some redeeming traits in his private character. Naturally timid and wavering, he was also free from insolent pride, caprice and love of wanton cruelty. Nor did he lack consideration for others and courage of a certain kind, as was illustrated when, instead of fleeing to Bengal as advised by his friends, he voluntarily went forth into Nadir's captivity in order to save his people and capital from the horrors of violent assault and forcible subjugation to incensed victors. "He never gave his consent to shedding blood or doing harm to God's creatures. In his reign the people passed their lives in ease, and the empire outwardly retained its dignity and prestige. The foundations of the Delhi monarchy were really rotten, but Muhammad Shah by his cleverness kept them standing. He may be called the last of the rulers of Babur's line, as after him the kingship had nothing but the name left to it." [*Siyar*, iii. 25.]

* "His Majesty gave Shah Mubarak the title of Burhan-ul-tariqat, Shah Badda that of Burhan-ul-haqiqat, and Shah Ramz Fasih-ul-bayan, and used often to frequent their company. All the ministers and rich lords followed suit. Other people also imitated, so much so that the bazar craftsmen in the villages of every province put on imitation [imitates] turbans on their heads and *taqdir* tunics on their backs, till at last even the women took up the fashion." (*Shahir*, 33.)

Such was the head of the State in India towards the middle of the Eighteenth century. We shall now examine the character of his highest instruments.

CHARACTER OF WAZIR QAMR-UD-DIN KHAN

Ever since the death of Aurangzib, the Padishah had been a non-entity,—Bahadur Shah I by reason of his age and softness of nature, and his successors because they were mere puppets set up and moved by their prime ministers. Therefore, the destiny of India's millions lay in the hands of the wazirs, and the wazir's character and strength of position alone determined the nature of the administration in an empire of continental vastness.

The first wazir of Muhammad Shah after the overthrow of the Sayyid brothers was Muhammad Amin Khan (surnamed Itimad-ud-daulah I), the son of the Nizam's grandfather's brother. He was installed in office in November 1720, but died only two months later (16th January 1721), men said as a divine chastisement for his having helped to shed the blood of the Prophet's kith and kin (the Sayyids of Barha). Nizam-ul-mulk succeeded him, but being thwarted by the false and fickle Emperor and his unscrupulous confidants, he at last resigned in disgust, in 1724. The next wazir was Qamr-ud-din (entitled Itimad-ud-daulah II), the son of Muhammad Amin Khan. He was a great drunkard, but, happily for the people, an extremely indolent man. For the quarter century (1724-1748) that he held the supreme office in the realm, the administration merely drifted along, under this harmless kind old man, who always foresaw the trend of affairs and the effect of every measure, but never had the courage to tell the honest truth to his master or dissuade him from any wrong course on which his heart was set. In fact, he considered it supreme wisdom to keep his post and do as little work as possible.

And yet the condition of the empire, even before Nadir Shah gave it the death stab, was such that only a wise, strong and active wazir, exercising dictatorial power, could have saved it. On the contrary, king and minister alike were now more dead than alive. As the historian Warid, whose youth had been nurtured in the dignified

and strenuous reign of Aurangzib, wrote in the bitterness of his heart about the times of Muhammad Shah, "For some years past it has been the practice of the imperial Court that whenever the officers of the Deccan or Gujrat and Malwa reported any Maratha incursion to the Emperor, His Majesty, in order to soothe his heart afflicted by such sad news, either visited the gardens—to look at the newly planted and leafless trees,—or rode out to hunt in the plains, while the grand wazir Itimad-ud-daula Qamr-ud-din Khan went to assuage his feelings by gazing at the lotuses in some pools situated four leagues from Delhi, where he would spend a month or more in tents, enjoying pleasure or hunting fish in the rivers and deer in the plains. At such times Emperor and wazir alike lived in total forgetfulness of the business of the administration, the collection of the revenue, and the needs of the army. No chief, no man, thinks of guarding the realm and protecting the people, while these disturbances daily grow greater." [*Mirat-i-Waridat*, 117-118.]

FACTIONS AT COURT

With a foolish, idle and fickle master on the throne, the nobles began to give free play to the worst forms of selfishness. They found it necessary to form parties of their own for their support and advancement, and even for their very existence. The controlling and unifying centre of the government having ceased to function, disintegration became inevitable in the Court itself. The instinct of self-preservation drove the nobles to group themselves in factions according to race, to divide the administration among themselves, and to gird themselves around with a body of clients from among the vassal princes and the provincial governors. The Court was divided into two armed camps of Turanis and Iranis, each with its hand ever on the hilt of its dagger, and this civil dissension spread throughout the realm.

Itimad-ud-daula II, as became an emigrant from Samarcand, was the patron of the Turanis, while his rivals and enemies perforce joined the opposite party, composed of the Persians, whose leadership after the

death of Sadat Khan (March 1739), was taken by Abul Mansur Khan, Safdar Jang, the Subahdar of Oudh. And the history of the later Mughals, from 1736 onwards is only the history of the duel between these parties. After 1765, when Oudh became a dependency of the English and the Nizam entirely dissociated himself from Northern India, the imperial Court continued to be the same scene of struggle, though the competitors for power now were mostly Afghans or individual adventurers of other races, rather than parties knit together by tribal connection.

CAUSE OF EMPIRE'S RUIN

Where the king has no inborn capacity to rule a realm, government by a responsible prime minister is the only alternative, unless administration is to disappear from the country and the State to break up. But no *fainéant* Mughal Emperor would give his wazir the same chance of working that George II. gave to Walpole or Pitt with the happiest results for both king and people. Muhammad Shah, like Farrukh-siyar, was too imbecile and inconstant to inaugurate any statesmanlike policy, conduct operations in the field, or control his officers; but he had cunning enough to countenance and even initiate conspiracies among his personal favourites against the publicly responsible wazir and secretly to lend the prestige of his name to the rebellions of the wazir's rivals. Therefore, an honest and capable wazir, under such a sovereign, would soon discover that if he insisted on administrative vigour and purity or tried to force honesty and consistency of policy on the Emperor, he would be only courting his own death, and that if he wished to escape the fate of the Sayyid brothers he must give up all noble ambitions and statesmanly projects, he must swim with the current, leaving the realm to drift. He would probably console himself with the belief that if the State escaped a catastrophe in his own time, he had done enough for one man.

In the Court of Delhi as it stood after Nadir Shah's departure, Qamr-ud-din Khan Itimad-ud-daula was the Wazir or Chancellor as before. The office next in importance, namely, that of the Army Chief (*Mir Bakshi*) with the title of Amir-ul-umara, had been

recently bestowed upon Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-mulk, a cousin of the Wazir.

Both of them continued at these posts during the remainder of the reign. The head of the imperial household, called the *Khan-i-saman* (Lord High Steward) was Lutfullah Khan; but he died at this time and was succeeded (on 21st May) by Danishmand Khan, who lived for only twenty days more and then gave place to Saduddin Khan (12th June). This last-named noble also held the office of *Mir Atish* or Chief of Artillery which gave him control over the imperial palace within the fort and consequently charge of the Emperor's person and treasures. But his influence was less on the administration of the Government than on the Emperor's mind by reason of the constant personal association with the Emperor which his office ensured. The same was the position of the *Diwan of Crownlands*.

MUHAMMAD SHAH GOVERNED BY FAVOURITES

But with a timid and unwise sovereign like Muhammad Shah and an ease-loving negligent Wazir like Qamr-ud-din, it was not the high ministers of State that counted so much in shaping the policy of the empire and the fate of the people as the household officers about the Emperor's person and his favourite companions, whose influence was constantly exerted and supreme over his mind.

Throughout life Muhammad Shah had never thought out any problem or made a decision for himself. He had always been led by his favourites. In early youth he had emerged from the bondage of the Sayyid brothers only to fall completely under the tutelage of a vulgar woman named Koki-ji and her associates, Raushan-ud-daulah (of Panipat) and Shah Abdul Ghaffur.

These three fell from favour and were sent into disgrace in 1732. Thereafter, for seven years the Emperor's feeble mind was dominated over by Samsam-ud-daulah Khan-i-Dauran and Samsam's brother Muzaffar Khan without a rival. When Samsam and Muzaffar died (1739), they were succeeded as the Emperor's guiding angel by Amir Khan and three other men brought to the Emperor's notice by Amir Khan, namely, Muhammad Ishaq, Asad Yar, and (four years later) Safdar

Jang. The life and character of these men therefore deserve study with some fulness.

AMIR KHAN : HIS CHARACTER

In the highest place among the Emperor's confidants and personal favourites stood Amir Khan II, Umdat-ul-mulk, a son of that Amir Khan I Mir-i-miran who had been Aurangzib's famous governor of Kabul during twenty-two years. He belonged to a very high family which was honoured in Persia as well as raised to supreme eminence in India. His father's mother was a daughter of the Empress Mumtaz Mahal's sister and his paternal uncle was Ruhullah Khan I the ablest Bakhshi of Aurangzib's times, while his own sister was married to Ruhullah Khan II, another Bakhshi of that reign. In spite of such notable connections and incentives to emulation, Amir Khan II never showed any capacity for civil government or war nor rose to any higher post than the Third Paymastership. But he was a darling in private life. His remarkable and varied personal accomplishments and cleverness drew scholars and artists to him, while his power of extempore versification, apt reply, eloquent and lucid exposition of every subject, and above all his command of *bon mots* and unfailing skill in jesting made his conversation irresistibly fascinating and gave him boundless influence over the frivolous Muhammad Shah's mind. Some foundation was given to his reputation for wisdom by his versatile general knowledge of many things and his capacity for quickly mastering the details of any kind of work. But his real capacity was insignificant. In the end pride led to his tragic downfall. His complete sway over the Emperor's mind turned his head and he came to despise and insult the highest nobles of the realm, as is well illustrated by his reply to the wazir and the Nizam, "So long as the shadow of my master's grace is over my head, I am prepared to confront Gabriel and Michael, not to speak of peers like you." [*Shakir*, 86.]

MUHAMMAD ISHAQ KHAN I

Muhammad Ishaq Khan I, surnamed Mutaman-ud-daulah, was still dearer than Amir Khan to the Emperor. His father, who had emigrated from Shustar in Persia to seek

his fortune in India, did not rise very high. Ishaq himself was for long a petty subaltern in the imperial artillery on a cash salary of Rs. 200 a month. He was an accomplished speaker and ready versifier in Persian, which was his mother tongue, and his elegance of taste, perfect manners and innate discretion made him easily take the foremost place in society far above his official rank. He attached himself as a private companion (*musahib*) to Amir Khan II, both being Persian by race and Shias by faith, and soon won his heart. Amir Khan could not help praising this jewel of a companion to the Emperor, who asked to see him. Muhammad Ishaq was presented; the Emperor was charmed with his accomplished manners and smooth tongue and immediately enlisted him among his personal attendants (*Khauas*.) Ishaq was day and night present with Muhammad Shah during the terrible period of Nadir's invasion. While the Emperor was staying in the Persian conqueror's tents at Karnal, Ishaq's speech and judgment, in a man occupying such a low position, so favourably impressed Nadir that he asked Muhammad Shah "When you had Muhammad Ishaq, what need was there for you to appoint Qamr-ud-din as Wazir?"

When the Padishah stole back to Delhi from his camp at Karnal in deep humiliation, Ishaq accompanied him on the same elephant and tried to keep up his spirits. By this time he had completely cast his spell over the Emperor's heart and his rise was startlingly rapid. On 3rd June 1739, from superintendent of the royal gardens at Delhi he was promoted inspector of the Crown Prince's contingent, and soon afterwards reached the summit of his greatness as Diwan of the Crownlands with the rank of a 6-*hazari* and the title of Mutaman-ud-daulah, besides a plurality of minor lucrative posts, and finally (on the 8th November) received the highest insignia of honour called the *mahi* and *muratib*. But his meteoric career ended as rapidly in his death within a few months (18th April 1740).

Ishaq was a devoted and sincere well-wisher of the Emperor and honestly gave him very sound advice regardless of his own interests. [*Siyar*, ii. 100]. He enjoyed the

Emperor's greatest confidence and favour and never abused his power. His eldest son, Mirza Muhammad, who succeeded to his title as Ishaq Khan II, (Najm-ud-daulah) in 1740 and seven years later (13th Aug. 1747) to his post of Diwan-i-Khalsa, gained the Emperor's trust and personal affection in an even greater degree than his father and "becoming the Emperor's life as it were," so much so that Muhammad Shah used to say, "If Muhammad Ishaq Khan had not left Mirza Muhammad behind him, I do not know how I could have survived him." Other sons of the first Ishaq Khan rose to high rank in the Emperor's service and his daughter (later known as Bahu Begam) was married, by the Emperor's express command, to Safdar Jang's son and heir Shuja-ud-daulah and became the mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah of Oudh.

ASAD YAR KHAN

Another *protege* of Amir Khan raised to the Emperor's favour was Asad Yar Khan, a native of Agra. On 3rd June 1739, he was first presented to the Emperor and immediately created a *5-hazari* and *Darogha of harkarahs*, i.e., Postmaster-General and Head of the Intelligence Department.

Though his knowledge of the arts and sciences was elementary, he had a very agreeable well-balanced nature and could compose *impromptu* verses in Persian, which were pleasant to hear though not marked by scholarship. Benevolent and discreet, he never shut his doors on the crowds of suitors who daily thronged before the mansions of the great, but had a kind word for everybody. Well-born men, however poor and low of rank, were treated by him like friends and brothers. Thus all men liked him. Though Amir Khan in the end turned hostile to him out of envy and got his troops (*shamshir-dagh*) disbanded by influencing the Emperor, Asad Yar continued grateful for the Khan's early favours, and sold his own jewels and household goods to discharge the dues of Amir Khan's unpaid and mutinous troops and thus saved his former patron from insult and outrage. [*Chahar Gulzar*, 383.]

SAFDAR JANG

Mirza Muqim, entitled Abul Mansur Khan and Safdar Jang, was the nephew and son-in-law of the late S'adat Khan Burhan-ul-mulk and succeeded to his subahdari of Oudh immediately after his death (1739). He was now at the maturity of his powers, being about thirty-five years of age, and maintained the best equipped and most martial contingent of troops in the Empire next to the Nizam's. The most valuable core of his army consisted of six to seven thousand Qizilbashs (i.e., Turks settled in Persia) who had once belonged to Nadir Shah's army, but elected to stay on in India. Safdar Jang was extremely lavish of money on his army and would pay any price, without the least thought, in order to secure famous captains or good soldiers. Iranian Turks (popularly called 'Mughals' in India) were the best fighting material then available in Asia; these were his special favourites and he paid them Rs. 50 a month per trooper against Rs. 35 only which India-born horsemen drew. When he reviewed his forces, if his eyes were struck by a soldier's look of smartness or efficiency, he would on the spot raise his pay, by Rs. 10 for a trooper and Rs. 2 for a foot-soldier. In addition to giving high pay, he took care to supply his men with complete equipment and good arms and to keep them in comfort.

The fame of his liberality and personal care for his troops spread abroad and large numbers of recruits flocked to his standards for enlistment. According to one writer, "his Mughal troops numbered 20,000, but among these were many Hindustanis, who dressed themselves as 'Mughals,' spoke the Persian tongue, and drew the [higher] pay. This was especially the case with men from the district of Jadibal in Kashmir, who were all Shias," like Safdar Jang himself. In short he came to be looked upon as the sword arm of the Shia party in India. His character will be described in the course of the history of the next reign when he dominated the stage for five years. [*Imad-us-Sadat*, 31.]

Such being the real state of things at Court in the last nine years of Muhammad Shah's reign, we can more easily understand the shape that events took during that period.

Russia and the Five-Year Plan

By C. A.

I

UNTIL quite recent times it was customary to speak of Africa as "the dark continent," since, except for small strips of land near the coast, the greater part of it remained unknown. Today the phrase could better be applied to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, usually grouped together under the name of Russia, and in this case the difficulty of discovering what is happening is due not so much to geographical difficulties as to the deliberate misrepresentation of information. On the borders of the U.S.S.R. there exists a colony of journalists, White Russians and others, who earn their living by informing the outside world, as frequently as possible, of the imminent downfall of the Soviet, due to the inhuman brutalities of the government. Beside this deliberate anti-Russian propaganda which is to be found in most capitalistic countries, there is also the difficulty that investigators who penetrate into Russia, usually look at Russian problems, economic and political, without having any clear idea of the background of Russian history under the Czarist government, and also, having been trained under a capitalist economic system, they judge what they see by comparing it with a totally different, and therefore irrelevant system. This may be made clearer by taking a concrete example. Recently Stalin, the General Secretary of the Party, made a speech (July, 1931), which was hailed by the capitalist press of the world as marking the break-down of the Five-Year Plan and the return to capitalism, since he spoke about the "establishment" of piece rate wages. Now, if one has studied anything of the Russian statistics, one finds that piece rate wages were frequently paid long before this announcement was made and at most this announcement merely extended the scope of the existing practice. The important part

of the speech, which most papers hardly noticed, was the section dealing with the position of the expert and technician since up to the present the U.S.S.R. has not felt it safe to trust the non-party experts of the Czarist regime, whose help would however greatly facilitate the progress of the famous Five-Year Plan.

The great object of the U.S.S.R. is the establishment and maintenance of a class-less society, which is to be based on collective ownership of the means of production, and the success or failure of the Five-Year Plan will not in any way affect the realization of this purpose, it may hasten or retard matters, but that is all. The capitalist countries of the world have only just awakened to the fact that the U.S.S.R. is a fact, and for them, possibly an unpleasant fact. The Russian Revolution has definitely passed from the first stage of violent upheaval, which was unavoidable since power was suddenly transferred from a propertied minority to the proletarian masses, and has now entered on the second stage of social advancement. The capitalist countries have been amazingly slow in realizing that the communistic economy is rapidly and successfully being spread in Russia, and many people today still seem to think of the U.S.S.R. as a country governed by a gang of unscrupulous criminals who are in daily peril of assassination at the hands of the enraged masses whom they are exploiting. Nevertheless, the world today is slowly awakening to the fact that the barely possible is being achieved; but when one considers the amazing progress in hydro-electric developments or the building of new factories, one should remember that these are of only superficial interest; the tractor and combine have a symbolic value of the progress that has been made and reflect the enthusiasm of a newly awakened people as contrasted with the somewhat hopelessly helpless feeling that pervades so many other countries at present.

II

Between the ordinary capitalist system of planning and methods of production and the Russian system there is a great difference. In the former case the planning is limited to the particular unit, in the latter the economic welfare of the whole nation is planned. The capitalist system aims at the creation of monopolies in order that profits may be maintained and enlarged. It does not consider the needs of the population in the order of their urgency, and therefore may manufacture fireworks which offer opportunities of larger profits, than cloth which may be more necessary. The capitalist economy is therefore a basically planless economy. The Soviet economy, on the other hand, considers the whole economic field, and embraces equally production, consumption, and distribution, and is therefore a fully planned economy.

There is a mistaken idea about the Soviet planning that there is no room in it for the individual workman. This is not accurate, since there is a definite place allowed for handicraft, or *kustarni* industry. The independent producer may use his own tools, and his own labour to sell some product directly to the consumer, but the middleman and employer of labour is regarded as a parasite and exploiter, and is dealt with accordingly. The Soviet planning also covers certain fields, not usually included in capitalist countries, and the educational programme is planned as carefully as the problem of increased coal production. There is a definite attempt on the part of the Soviet Government to raise the cultural level of the people, and especially to remove illiteracy, because without the success of this part of their programme, their main object, the establishment and maintenance of a class-less society, would not be achieved. The proletarian dictatorship definitely aims at a higher standard of life, so that what at present in capitalist countries are the pleasures of the select intelligentsia, may be equally open to all members of society. Everywhere in the Soviet planning there is this fundamental interest in the people themselves, which contrasts in a very marked manner with the partial interest displayed by the governments of other countries.

In order to get some idea of the vastness of the Russian plan, one should take an ordinary atlas, and compare the relative sizes of the U. S. S. R. and India. One knows in India the length of time it takes to get even the census figures out, and their accuracy has been seriously questioned when they do at last appear, but here there is a country doing something infinitely more complex, and on a larger scale,—and doing it successfully. The way in which it is managed is that first there are the general outlines of the scheme



A Shock-worker of the Soviet Union

proposed, by a small body of men, and the details are then filled up by the different local authorities. The ultimate authority rests in this small body, which has to decide all matters about which some dispute arises. Obviously the success of the scheme depends on two things, whether the central authority may not make impossible demands, and secondly the accuracy of the local planning bodies who are responsible for the details.

The plan is, moreover, flexible, and if experience shows that a mistake has been made, then it can be altered.

Since any economic development is regarded as being a question of policy, that is to say, it has to be discussed whether there is the need for this particular development and what is its relative importance to the nation as a whole, the matter is discussed and decided by the All-Union Congress of Soviets. The general policy having been

material- and supplies he will need to carry out this programme. Details regarding technical difficulties, questions as to the efficiency of labour, and all other problems are discussed by the authorities concerned. Ultimately, the centre will receive the aggregate forecast of the requirements and the products of that particular industry. There will of course be similar estimates for agricultural products and also concerning the needs of the consumer.

It is obviously extremely unlikely that all these different requirements and estimates will fit in together, and this is the hardest part of the task, deciding what to reject, and what to keep. The demands for raw materials, semi-finished goods, and capital equipment, may not be met from Russian production, though obviously, as the country develops, it will become less and less necessary to look outside Russia for these things. But for the present these needs can only be satisfied by finding some unrequited, exportable surplus which can be sold in foreign countries, and the money so obtained can then be used for the purchase of those commodities that the U.S.S.R. may require. The central body then has got a Herculean task, but it should be remembered that it is required to reconcile, not hypothetical, but *realistic aggregates*.

III

The beginning of what is popularly known as the Five-Year Plan, can be dated from the year 1921, when the first legislation setting up the State Planning Commission (*Gosplan*) and directing it to work out a single nationwide economic plan on the basis of the plan for electrification approved by the Eighth Soviet Congress, was passed. In addition, it was also directed to work out the pressing economic tasks of the immediate future in the fullest detail. Here one clearly finds the idea of there being two categories, things which belong to "the general future," and others which belong to "the calendar year" plan. The objectives and hopes of Russia are to be found in the former, and the mandate given to the operating units is contained in the latter. After 1924 *Gosplan* developed for the whole U.S.S.R. a series of one year plans, and this continued till 1928 when it



A Wood-cutter—A Fine Russian Type

decided upon, the next step is for the different units to discuss and report to the central body, which in turn formulates the general objectives in accordance with the policy that has been laid down, and care is always exercised to distinguish between undertakings of local, regional and All-Union importance. Now, the object of the manager of a single producing unit is to get the largest volume of goods produced with the maximum efficiency. The manager, therefore, formulates a plan, stating in the first place the amount of goods he hopes to manufacture, and the

was succeeded by the famous Five-Year Plan. The figures in which the mandate for the "calendar year" plan is expressed are the "control" figures for the scheme, and these "control" figures can be altered and amended whenever need arises.

The Supreme Economic Council (Vesenha) and the Commissariat for Supplies (Narecomsnab) are the two government departments which deal with industrial production, the latter dealing with all questions of food production. In most important industries there is one great combination called the *Obiedinenia* which buys the raw materials, and sells the final product, and directs a group of factories, but each individual factory is responsible to its particular *Obiedinenia*. What all this means will become clearer if a hypothetical example is considered. Suppose it is known that 1,000 maunds of cotton can be manufactured in the United States into 2,000 square yards of cloth of a certain quality, and that in Russia the amount produced is only 1,200 square yards of cloth. It is obvious that a greater degree of efficiency can be attained, and,

therefore, the manager in consultation with the various committees, comes to the conclusion that in the next year the standard can be increased to 1,500 square yards of cloth. This means that there must be increased efficiency among the workers calling possibly for greater numbers of workers, which will also mean a rise in the amount paid in wages. It can therefore be calculated exactly what will be the cost of producing the given quantity of cloth, and therefore when the cost of the cloth is worked out on, the one side is placed all expenses, including depreciation of plant, on the other the amount produced. The factory sells the cloth to the *Obiedinenia* at the exact cost of production, and the *Obiedinenia* sells the cloth at the cost price plus a certain percentage, which covers the operating costs of the overhead organization and also

allows a certain margin of profit. In general the selling price will be fixed by the Supreme Economic Council (Vesenha).

IV

Russia, like India, has for a long time been based on agriculture as the fundamental source of livelihood for the people. Now the Revolution of 1917 contained two forces, the first the peasant rising that established the peasant proprietor, who desired a classless, but an individualistic society, the second



A Workmen's Class

was the proletarian rising in the cities which demanded an entirely new order of things. In 1919 the land was "nationalized" by vesting the title to the land in the state, but the individual peasant still continued to enjoy the right to use the land. It was necessary though for the cities to rest on a domestic agricultural basis, but owing to the break up of the large estates, and their transformation into self-sufficient little holdings, there was no longer the necessary surplus. The Five-Year Plan provides for an extension of the amount under cultivation, and also for an increase in the yield per acre: all this is carried out by the Commissariat of Agriculture (Narecomsem).

The difficulties involved in revolutionizing farming are obviously greater than those revolutionizing industry since agriculture is

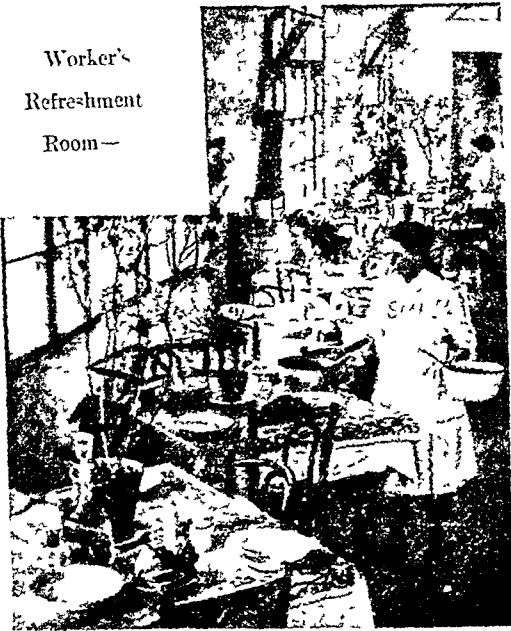
dependent on the weather which cannot be controlled. The difficulties are to a large extent overcome by the establishment of the big state farms, and by the introduction of collective farming. There has been the deliberate extermination of the *kulak* or rich peasant class, not because of their wealth, but because in official soviet theory a *kulak* is exploiting others by means of hired labour, and obviously every individual peasant might aspire to become a *kulak* if favoured with a lucky harvest, and this would be an obstacle to any scheme for collectivization. The

staff of agronomists and mechanics. The result was that the cost of cultivation decreased from twenty to fourteen rubles per hectare, and the income increased from fifty-two to eighty-three rubles per hectare.

All this may be interesting, and suggestive, especially to the unemployed in a capitalist country, but the usual side that one reads about in the Press, is the wickedness of the U. S. S. R. in dumping cheap articles in other countries, whose cheapness is the result of "sweated" labour. Now, in the first place, the object of the U. S. S. R. is to have fixed stable prices for the different commodities, and therefore it may allow larger profits in some industries, than in others, and in some cases it may even arrange that the article shall be sold at less than the cost price. When, for example, it is necessary to buy a certain amount of raw material outside Russia, take for instance the case of cotton, of which seventy-five per cent at present is produced in Turkestan, and the rest bought from foreign countries, the price (control price) paid to the growers in Turkestan was not based on external prices, but calculated on the basis of what the standard of life in that part demanded. For buying the remaining cotton the *Obiedinenia* is allowed to utilize a certain amount of foreign exchange to buy the foreign cotton at the world price, and then this is sold at the control price to the factories.

The system of price control makes the management of production a technical problem only, and thus those responsible for production are not worried by the problems of negotiating contracts on a competitive price basis. The management is concerned only with the reduction of the cost of production through the efficient utilization of the resources at their disposal. Thus the whole idea of profits is altered, and in place of the huge gains and losses which one is accustomed to in capitalist countries, there may be regulated, planned profits, or again there may be super-profit or loss. If profits occur they are not necessarily assumed to belong to that particular industry, a part, varying from ten to twenty per cent is deducted for the "cultural benefit" of the workers in that particular industry: ten per cent is withdrawn by the state as a

Worker's
Refreshment
Room—



—where meals are served to workmen

solution of the Russians for encouraging large scale farming is the introduction of machinery on the farm. Thus though the village may be in one particular place, the workers are housed in caravans which follow behind the tractors and combines. In 1928 at Shevchenko twenty-six villages entered into an agreement with the M. T. S. (machine tractor station) that they on their side would unite all their fields removing the dividing fences and boundaries, and in return they were to have at their disposal the necessary tractors and an accompanying

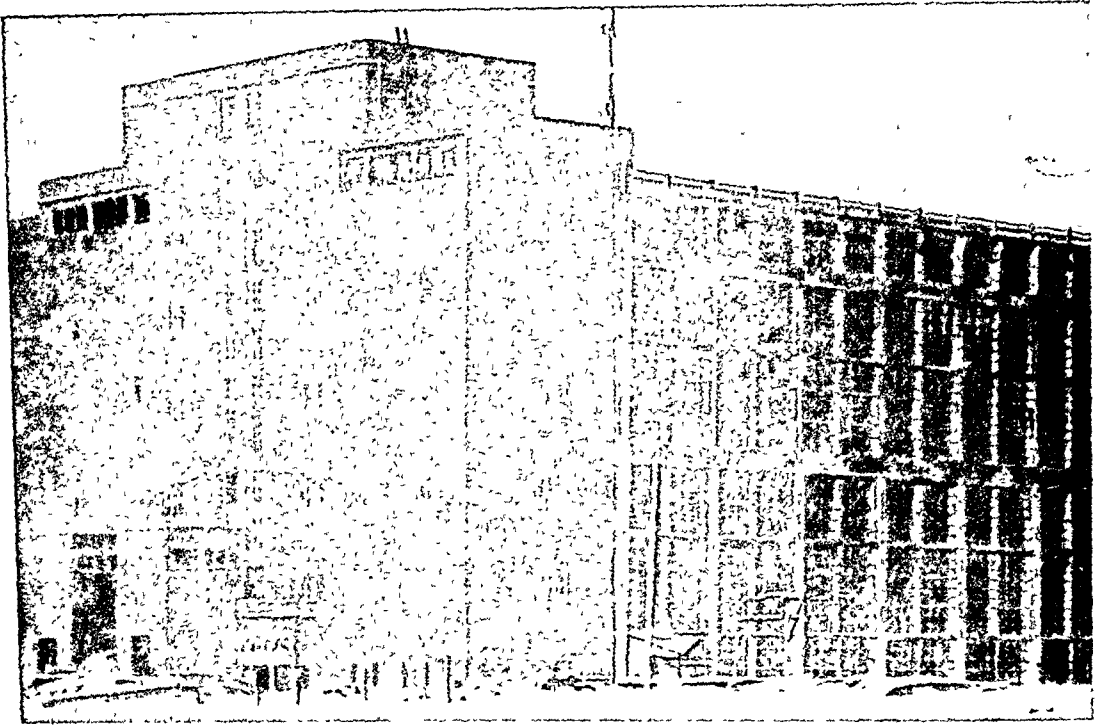
CONDITION OF WORKERS IN RUSSIA



Children at Their Meals



A "Culture Club" in Moscow



One Of The



Interior of a Textile Factory. Inset—A Woman Worker

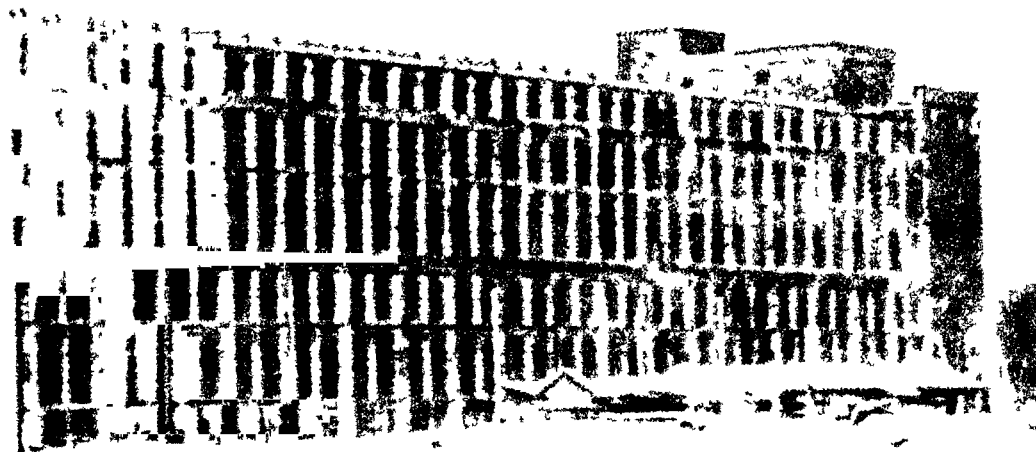


Fig. 10. 10. 10.



Cotton Growing and Gathering in



Floating Timber Down a River in Rafts



Felling Trees in Winter



Interior of a Workmen's Club

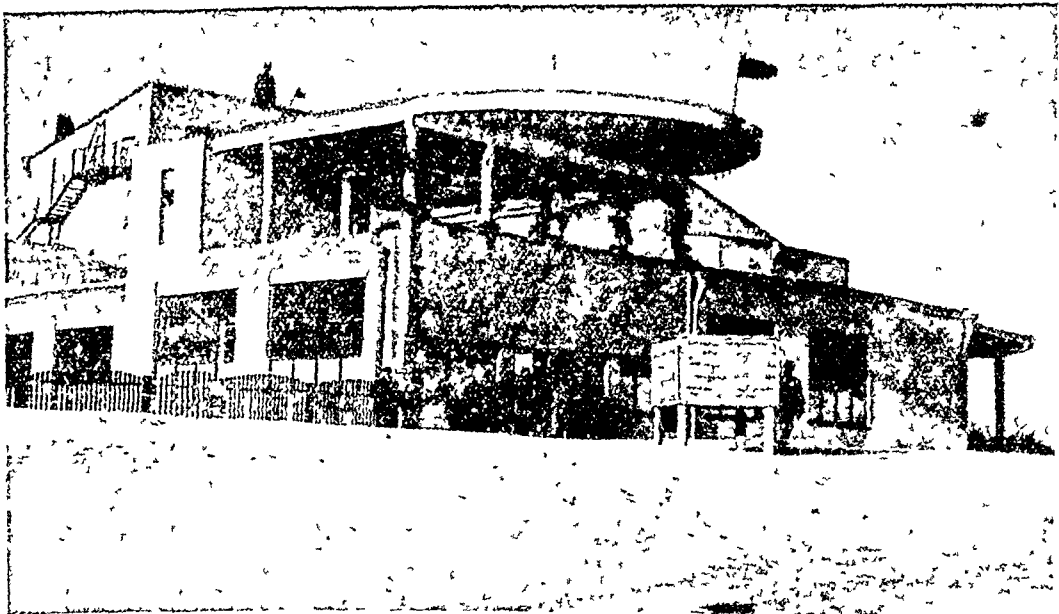
tax on profits; twenty per cent goes to increase the working and fixed capital of the industry and the balance goes to the general budget, and is used as is thought to be best.

Another thing that one must remember is that profits in the U. S. S. R. are a poorly

disguised form of progressive income tax. Workers are paid on a piece rate but the man who receives the equivalent of Rs. 500 a month does not have ten times the purchasing power of a man who gets Rs. 50. In the first place rent is about ten per cent of the income, and so Rs. 50 here equals Rs. 5, and the remaining Rs. 45 will purchase the minimum amount of necessities which are necessary to do something more than sustain life. The man who receives Rs. 500 has then Rs. 400 left, but now he finds that he has to buy non-essentials at inflated prices—inflated not because of competitive buying, but because of price fixing. Thus there may be no shortage of perfumes or silks, but whereas the ordinary ratio of rice to silk is 1 to 10 per unit, in Russia the ratio may be 1 to 25. Thus the man with Rs. 50 is practically untaxed, while the man with Rs. 500 is indirectly taxed down to about Rs. 200.

V

To sum up then, the Russians at present seem to be demonstrating two things, first, that machines can be used by man to improve his standard of life instead of degrading him



Another Workmen's Club

as seems to be the case in most other countries, and secondly, that there is less waste and consequently a higher standard among all the people.* Whether the Russian plan is possible or desirable for other countries is obviously a matter of personal opinion, but whatever else the Soviet government may or may not have done, they have given people in Russian new enthusiasm and energy. There is all the difference in the world between Dostoevsky, the writer of Czarist Russia, and Boris Pilnyak, the writer of Soviet Russia. There may be certain aspects of Bolshevism that repel one, but both Bolshevism and Fascism have this in common, that they have revolted from the idea that the State exists for the service of the individuals composing it. Instead the doctrine that the citizen owes a debt to the State is strictly and continuously enforced. The aristocracies of the past have fallen because they admired themselves for being alive! There is no reason to suppose that a democracy possessing the

aristocratic failing of self-admiration will be more tolerable than the old aristocracies. It will most probably come to a similar unpleasant end. Unless the different countries of the modern world can instil into the minds of the citizen the idea that the citizen has a *duty* to the State, and that he must gladly do all he can to repay the State for the benefits conferred on him, the so-called democratic civilization of the West is bound to perish. The great merit of Fascism and Bolshevism is that they have made the individual community-centred in his outlook, and therefore both systems are likely to flourish.⁷

* I have deliberately avoided statistics and technicalities so that the idea and the method of the Five-Year Plan may be understood by those who have not studied political economy, nor read much about Russia. The following books give fuller details and are not too technical:

Books recommended for general study:

1. New Russia's Primer—M. Dan (by a Russian writer as a popular book for Russians, very clear.)
2. The Five-Year Plan—M. Fairbairn. (simple and clear.)
3. Soviet Russia—Chamberlin (good but more details wanted.)
4. The Challenge of Russia—Sherwood Eddy (interesting and suggestive.)

Modern Fiction giving an idea of the social conditions

1. Three Pairs of Silk Stockings—Romanof.
2. The Volga Falls to the Caspian—Boris Pilnyak.

* Compare the Russian attempt to produce more with the following typical case of capitalism trying to destroy more. On Sept. 1, 1920 a train load of water-melons left Washington, (U. S. A.), and as soon as a convenient place was reached all the fruit was thrown into the river Potomac. This, and many similar cases, are given by Stuart Chase in his book *The Tragedy of Waste*, p. 193.



Conflicting Interests in Manchuria

BY JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A. Ph. D.

THOUGH it is reported that the present trouble in Manchuria was occasioned solely by the violent provocative attack launched by the Chinese on the Japanese railway zone, yet one wonders if it is quite so easy to localize the trouble in view of the fact that the Manchurian situation involves the interests of more than one nation. The present trouble certainly throws into bold relief the tangled economic and political relations of Russia, China and Japan, and the Herculean task of bringing order in that region out of the present chaos and clashing interests. During the last half a century millions of Chinese colonists have settled down on its plains of rich virgin soil, making it really Chinese in population. Being the richest undeveloped region in Eastern Asia, it has stimulated also the ambitions of Russia and Japan. Though its resources in coal and iron have been successfully exploited for years by the Japanese, yet the potentialities of Manchuria have been lightly tapped. Her natural resources, her strategic location and tremendous man-power have been the unfailing source of attraction to foreign powers. International rivalry caused by the temptation of her untold riches has made Manchuria the danger spot of the Far East. The Russians, for instance, have long coveted it; in fact, it was for the control of Manchuria that the Russo-Japanese war was fought. As a result of that war, Japan obtained important railroad and other concessions in Southern Manchuria. Russia and Japan divided Manchuria by a secret treaty into two spheres of influence. But since the time of the outbreak of the world war and of the collapse of Russia, Japan has been slowly pushing her interest into the northern (Russian) sphere. She succeeded even in building railroads to drain the Russian area and cripple the Russian-built Eastern Railway.

JAPAN'S AMBITIONS

Japan's special interest in Manchuria prompted her, when Chang Tsoolin retreated

from Peking before the advancing Nationalists, to warn both factions that no fighting would be permitted within the borders of Manchuria. And it was made clear that Japan would, if necessary, make use of her own troops to prevent the Chinese from fighting. This action of Japan brought out two points of vital interest. By preventing the Nationalists from pursuing the Mukdenites into Manchuria, Japan, in effect, detached that region from the rest of China. To the Nationalist leaders the proposition meant risking a war with Japan with the almost inevitable linking up of world opinion on the side of China, or of seeking a peaceful solution of the difficulty. This hands-off policy of Japan in Manchuria meant, in other words, that Japan declared to China, and also to the world, that she considered Manchuria as, in effect, a Japanese protectorate. Outwardly it is but natural that Japan should deny that she has any intention to abridge Chinese sovereignty in Manchuria. They only declare that because Manchuria has a vital bearing upon the self-preservation of Japan as a barrier against Russia, and as a reservoir of raw materials for Japan, the cardinal principle of the Japanese policy is only to develop the natural resources of the region and to protect the lives and property of both natives and aliens.

In this good-will of Japan, the Chinese have never placed an iota of faith; they hold that the special interest of Japan is in bringing about disunion in China, and in preventing the union of Manchuria with the rest of China. Such suspicion cannot but ever be a source of danger. Though Manchuria is the richest, but not yet fully developed, part of China, yet much of its prosperity is due to Japanese and Russian capital. It is best administered and most free from the threat of civil war. The Japanese technique, skill and efficiency have made the railroad system in Manchuria one of the finest in the world. Japan has also done much to further the economic development of the country and has

spent over Rs. 3,000,000,000 in China and Manchuria. Though she sent thousands of managers, engineers and other technical men in the hope of making Manchuria a home for the surplus population of Japan, yet only 200,000 Japanese have settled down there during the quarter of a century of Japanese control.

THE SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

The Chinese attitude towards Japan, however, is one of non-co-operation, and this interferes with Japan's programme of development. The real fear of the Chinese is that Japan means to annex Manchuria slowly just as she did Korea. Even under normal conditions Japan maintains an army of about 7,500 soldiers along her railway zone. And the growing determination of China to end foreign domination in every section of her territory, whether it be in the form of treaty port concession areas, leased harbours or railway zones in which foreign troops can be kept under old treaty terms,—has been causing Japan a great deal of anxiety during the last few years. With the rising tide of nationalism, she expected new China to infringe upon Japanese ownership of the South Manchurian Railway, or upon Japan's long leasehold on the tip of Liaotung Peninsula, an area of 1,300 square miles which includes the cities of Dairen and Port Arthur. For the present trouble the Japanese accuse the Chinese of having attempted to destroy the South Manchurian Railway, while the Chinese maintain that Japan provoked trouble in order to find a pretext for the occupation of Manchuria.

The Chinese would naturally like to see the railway and the leased territory handed back to her, but Japan would consider no "handing back" until or unless she is forced to do so. Japan won her position in Manchuria through two costly wars. After the first of these which was with China, she was forced by a concert of European Powers into giving back what she had won, only to have Russia move and grab the coveted prize within less than two years. In 1900 Russia acting under the pretext of necessities caused by the Boxer uprising,

filled Manchuria with troops, and after signing the Boxer protocol did not move them out, though she obligated herself to do so. The continued presence of Russian troops in Manchuria and Russian agitations in Korea brought on the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, and Japan naturally maintains that had she not spilled blood and treasure in those two years all of Manchuria would today be as much a part of Russia as is Siberia.

The treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the Russo-Japanese war, and which was later confirmed by China in a separate treaty with Japan, made the Japanese Empire Russia's successor in the lease of the Dairen-Port Arthur area, and gave Japan the Russian-built transportation line running northward from Dairen to Changchun, a distance of about 138 miles, together with a south-easterly branch running from Mukden to Antung on the Yalu river, which marks the boundary between Korea and Manchuria. The whole system, to which Japan has added less than 50 miles in the last 24 years, is 694 miles in length. But in this railway Japan inherited a ruin. The Russians had built the line on Russian five-foot gauge and then, as their armies retreated, they took the opportunity to wreck the tracks and bridges. After the war, Japan rebuilt the line on standard American gauge, and has now more or less completed the costly double-tracking of the whole system. The Government of Japan and some private Japanese investors have 440,000,000 yen invested in this enterprise, the balance sheets for which topped 994,000,000 yen in 1928. At Dairen the Japanese have converted a poor little Russian town and a silted harbour into a magnificent city of 250,000 people with one of the best harbours in the Far East. Having achieved there what she has, Japan is determined not to relinquish her special position in Manchuria and in inner Mongolia. In spite of the present negotiations, Japan declares that her stand is unalterable, even should it become a question of Japan against the rest of the world. Besides her claim to her position based on what she had done for Manchuria, Japan covets it because much of her food for her over-populated islands, and raw materials for her growing factories come from there.

MANCHURIA'S NATURAL RESOURCES

What is it that is so attractive about Manchuria that China, Russia and Japan are struggling to have a hold upon it? First of all it must be mentioned that Manchuria is a territory of 385,000 square miles in extent. It contains vast areas of untilled land equal in fertility to the best of the farm lands anywhere in the world. For its size it is sparsely populated, having about 24,000,000 inhabitants. Comparatively stated, it may be noted that Manchuria with its 24,000,000 people is six times as large as Chihli and Shantung provinces in China combined. While these provinces are greater in man-power, having together a population of 55,000,000, Manchuria is far richer in its natural resources. Besides her vast areas of virgin soil, Manchuria has mountain stands of timber, splendid waterways and navigable rivers. It is also rich in coal, iron, oil shale and mineral deposits.

Manchuria's importance in the trade of the Far East may be gauged from the fact that her exports were more than a third of the exports from all of China and her imports more than a fourth of the total imports of all China in the year 1928. The South Manchurian Railway hauls about 9,000,000 tons of freight from interior points to Dairen in a year, and Dairen's export tonnage has gone up to more than 1,125,000. These astounding figures are in a large measure due to the rapidity with which Chinese immigrants, suffering from disorder and extortion in China proper, have flocked to Manchuria and settled down to cultivation.

The South Manchurian Railway, which is owned by Japan, is considered by Japanese civilians to be a magnificent civilizing agency; its philanthropies every year are enormous. Though there are only 102,000 Japanese in all of Manchuria, outside of the Dairen-Port-Arthur zone, yet in 1928 the South Manchurian Railway appropriated 2,400,000 yen for schools, 997,000 yen for colleges and universities, 284,000 yen for public libraries, 1,771,000 for hospitals and 389,000 yen for a central laboratory which investigates uses to which Manchurian products may be put. These schools, hospitals and libraries are open to Japanese and Chinese alike. In addition

to these, the Railway maintains livestock and experimental farms for the benefit of Manchurian peasants. But the Chinese declare that the Railway is an exploiting agency and that it drains Manchuria's wealth to Japan. Against this picture of development of new lands, influx of hardworking immigrants, growing tonnage and imports and exports must be set the continual uncertainty of the internal Manchurian situation, and the fact that business in general in Manchuria staggers under the tremendous handicap of various inflated and frightfully depreciated currencies.

Along the South Manchurian Railway the Japanese yen is in general use but Mukden has its own fengpiao, Kirin province has its own paper money and the city of Harbin has its own dollar notes which are unacceptable outside of the city except at a heavy discount. Japan's plan is to stabilize the whole of the Manchurian situation by attracting to Manchuria large amounts of American and other foreign capital, under Japanese guarantees if necessary, thereby swelling the foreign population of Manchuria. China too wants American capital but she resents the idea of its coming under Japanese guarantee or guidance.

JAPANESE AND RUSSIAN INTERESTS

However much China may protest against Japan's domination, the Japanese seem unwilling to consider the Chinese point of view on Manchuria. Japan's real fear is the Soviet threat embodied in what is called the Soviet Protectorate over Outer Mongolia. The Chinese determination to end foreign domination is worrying Russia also. The Soviet Government fears, and not without reason, that new China may attempt any day to seize the whole of 1,090 miles of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and if this ever happens, Russia will have either to yield or fight. The Chinese Eastern, which lies wholly within Manchuria, was built by Russia in order to reduce by 568 miles the distance between Moscow and Vladivostok, when measured against the northern or all-Russian route north of the Amur River. The railway was completed in 1901, under an agreement signed in 1896, which provided that the title

to the whole line was to pass to China eighty years after it was opened to traffic. An additional clause grants China the right to buy the line any time subsequent to thirty-six years after completion, *i. e.*, any time between 1937 and 1981. The status of the line is further complicated by notes and exchanges during the Washington Conference in 1922 and by what is known as the Mukden-Russian agreement of 1924. This last document reduced the term of reversion to China from eighty to sixty years, and also recognized the independence of "the autonomous government of the three eastern provinces of China" and the overlordship of the late Marshal Chang Tsao-lin, who was then officially in rebellion against the Peking Government of those days.

Under the existing agreement the Chinese Eastern is operated by a board of ten directors, of whom half represent the Chinese Government, but who actually represent the Mukden regime. The President is a Chinese but he has no power, all real power being in the hands of an appointee of Moscow who holds the title of manager. Various international agreements are on file specifying that all Chinese Eastern Railway profits are to be held in trust until the final disposition of the line is decided, but for the last two years these agreements have been disregarded and Moscow and Mukden have shared the profits equally. However, it must be mentioned that the Chinese have succeeded in breaking the grip the Russian Communists had on China. They have executed thousands of "reds" and have driven thousands more out of the country. Not only have the Chinese Nationalists broken with the Russian Communists on the ground that they interfered in China's internal affairs, but Russia's intrigues to detach Mongolia from China and attach it to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic have aroused Chinese ire.

While this is so, there are others who believe that the Communists are still strong in spite of the suppression, and that there is a strong "back-to-Moscow" movement in the Nationalist Party. It is not surprising therefore if one finds a lurking fear that the Chinese might again turn to the Russian Soviets for aid and thus revive the spread of

Bolshevist world revolution propaganda. It is this fear that makes Japan take a firm stand on the question of Manchuria. Until China is strong enough to manage her own affairs, Japan must retain her power in Manchuria, they say, to prevent Russian aggression through Mongolia. Even at the present crisis in Manchuria, the Japanese high command is alarmed because of the growing concentration of Russian troops on Siberian soil, immediately west of Manchuli and east of Pograditch-naya, the Western and Eastern ends respectively of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Japanese inquiries as to the causes of this mobilization only brings the reply that it is designed to protect the railway from roving bands of armed Chinese soldiers. Japan naturally fears to yield to China's demands because of the latter's inability to resist successfully Russian aggression.

AMERICA'S ATTITUDE AND SYMPATHY

While China seeks American help, Japan naturally is against American interference since that might go against Japan's interest in Manchuria and China. However, American sympathy is with China and the Chinese aspirations to modernize their country. Apart from obligations based on moral principles, America is interested in China because of trade possibilities with a modernized China, and of its obligation according to the Washington Treaty to guarantee the sovereignty of China. Further, it must be pointed out that the United States has a direct interest, as made clear by trade statistics, in the development of Manchuria. In 1908, for instance, 63 per cent of all Manchurian imports came from Japan, and only less than 1 per cent from the United States. But in the year 1928 Japan's share of the total imports had declined to a little less than 46 per cent, while American imports constituted 14 per cent of Manchuria's purchase abroad. The United States' share of this rapidly growing business has been increasing annually, not only in total but in proportion to the whole. Oil furnishes the largest of American imports to Manchuria, while Manchuria's exports to America are made up in large part of furs, hides and hog bristles.

At present there are over twenty-six

American business concerns in Dairen, eighty-nine in Mukden and one hundred and sixty-six in Harbin. The managers of large American firms in Manchuria all say frankly that they would not have a dollar invested there except for the security which is afforded by Japan's interest in Manchuria, and her determination not to allow disorders into her zones of interest. Several scores of American firms use Japanese firms in Dairen as their importing and distributing agents, thus saving large overhead expenses. Though America has always been sympathetic to China's national aspirations, her determination in regard to the present situation is to act, as far as it is in keeping with her sense of international justice, with the League. Secretary Stimson of the United States State Department is making an intensive study of the Manchurian problem and is investigating if Japan is carrying out her pledges to withdraw her troops in Manchuria to the railroad zones defined in the Portsmouth treaty, and as to the measures taken by China for protecting Japanese nationals in Manchuria in the event of evacuation. In bringing about a settlement America may stress with the League the Kellogg anti-war treaty and the nine Power treaty of the Washington Conference, which guarantees the administrative and territorial integrity of China. America will, of course, maintain complete independence of action, though the general feeling is that she should co-operate fully with the League. In fact, the measures taken thus far by the League have the approval of the United States.

MANCHURIA, THE DANGER SPOT

From the standpoint of international relations, Manchuria is the most dangerous spot in the world today. The burning question of China in the present conflict with Japan is: Is Manchuria, which is a part of China, to be Chinese or Japanese? Japan maintains that Manchuria is necessary for her self-preservation, and China declares that Manchuria being a part of China, foreign domination in that part must be ended. She

sees no relation between political aggression and economic interest. While China wants Manchuria to be under her control, she welcomes foreign investments in Manchuria. She resents, and that rightly, Japan's political aggression which she considers to be an infringement on her sovereignty. Since the Shantung incident China has been using economic boycott as a weapon against Japan to awaken her to respect China's sovereign rights. But then the trouble in Manchuria is not merely between China and Japan. Students of world politics consider that Manchuria will be the scene of another war between Russia and Japan. Whether the present situation will lead to that or not no one can tell at this stage. But the ever-growing determination of China to end all foreign domination will certainly bring Russia into conflict with China as it has Japan.

Russia, anxious as she is concerning the possibility of holding what she has, would certainly welcome any factor which would serve to check Chinese aggression,—any factor that is not, of course, allied to Japanese interests or tolerant of Japan's supposed ambitions. Whatever may be Manchuria's political future, it is considered probable that the population will become overwhelmingly Chinese. Without indulging in undue optimism it may be said that the new China faces a better future than she did a few years ago, since she has attained at least a responsible degree of unity among her different sections. With respect to the outside world she finds that though her relation with Japan has been strained, America has extended a friendly hand. The abrogation of unequal treaties is the centre of America's foreign policy in regard to China, and the action of the United States in granting a new tariff treaty made the first breach in the iron wall of unequal treaties. Whatever may come out of the present trouble in Manchuria, it seems reasonable to believe that the growing nationalism of China on the one side and the ambitions of Russia and Japan on the other could make Manchuria the danger spot of the Far East for some years yet to come.

The Lesson of Ireland

A REVIEW*

By CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD, D.A. (Oxon)

I should like to begin by thanking General Crozier for his book, *A Word to Gandhi*, though I wish the price was less, since there are many people in India who could read the book with profit, but will be prevented from doing so by the price.

The author's arguments may be summed up roughly as follows: in Ireland the British politicians made a mess of things by refusing to face the fact that there was no alternative between martial law, and conceding the demands of the Sinn Féin Party; martial law may be unpleasant, but at all events, it is better than the reprisals policy which the Black and Tans were allowed to pursue; the atrocities perpetrated by these men in Ireland took place in a small country, separated by only a few miles of sea from England, and in a vast country like India, situated at such a great distance from England, the atrocities would be greater if a similar policy were followed; finally, martial law is an impossibility in India, and therefore the only alternative is a policy of mutual agreement while there is yet time. Thus the choice in India is between a situation infinitely worse than the Irish, or practical concession of Gandhi's terms.

General Crozier is above all things a realist. He is a distinguished soldier and himself took part in the "blood-lust game" in Ireland. But he could not stay on there. As he himself says, "when the British Government ordered me, in my 'patriotic' position of 'loyal' police officer, to condone crimes of violence committed by its patriotic, loyal, armed and uniformed servants, against defenceless and 'loyal' women in Ireland, on account of 'loyalty' to England... I refused... I threw my letters of appointment into a dustbin." Yet he had seen enough of the happenings in Ireland before he left to become convinced of the utter futility of such a policy. With experience of force of every kind, both glorious and ignoble, General Crozier may be expected to know what it means, and he puts the case against coercion impressively: "Having seen a great deal of force in use, having applied that force for over thirty years, having experienced the utter failure of force, I must needs look for other weapons with which to achieve the object—the welfare of mankind."

This is the conviction which runs right through and lends force to his comparison between India and Ireland. *The Times Literary Supplement* critic, however, in discussing this book, writes:

This comparison lacks force and meaning. In Ireland a secessionist Government wrested partial independence from our war-wearied and financially embarrassed nation. In India there has been no general demand for independence, no breakdown of the ruling power, no establishment of a rival Government which could demand surrender or even negotiate a treaty. In fact General Crozier's information about India is neither full nor accurate. Mr Gandhi wields a good deal of undefined and fluctuating influence over large numbers of Hindu Indians, but he is no Washington. There have been assassinations, mob-riots, and a poor attempt at a foreign invasion, but the British power in India has never been seriously challenged. As for "Budmash auxiliaries in the Punjab," no auxiliaries, good or bad, have been employed there or elsewhere. General Crozier's programme is to appoint an Indian Viceroy and Indian Governors, and to "negotiate by agreement" about the British Army, the Indian Army, finance, the European services, the police, and the British connexion. The first and most obvious comment is that it takes two to make an agreement.

Of the fatuous ineptitude of this criticism it is hardly necessary to say much: this critic evidently knows as much about India as is usual among the *Times* staff. For example, on October 15, *The Times* informed its readers that in the trial following the murder of Khan Bahadur Ashan-ullah of Chittagong, the jury had returned a verdict acquitting seven of the accused and committing two, Hariprasad and Bhattacharji, for trial before the Calcutta High Court! If *The Times*, which has an international reputation for accuracy, can solemnly print such news about Indian affairs, one need not wonder at their literary staff being equally uninformed!

General Crozier's book is really an indictment of two things: first, the false sense of "patriotism" and "loyalty" current at the present day, which is responsible for so much unnecessary suffering, and, secondly, the politicians who prefer falsehoods and self-deception to Truth.

"Patriotism" (cum "Loyalty") has become a world religion in which flags, statues, war trophies, unknown warriors, war memorials, shrines, tombs, cenotaphs, anniversaries of victories and "great days," graves, war gratuities, promotion, profiteering, and the two minutes' silence are worshipped and bowed down to as were the

* A WORD TO GANDHI: The Lesson of Ireland by Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier, C. B., C. M. G., D. S. O., London (Williams & Norgate Ltd.), 1931. Price 4s. 6d.

golden images by idolators of old....India can be free, England can be free....all can be free to do as they *should* and not as they *would*, provided this world religion called "Patriotism" is destroyed and in its place is set up "loyalty" to the religion of humanity. (Pp. 14-15).

Carrying his analysis of the notion of patriotism and loyalty further he writes :

When a citizen crosses swords with the mighty and worldly machine (made up of men and materialism) called Government because of its "disloyalty"—in peace and war, but more particularly in war—two things inevitably happen. The citizen is dubbed traitor and "disloyal"—at any rate for the time being, because of refusal to comply with the formula, "my country, right or wrong"; and the "Government," by virtue of its strength, lies itself, for the time being, into immoral security behind the smoke screen of "Patriotism" and "loyalty." But the deluge always comes, as no man "need shed his honour to cover criminals" and it is not possible to fool all the people for all the time....

Successive British Governments had owing to their "disloyalty" exasperated Irishmen to rebellion and dubbed them "disloyal" and "unpatriotic." Where was the "Patriotism" and "loyalty"? Whose was the soil of Ireland? *Whose is the soil of Ireland now?* Whose is the soil of India today?... it is not possible for an Indian or an Irishman to be "patriotic" to England, though both may be loyal to the world of which the British commonwealth is part!

So too with Mahatma Gandhi. Why is this meek, unassuming little Hindu lied about in the English Press and called a half-naked Fakir who desires to turn the Christian missionaries out of India? For the same reason that the same Press lied about the Irish in 1920-21 and accused them of murdering each other for their good! What humbug! Press "loyalty"... Press "patriotism"! "Loyalty" to what? The Press? "Patriotic" to what—God knows! Does Lord Rothermere know?

General Crozier's book consists of twenty-two chapters containing a series of parallels between India and Ireland. The author points out the similarity between the cases of the two countries, both of which have profitted by English development, both of which are geographically important to the strategic welfare of England, and in both of which there has been a denial of the opportunity for self-expression in a constitutional manner. It is impossible to go into all the details of General Crozier's argument in the course of a short article. While hoping this review will lead readers to the book itself, the utmost that I can attempt to do here is to give some idea of the central theme of the book—the futility of a policy of murders and reprisals.

In Ireland there was resort to the pistol, and in India there has been non-co-operation and non-violence and also revolutionary violence though on a very limited scale. In Ireland Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins matched themselves against the greatest machine the world has ever known, the British Government,

"and succeeded because although they stooped to undiluted murder, they admitted the offence as the only possible way out, while the British Government employing the same means as its adversary, not only denied its use, but endeavoured to saddle Sinn Fein with the atrocities committed by its agents.... Ireland denied none of the murders committed by her men, but she still objects strongly to being saddled with the murders of such well-known Irishmen as McCurtain (Lord Mayor of Cork), O'Callaghan (Mayor of Limerick), the ex-mayor of Limerick and Father Griffin, or minor mortals such as Bowen (the Welsh Secret Service agent of the British Government), Captain Prendergast, the Drumeonda victims, the Castle guardroom victims and others far too numerous to mention." (Pp. 20-21)

After the murder of Colonel Smyth, who had tried to incite the R. I. C. to murder indiscriminately, and had had his own plan put into practice against himself, the British Government organized a body popularly known as the Black and Tans, who should be recruited in England, and then sent across to Ireland to practise Colonel Smyth's suggestions. The horrible deeds which followed—all of which are given with undeniable detail by General Crozier—are far too well known to need description. For example, it was decided to disguise some policemen as Sinn Feiners, and to send them to raid the Kilkenny post office. This was done, but the authorities forgot that the supposed "Sinn Feiners" would talk with a cockney accent, instead of the Irish brogue! To continue giving a list of the atrocities would be pointless. Those who are interested in them can read the book for themselves. It is interesting to note what General Crozier says, and to compare it with what has been written in another book, *The Victory of Sinn Fein* by P. S. O'Hegarty, himself a Sinn Feiner, concerning the futility of the bomb and pistol policy :

After 1916 there should not have been a shot fired in Ireland, nor a gun bought. They were totally unnecessary. We had the Sinn Fein policy, the men who made it, the enthusiasm and support of the people. Without firing a shot we could have forced from England anything that we forced from her by the gun policy and more. We would, at the same time, have maintained our solidarity, escaped Partition and avoided the irreparable moral disaster which has overtaken us. But for the lack of a firm hand on the civil side of the movement there was no effort to control the gun, and it brought us to disaster... They [the gunmen] were frankly Frankenstein. We ourselves in our blindness and folly were responsible for that Frankenstein. We taught our young people to rely on the gun and to disregard everything else... Since 1916 we have been damned by successive layers of irresponsible gunmen without ideas, and political leaders without moral courage... The end was disaster. It was a disaster of our own making. Pride, and ignorance, and selfishness, and shallowness and gun-worship—these made it. The visitation which we have gone through was the result of our own breaches of the Moral Law... We

not get away—we are getting away—from all the worship of physical force, application of force as a pretext for law, for decency, for charity, and tolerance which has made our country a moral and physical slaughter-house (Pp. 166, 167, 170, 171).

There is unfortunately in India at present, and especially in Bengal, a tendency to imitate the policy so strongly and I believe rightly, condemned by Mr O'Hegarty. That the young men of Bengal may at times feel driven to desperation by the action of some police officer may explain, but does not excuse the terrorist campaign, which is doing India's cause more harm than good. The Government at present seems bent on trying a repressive policy, but it is doubtful whether the repressive policy will do more than drive the terrorist movement underground, where it will be far worse than at present. Commenting on the murder of British officials, General Crozier writes:

course of conversation remarked, 'Though we condemn these acts publicly, in our hearts we are not really sorry.' There must be greater sincerity on both sides.

General Crozier believes that the way out of the Indian tangle lies through greater co-operation between Indians and Englishmen. I have quoted above the passage in which he says that there are thousands of honourable Englishmen with experience and capacity for leadership who would gladly and loyally serve with and under Indians to promote India's good for a mere pittance. In another place he says:

We—Indians and English alike—can have our triumph or our disaster in India. Let us hope, for the welfare of India, the Empire and the World, we shall choose wisely . . . and better than was the case in Ireland, where the delay was too long . . . Anything but an English-cum-Indian

pomp. (When Ireland gained her Freedom in 1922 the last English Viceroy, clad in gold lace, gave place to the First Governor-General of the Irish Free State—an Irishman, the late Tim Healy, K. C., fortified with sombre top hat and frock coat—a humble man. Today a retired Indian Civil Servant represents the King-Emperor in equal simplicity at the Viceregal Lodge, Dublin. Yet nothing has been lost, while much has been gained. The pompous and prosperous Lord Curzon, reigning in super-kingly style at Simla, might have been necessary to the needs of England long ago, but Indians to-day require simpler stuff. The appointment of an Australian by the Australians to be Governor-General of Australia has brought an initial saving of £5,000 a year to Australia.)

(4) Negotiate by agreement the position, present and future of the British Army in India, taking into account the position of the British Army in Egypt.

(5) Ditto the Indian Army, having in view the position of the Egyptian and Iraq Armies.

(6) Arrange the control of finance and the safeguarding of credit with Great Britain.

(7) Make arrangements for the termination of appointments of as many Europeans as possible on a sliding scale, giving the option of immediate retirement to all, on the lines agreed by the British and Irish Free State Governments in the Irish Treaty of 1921; and safeguarding the future by arranging for European aid when required.

(8) Reorganize the Indian Police.

(9) Acquire safeguards from England.

"If this programme is accomplished satisfactorily," General Crozier says, "Black-and-Tannery" in Ireland will not have been in vain." But can it be? He hopes great things from Mahatma Gandhi. Who is this Gandhi? he asks, and answers:

A naked fanatic? Is he a fanatic or a revolutionary? Is Mr. Cosgrave, the President of the Irish Free State, a rebel? He was at one time—entirely owing to English stupidity! But Mr. Gandhi is not even that! He is a patriot, practi-

sing and preaching the policy of non-violence. Mr. Gandhi and I stood on the same battlefield at Colenso in Natal over thirty years ago, wearing the uniform of the Queen Empress. He was then a bearer in an Indian Field Ambulance. We were both on the field of battle voluntarily, of our own free will and accord, fighting for England.

Mr. Gandhi has since done as much as any other man to weld the Empire together in South Africa—where there are thousands of Indians. Anti-Indian legislation in South Africa always reacts against Imperial relationship and makes a settlement of the Indian question more difficult. Mr. Gandhi, who helped to carry the stricken son of the late Lord Roberts from the Colenso battlefield to Chieveley, where the boy died just after receiving the Victoria Cross, and who ever after remained the firm friend of the Field-Marshal, is now accused of "disloyalty" by men who never fought in a battle or who deliberately avoided the firing line!

But the solution of the Indian question, as suggested by General Crozier, will depend as much upon Englishmen as upon Mahatma Gandhi or Indians. There are some Englishmen whose activities and pronouncements have certainly made the hopes of an English-Indian co-operation seem like a dream. But I would not be true to my English traditions if I did not still cherish that hope. I write this and all that has been said above as an Englishman, and as an Englishman I would conclude with the words of Mr. Nevinson:

The daily life of every lover and every child is haunted by fears that spring from overwhelming affection and a passionate desire for the loved one's highest good. And so for our country true Patriotism may fear lest she should sacrifice her noble traditions for avaricious gain, degrade her high reputation for courage by outbursts of cowardly ferocity, and bedim her splendid vision by stooping to the muckrake of comfortable satisfaction. (*The English*, p. 76.)



The Early History of the Bengali Theatre—III

By BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE

I

THE BELGACHIA THEATRE

WE now come to one of the most brilliant and successful of the early theatres in Bengal—the Belgachia Theatre. It owed its birth to the enthusiasm and munificence of Raja Pratap Chunder Singh and Raja Issur Chunder Singh of Paikpara, who took an active part in the organization of the theatre and the staging of its plays. They were assisted in this venture by a large number of our English-educated young men. The sensation which this theatre created at the time may be guessed from the following account of its establishment and first performance given in the reminiscences of Gour Das Bysack about his friend Michael M. S. Datta. After referring to the earlier ventures, Gour Das Bysack goes on to say :

But it was not till our *Baria* and *Chota Rajas* of Paikpara, as Pratap Chunder and Issur Chunder Singhs were lovingly called and known, . . . appeared in the field, that the native theatre took deep root, and a native orchestra was organized. In the construction of this orchestra Khettar Mohun Gosain, a genius in music, and Babu Jadu Nath Paul had the principal hand.

The Gosain for the first time put into notation some of the native tunes and *jagas* and thus created a native Band known as the Belgachia Amateur Band, headed by Babu Jadu Nath Paul. . .

To say that the Belgachia Theatre scored a brilliant success, is to repeat a truism that has passed into a proverb. It achieved a success unparalleled in the annals of Amateur Theatricals in this country. The graceful stage, the superb scenery, the stirring orchestra, the gorgeous dresses, the costly appurtenances, the splendid get up of the whole concern, were worthy of the brother Rajas, and the genius of their intimate friend Maharaja Sir Jotindro Mohun Tagore, an accomplished connoisseur. The performance of a single play, *Ratnarali*, which alone cost the Rajas ten thousand rupees, realized the idea, and established the character of the real Hindu Drama with the improvements, suited to the taste of an advanced age.

The Dramatic Corps was drawn from the flower of our educated youth. Among the actors, Babu Keshub Chunder Ganguli stood pre-eminent. Endowed by nature with histrionic talents of no mean order, he represented the *Vidushaka* (Jester) with such life-like reality, and so rich a fund of

humour, as to be styled the Garrick of our Bengali stage. Raja Issur Chunder Singh, who looked a prince every inch, encased in mail coat armour, with a jewelled sword hanging by his side, acted his part, with wonderful effect, befitting the character of a generalissimo . . . The manner in which the other actors, one and all, acquitted themselves, met with the warmest applause from the audience,—an audience composed of the *élite* of Calcutta, the cream of European and Native society. Eminent Government officials and high non-official gentlemen who witnessed the performances spoke of the “exquisite treat” they had enjoyed, as heightening their idea of our Indian music and of our Indian stage. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Frederick Halliday, who was present with his family, was so delighted with the acting of Babu Keshub Chunder that he complimented him on his extraordinary dramatic talents. He said that looking at his serious and sedate appearance one could hardly believe him capable of acting so capably the part of the Jester.*

This theatre opened with the performance of the drama *Ratnarali* written in Bengali by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna, on Saturday July 31, 1858. It was housed in the garden residence of the Paikpara Rajas at Belgachia which had formerly belonged to Dwarkanath Tagore. A few days later a long report of the performance appeared in *The Hindoo Patriot* for August 5, 1858. It runs as follows :

THE HINDOO THEATRE.—The Rajas of Paikpara, who have established a name for themselves by their princely liberality in the cause of education and of the general welfare of the country, have, we are glad to observe, directed their attention to the promotion of the Drama. In their magnificent Belgachia villa they have set up a splendid private Theatre which opened on Saturday last with the performance of the *Ratnarali* or the *Neelacr*. To many of our older readers, both European and Native, who remember the days of the late Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, Meredith Parker, Horace Wilson, Henry Torrens, and the Chowringhee and Sans Souci Theatres, this revival of the Indian drama and of the love for rational amusement will be exceedingly welcome. In the eyes of the younger generation the charm of novelty will be added to the other charms of an well arranged and well conducted theatre. The performance of the other day was beheld with approbation by connoisseurs. The

* Jogindra Nath Basu's “Life of M. S. Datta” (in Bengali), 3rd ed., pp. 645-49.

characters were so nicely balanced, the tone, the gesture and what is called dramatic action were so clever and consistent, and the counterfeit of passions so natural and life-like that we little expected so much excellence at the outset of a dramatic company. Indeed from first to last the stage was all action and animation and the audience was all attention. . . . Lastly we shall not omit to notice the stage decorations which were as splendid as they could be. The scenes were very graphic and well adapted to the incidents of the drama. The Band music which was quite novel in its way was excellent. It had so powerful and beneficial an effect upon the English gentlemen present that one of them to whom the Anglo Indian drama and music owe more than to any other English resident in India remarked that it has completely neutralized in his mind the prejudices which he had conceived against the Hindoo music. There was little monotony, and the airs complacently preserved the oriental character of the occasion. We were however not a little surprised with the nice dancing which we witnessed. At first we mistook the dancers who played so wonderfully for nautch girls until we were disabused of our impression by authentic evidence. Indeed they tripped over the stage ground so lightly and moved so briskly, that one not behind the scenes could scarcely forego the above conclusion.

In the course of the above account *The Hindoo Patriot* entered into a long discussion of the merits and defects of the acting and expressed a hope that the faults would be rectified in the second performance, which was to take place on August 5, 1858. These faults were apparently made good, for we find *The Hindoo Patriot* of August 19, 1858 (Thursday) writing about the third performance which had taken place on August 13, 1858 :

THE BELGACHIA THEATRE.—Last Friday evening we had the pleasure again to witness the representation of the *Ratnavali* which went off admirably and to our entire satisfaction. This time the few minor defects which we noticed, on the last occasion were successfully rectified and the effect throughout was the more complete. . . *

The performance of the *Ratnavali* is memorable for another reason also. It led the great Bengali poet Michael M. S. Datta to compose his first work in Bengali—a drama. This work *Sarmishtha* was performed on September 3, 1859, as will be seen from the following extract which appeared in *The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette* of September 6, 1859 (Tuesday) :

SERMISTA.—The Amateur theatrical performance of

'Sermista' came off on Saturday evening last, at half past eight o'clock, at the Belgachia Garden house of Rajah Protap Chunder Sing. The author of this drama is Mr. Michael M. S. Dutt.*

The last performance of *Sarmishtha* took place on September 22, 1859, and we find the following account of this performance in *The Bengal Hurkaru* of Tuesday, September 29, 1859 :

The *Sermista* was performed, for the last time as we understand before the holidays, on Tuesday evening last, at the little private theatre erected by the Rajahs Pertap and Isser Chunder Singh at their Belgachia Villa. A selected number of the European and Native friends were invited by the, Rajahs to witness the performance. Among the company were present the Hon'ble J. P. Grant, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Grant Junior, Dr. and Mrs. McPherson, Major Plowden, Private Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. C. Piffard, and Mr. H. P. Hinde of the Supreme Court Bar, Mr. Sith Apcar, Moonshee Ameer Ally of Patna notoriety, Baboo Rajendro Lal Mitter, a numerous and fashionable attendance from the depot at Dum-dum and many other native and European gentlemen.

No other drama was acted in the Belgachia theatre which came to an end with the untimely death of Rajah Issur Chunder Singh on March 29, 1861.

Michael M. S. Datta justly remarks in the preface to the English translation of his *Sarmishtha* : "Should the drama ever again flourish in India, posterity will not forget these noble gentlemen—the earliest friends of our rising national theatre."

II

While the theatres and performances described above comprise all the tangible result of the dramatic enthusiasm of the age, they by no means include all the theatrical efforts of the time. The contemporary papers are full of allusions to the theatrical activity of the Bengali community, and most of them welcome this activity as a sign of the progress which the people of Bengal were making in the field of culture and the arts. "Theatres, as you say," wrote Jatindra Mohan Tagore, in a letter to Michael M. S. Datta, "are really springing up like mushrooms, but unfortunately, they are as short-lived also ; still

* We learn from the fragmentary autobiographical sketch of Ramnarayan Tarkatna that *Ratnavali* was played more than half a dozen times at Belgachia.

* *The Hindoo Patriot*, in its issue of September 10, 1859, published a lengthy account of the first performance of the *Sarmishtha*. Cited in the *Selections from the Writings of Girish Chunder Ghose* by Manmatha-nath Ghosh, p. 329.

they are a good sign of the times, for it is evident that a taste for the Drama is gradually spreading itself among us."* This sentiment was echoed on every occasion the papers had to announce some new theatrical enterprise. Thus we find a correspondent writing in *The Bengal Hurkaru* for May 21, 1857 :

A taste for the drama has inspired many Hindu youths to erect temporary theatres in native localities. Some time ago 'Sakoontolah' was acted in the premises of the late Baboo Aushootosh Day; and 'Banecsunghar' another drama was acted in the house of the Singhee Baboos. We now hear that other dramas viz: 'Bidhobuthabo' and 'Prabodh Chundrodoy' will shortly be represented by some respectable Hindu youths. The former will be acted in the house of Baboo Mohindrololl Bose, Banian, at Casharyparah in the northern part of the Town. These are indeed healthy signs of the times, and the well-wishers would exult to find the natives cultivate a taste for dramatic literature.

The second of these pieces, the *Prabodh-chandrodaya*, was in all probability never put on the stage. The Bengali dramatic adaptation of *Prabodh-chandrodaya* was very likely the work of the well-known Bengali poet, Isvar Chandra Gupta. The Bengali poet and playwright Manomohan Basu says in his speech delivered in Bengali at the first anniversary of the National Theatre in 1873 :

Some wealthy men had a Bengali version of the play of *Prabodh-chandrodaya* made by the famous Bengali poet, Babu Isvar Chandra Gupta. But the dialogues of the piece were not as pleasing as the songs. In spite of that, however, rehearsals of the piece went on for some months with great enthusiasm and a good deal of money was spent. But in the end nothing came of it.†

But the other play on widow remarriage gave promise of more exciting possibilities. At that time, it was one of the burning social questions of the hour, and its influence was felt in the field of dramatic literature also. In 1856 came out two dramas—*Vidhavodvaha* by Umacharan Chatterji and *Vidhava-vivaha* § by Woomesh Chandra Mittra—both of which dealt with this theme. Like the *Kulin*

Kulasarrasva these two dramas offered the pleasure of theatrical entertainment and the excitement of social revolt at the same time. The first, a performance of which is announced in the above-quoted extract, does not seem, however, to have actually been put on the stage. But the second, *Vidhava-vivaha*, was performed in the end.

In spite of the exhortations of the reforming wing of the Bengali society of those days, the *Vidhava-vivaha Natak* was not actually staged till it was taken up by Keshub Chunder Sen and his companions, who belonged to the newer and more advanced group of Brahmos. There are, however, indications that the play was taken in hand by at least one dramatic club. In the issue of *The Bengal Hurkaru* of March 26, 1858 we get the following news :

We learn that Baboo Beharrylall Sett with the aid of Woomesh Chunder Mittra and others, are going to perform that celebrated drama 'The Bidoya Bebahon nautuk' on an early day. We wish Baboo Baharrylall Sett every success.

The attempt was perhaps given up at a later stage, and it was not till the Sen family took it up that the play was actually performed.

The *Bengal Hurkaru* of April 19, 1859 states that the rehearsal of the *Vidhava-vivaha Natak* came off on April 16, 1859, and that it was very well attended. It took place in the splendid structure at Sinduriapati, Chitpur Road—known as Ram Gopal Mullick's house (now razed to the ground) and afterwards occupied by the Hindu Metropolitan College.

The first performance of the Metropolitan Theatre as it was called at the time, took place on April 23, 1859, as will be seen from the following account published in *The Bengal Hurkaru* of April 27, 1859 (Wednesday) :

PERFORMANCE OF THE BIDHOBA BIBAHA NATUK.—The first performance of this drama took place on Saturday last at the late Hindu Metropolitan College. It commenced at 8 P. M. and lasted till 3 o'clock in the morning. The audience numbered about 500 individuals. The *Natuk* depicts in vivid but true colors the dangerous and evil consequences resulting from a perpetual state of widowhood, to which the Hindu females are subjected, in consequence of a cruel custom, not founded upon religion. . . . Amongst the whole set the part performed by a *Tole Pandit*, *Turkolankar*, and by *Sookhomoyee*

* *Madhu-smriti* by Nagendra Nath Som, pp. 118-19.

† The *Madhyastha* for Pous, 1280 B. E., p. 618.

§ This drama was noticed in *The Calcutta Literary Gazette* for Aug. 2, 1856 under the caption "Bidobha Bibaho :—A Tragedy in Bengallee, Bhowanipore.—1856."

elicited most admiration. But whilst naming some of the actors, the others were not devoid of merit, which is evidenced by the fact, that notwithstanding the length of the performance, none of the audience quitted the place before the close of the play. . . The stage scenes were very well got up, much better than was expected. . . Much credit is, however, due to the Proprietor Baboo Mooraly Dhar Sen and to the other gentlemen who took an active part in the management. It was suggested by some of the audience that the female characters should be represented by the persons of that sex.

The play was repeated on May 7, 1859.* The scenes were painted by one Mr. Holbein.†

An enthusiastic account of the performances of this play appeared in the *Sambad Prabhakar* of May 14, 1859, from which we get the additional information that the songs of this piece were composed by Dwarkanath Roy and set to music by Babu Radhikaprasad Dutt, the singer of Hatkhola.

Keshub Chunder Sen took a leading part in staging this piece. His biographer writes :

By repeated representations of Hamlet, and other performances half musical, half dramatic, Keshub had developed such a talent for stage management, that the gentlemen who projected this Company, most of them our relatives and neighbours, seniors to us in age, implicitly trusted Keshub with the sole charge of the new undertaking . . . The performance . . . produced a sensation in Calcutta, which those who witnessed it can never forget. The representatives of the highest classes of Hindu society were present. The pioneer and father of the widow marriage movement Pandit Ishwara Chandra Vidyasagar came more than once, and tender-hearted as he is, was moved to floods of tears. In fact there was scarcely a dry eye in the great audience . . . Keshub, as stage-manager, was warmly complimented on his energy and intelligence, and we, his friends, as amateur actors, who had done our best, also received our humble share of praise.§

Keshub's name is also connected with another dramatic performance—that of *Nava Vrindaban* by “Chiranjiv Sharma”—which took place on September 16, 1882. We find a correspondent writing in *The Indian Mirror* of September 23, 1882 (Saturday) :

A NEW DRAMA IN BENGALI

Sir,—It was, indeed, very gratifying to witness the novel and interesting drama brought on the stage last Saturday at the house of Babu Keshub

Chunder Sen . . . The drift of the whole plot . . . is simply the reclamation of a prodigal husband, and the idea that impressed us the more was what a healthy influence the sincere prayers of a loving and devoted wife and brother can do towards reclaiming a lost husband. . . I must confess I am highly pleased with the performance, which was, indeed a decided success. . . The projectors of the “*Nova Brindaban*” have done one thing at least, that of giving a new turn to our tastes and inclinations for stage performances.*

III

THE PATHURIAGHATTA THEATRE

Towards the end of the sixth decade of the nineteenth century, the Bengali theatre was assured of a more stable existence. The time for a public theatre was, it is true, not yet. But the interval between the opening of the Belgachia Theatre and that of the first public theatre in Bengal in December 1872, was so continuously filled up with well-organized amateur theatres, that to all intents and purposes they served the purpose of public theatres. The first of these private theatres was the Pathuriaghatta Theatre, established in 1865 by Babu (afterwards Maharajah Sir) Jatindra Mohan Tagore at his own residence, which opened with the performance of *Vidyasundar* in December of that year. Before the formal establishment of this theatre there had also been some casual theatrical performances in the house of the Pathuriaghatta Rajahs. One of these was the staging of *Malavikagnimitra* in 1859. Some writers make the mistake of assigning this performance to December 1865. But that Kishori Chand Mitra, in dealing with the Pathuriaghatta Theatre, says :

In 1859 the Nataka *Malavikagnimitra* or *Agnimitra* and *Malavika*, was performed. . . .†

The reliability of this statement is proved by the following letter written by Jatindra Mohan Tagore to Michael Madhusudan Datta early in 1860 :

Here is the third book of your poem [*Tilottama-sambhava*] . . . I am led to believe that the Rajas [of Paikpara] will have no more Bengali plays at the Belgachia Theatre, and as for my Brother's stage, I am afraid that *Malavika* must be the first and the last drama that is represented there.§

* Also *Ibid.*, pp. 291-92.

† “The Modern Hindu Drama”—*The Calcutta Review*, 1873, p. 259.

§ Life of M. S. Datta (in Bengali) by Jogindra Nath Basu, 3rd ed., pp. 265-66.

On p. 123 of Nagendra Nath Som's *Madhu-*

* *The Bengal Harkaru and India Gazette* for May 6, 1859.

† *Ibid.*, May 20, 1859.

§ P. C. Mozoomdar's *Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen*, 3rd ed., pp. 74-76.

In this play the late Mahendra Nath Mukherji played the rôle of the jester. He says in his reminiscences :

A stage was erected in the *natch-ghar* situated on the first floor of the old house of Gopi Mohan Tagore. Ramnarayan Pandit said to Maharaja Jatindra Mohan Tagore : 'I shall write a play like *Ratnavali* for you.' We first came on the stage with his *Malavikagnimitra*. It was then and on that occasion only that the Chota Rajah Saurindra Mohan Tagore appeared on a stage. At the request of the Barra Rajah he took the part of *Kanchuki* . . . I took the part of *Vidushaka*.

An Executive Committee was formed to supervise the Pathuriaghatta Theatre, of which the members were Vidyasagar, Michael Madhusudan, Keshav Ganguli and Dina Ghose. This Committee selected the actors and their parts.*

To come back now to the new stage erected by Jatindra Mohan Tagore at his own residence in 1865. *Vidyasundar* was performed there on December, 30 of that year. Kishori Chand writes in his article :

The next play that was performed at the Pathuriaghatta theatre was *Bidyasundar* . . . It was dramatized by the Raja Jatindra Mohan. He has revised it and eliminated all indecent allusions from it . . . This performance took place in December 1865 ; and was supplemented by that of an amusing farce *Jemana Karma Temni Phala*.

This account is corroborated by the description of the same performance given by Mahendra Nath Vidyanidhi in his *Sandarbh-sangraha*. He writes :

On December 30 [1865] the Maharaja Bahadur invited the Maharaja of Rewa to his residence and for his entertainment and honour the play of *Vidyasundar* was performed.

The piece was staged about a dozen times in the Pathuriaghatta Theatre. *The Bengalee* of January 13, 1866 (Saturday) writes on the second performance which took place on the 6th of that month :

THE BENGALIE THEATRE.—The performance on Saturday night at the residence of Baboo Jotendra Mohan Tagore who has got up a nice little theatre for the entertainment of his personal friends and acquaintances was, to say the least, a highly successful and creditable one. We heartily congratulate the Baboo, who is an excellent gentleman and a scholar, on this happy turn of his mind to

infuse into the wealthier and higher classes of his countrymen a taste for rational amusement by introducing them to dramatic performances like the one which it was our lot the other evening to enjoy. We indeed spent a most pleasant evening, but apart from the pleasure which most sight-seeing and music-loving people not given to any serious reflections of things and objects beyond the momentary gratification which they afford are taken up with, we were, by a careful study of the scenes brought to view, the plot and language of the drama, and the power for acting displayed by the amateurs, impressed strongly with a conviction that, by being fostered and encouraged, the taste for dramatic performances will result in benefits of a more permanent character than those with which they can at first sight be directly associated. It will create a demand for that higher order of dramatic literature which we have in our Sanscrit, but in which Bengalee, the language spoken by nearly twenty-five millions of people, perfectly adapted to the requirements of science, and already possessing some fine specimens of genuine poetry and classical prose, is at present deficient, not that it is not capable of dramatic adaptation, but that the taste for it had not yet been allowed sufficiently to warm itself into a desire for it as vital to rational pleasures. The taste once acquired, and we can vouch from the enthusiasm with which the *Bydya Soonder Natuk* was received that night, that that language will soon be enriched with a dramatic literature which might claim rank with our best Sanscrit plays. Authors are not made from any choice of their own—the taste and spirit of the age make them. The law of demand and supply applies as much to material objects as to intellectual wares. The demand once created never remains unsatisfied.

These theatrical meetings are also social gatherings calculated to bring educated natives together, and to unite even discordant natures by a common bond of sympathy. We, therefore, look forward with pleasure to the literary and social benefits which the inauguration of this class of dramatic entertainments, a new feature in our age, promises. . . . The impersonation of the characters was almost faultless. . . . The part of *Bydya* was capitally done. . . .

The character of *Soonder* was rather inelegant and rough. Gunga Bhut and the Rajah's *Muntry* acquitted themselves so well that we had nothing left to wish for. The Rajah was equally a successful character. But the two chambermaids of *Bydya* were altogether deficient. There was nothing feminine about them. Their dress was ill chosen which heightened the slovenliness of their appearance.

The whole play however was so well sustained that the minor deficiencies to which we have adverted, had scarcely any appreciably counteracting effect upon the audience.

The *Bydya Soonder Natuk* was followed by a very laughable farce which added much to the entertainment of the evening. The whole burthen of the satire fell upon the devoted head of a stupid old *Moonsiff* who already declined in the vale of years had the vanity to offer himself to a neighbour's wife as a lady's man.

The scenes both in the *Natuk* and in the farce were well painted, and some were admirably suited to the occasion. We noticed particularly the humble but elegant cottage of Heera which perhaps was taken from some existing model. The Orchestra

smriti is printed a letter dated September 1, 1859, from Jatindra Mohan to M. S. Datta in which the former writes to the effect that he is sending the MSS. of the last two Acts of the *Malavika* to M. S. Datta for the benefit of his "masterly" suggestions. This shows that the drama was staged later than the date of the letter.

* *Puratan-prasanga* by Bipin Bihari Gupta, pt. I., (1920), pp. 155-56.

was excellent and shewed considerable improvement upon those we had heard before.

When we left we only wished that the female characters could be represented by women: for all the time we were painfully alive to the demoralizing tendency of boys and young men throwing themselves into the attitude, the gestures, motions and even the voluptuousness of women. But as under existing circumstances of native society it is not possible to have any but courtizans to join the *Corps Dramatique*, we must choose the lesser of the two evils.

After this a farce, called *Bujhle-ki-na*, was staged in the Pathuriaghata Theatre on December 15, 1866. *The Bengalee* of December 22, 1866 (Saturday) writes about it:

PATOORIAGHATTA THEATRE—The lovers of the Drama were treated to a musical entertainment on Saturday last by the Amateur Theatrical Company of Patooriaghatta. About two months ago we had the pleasure of reviewing a Bengalee Farce entitled *Boojle Keena* composed expressly for the Company; and we now have had the pleasure of witnessing its performance on the stage with the usual scenic attractions and accompanied by instrumental music of a superior order....The success of a dramatic performance is measured by the effects which it produces upon the audience. Judged by that standard, *Boojle Keena* was undoubtedly a great success as the frequent applause and loud roars of laughter testified. With the exception of two or three, the actors acquitted themselves creditably. The principal characters were admirably sustained and the effect of the whole was telling....Indeed some of the *Dolloputhes* who were present at the acting, looked thunder as the plot developed. We hope the spirit has been completely cast out of them and that Bengalee society will now have peace.

Malati-madhar, translated by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna, was staged by the Pathuriaghata Theatre in 1869. Kishori Chand writes in his article:

Malati-madhara, translated by Pandit Ramnarayana, was performed there in 1869... accompanied by a concert, of Hindu music. The present notation of Hindu music was for the first time introduced.

Mahendra Nath Vidvanidhi, the *Visrakosh* and some other authorities give the date of the first performance as September 31, 1867, which is, of course, incorrect. This piece was performed at the Pathuriaghata Theatre about a dozen times.

At the beginning of 1870 the Pathuriaghata Theatre staged two more farces—*Chakshudan* and *Ubhay-sankat*. The following is an English translation of what the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (then published every Thursday from Jessore both in English

and Bengali) for March 10, 1870 wrote on this performance:

THE PATHURIAGHATTA THEATRE...We have derived great satisfaction from seeing the Pathuriaghata Theatre. It is nearly ten years since Saurindra Babu applied himself to the improvement of the theatre, and now the Pathuriaghata Theatre confidently invites prominent English officials and they, too, on seeing and hearing the plays express their satisfaction. It is one of the drawbacks of our theatre that only men have to act in women's rôles. But that can hardly be helped.

Both the farces performed this time were excellent. One of them is called *Chakshudan*, the other is *Ubhay-sankat*. The author of both is Jatindra Babu... Few men can resist a laugh on seeing and hearing them.

There were no other performances at this theatre in 1871. On January 13, 1872 *Rukmini-haran* and *Ubhay-sankat* were acted here. *The Hindoo Patriot* writes about this performance in its issue of January 15, 1872 (Monday):

THE PATHURIAGHATTA THEATRE. This Theatre, though a private institution, thanks to the liberality of its patrons, the Raja Joteendro Mohun Tagore, and his brother, Babu Shourendra Mohun Tagore, has risen to the rank of a national institution, and its suspension last year was a great disappointment to the native public. This year it has been re-opened, and the first performance took place last Saturday night. A new drama, *Rukmini-harana*, which we had noticed a few issues back, was brought on the stage, and played with the usual success. The Drama was followed by a roaring Farce of "Uvaiasankata" or "the two horns of a dilemma." We have already said that the acting was very successful, but we cannot conclude, without bearing our meed of praise to the orchestra, which shewed considerable improvement made within the last two years. For an example of the cultivation of rational amusement of the drama and music, among the educated natives of Bengal, we point with pride to the Pathuriaghata Theatre.

On the 10th February following there was a repetition of this performance. *The National Paper* of February 21, 1872 wrote:

PUTOORIAGHATTA THEATRE. We had the pleasure of being present at the theatrical entertainments held at Raja Jotendro Mohun Tagore's on the night of Saturday the 10th instant. A serio-comic tale from Mohabharata cast into a dramatic form and a farce portraying the troubles of a man having two wives, were produced on the stage... The theatre has been closed for the present in condolence of the heavy calamity which has befallen India by the death of the Viceroy [Lord Mayo].

Ramnarayan Tarkaratna states that *Rukmini-haran* was performed about a dozen times at the residence of the Maharaja.

There was only one more performance at the Pathuriaghatta Theatre which needs a special mention. On February 25, 1873 Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy, visited the mansion of the Pathuriaghatta Raj. The occasion was celebrated by a performance of *Rukmini-haran* and *Ubhay-sankat*. The *Hindoo Patriot* of March 3, 1873 writes about this performance :

THE VICEROY AT THE PATHURIAGHATTA THEATRE.—On Tuesday last His Lordship [Lord Northbrook] honoured the Hon'ble Raja Joteendra Mohun Tagore Bahadur, with a visit to witness the private theatricals at his family residence. The Raja spared neither expense nor trouble to give a fitting reception to the Viceroy. The street leading to his house was lined with gas light by the erection of two rows of pipes and a crown burning over the gate-way erected on the top of the road. The house was beautifully and tastefully decorated, the passage to the theatre from the steps on the entrance below to the doors of the room being carpeted with red cloth, and the walls lined with red and green calico and adorned with flags and flowers. A miniature garden was improvised for the occasion on the quadrangle or the courtyard, the effect of which was not a little heightened by the stream of gas light, pouring from the small jets, which looked like so many shining stars in the firmament. The room in which the theatre was held was adorned with several exquisite pictures, some of which were masterpieces of art. The Company was select. There were His Excellency the Viceroy, the Hon'ble Miss Baring, the Marquis of Stafford, His Honour the Lieutenant Governor, several Members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, Secretaries to Government, and other big wigs, together with a fair sprinkling of ladies and native nobilities. The Viceroy was received in right oriental fashion. His Excellency was on his arrival received at the gate by the noble host, when a band of *nobhut* welcomed him with its sweet strains. The whole passage both below and upstairs was lined with mace-bearers *et hoc genus omne*, who made salutations as His Excellency passed. As soon as His Excellency entered the hall of reception the native orchestra struck "God save the Queen!" with native instruments. The brother of the Raja had prepared an *English* translation of the airs played by the orchestra, which was put in the hands of the European guests to help them in understanding the music. The drama selected for performance was *Rukmini-haran* or the Capture of *Rukmin*, an episode from the Mahabharata. The amateurs acquitted themselves very creditably, the last two Acts were particularly interesting, and the actors were repeatedly cheered by the audience. The Viceroy was greatly pleased with the orchestra, and on the closing of the drama examined the different instruments, and expressed himself highly delighted with what he saw and heard. In fact he carried away a very good opinion of native music. A farce, called the Two Horns of a Dilemma, which depicted the evils of bigamy, was next played. During the interval the Party adjourned to supper, when they feasted their eyes with the beautiful scene of the quadrangle. A synopsis of the Drama and the Farce

in English being got up by the host, the distinguished visitors were enabled to follow the performance pretty intelligently. After the theatricals were over, His Excellency the Viceroy thanked the actors personally, and also the host for the excellent entertainment he had provided. He then took leave of the native gentlemen assembled, and bade good night to the host.

The authorship of the three farces—*Jeman Karma Temni Phala*, *Ubhay-sankat* and *Chakshudan*, each of which was performed at the Pathuriaghatta Theatre more than half a dozen times—is generally attributed to Maharaja Jatindra Mohan Tagore. But this can hardly be true, for Ramnarayan Tarkaratna has recorded in his autobiographical sketch that he received honoraria from the Maharaja for composing these farces.

IV

THE SHOBHA-BAZAR PRIVATE THEATRICAL SOCIETY

The Shobha-bazar Private Theatrical Society was the second amateur theatre of this epoch. The first play staged by it was Michael M. S. Datta's *Ekei ki Bale Sabhyata* (Is this Civilization?). The date of this performance is given by many as 1864, while it should be July 29, 1865. The *Hindoo Patriot* of July 31, 1865 (Monday) writes about this performance :

THE HINDOO THEATRE. We are glad to notice the resuscitation of the Hindoo Theatre by the praiseworthy exertions of the junior members of the Shobha Bazaar Raj family. Possessed of means and leisure, which instead of wasting on idle and profligate objects, they are, it is a matter of satisfaction to state, employing them for the cultivation of a refined taste and the promotion of rational amusement among their countrymen. The time has not yet come for a National Theatre, but when such respectable and influential families, as the Paikparah Rajahs, the Shobha Bazaar Rajahs, the Tagores, and the Jorasanko Sings get up private theatres at their own expense and under their own management, a taste for the drama is likely to spread rapidly among the community, and a generous emulation will be engendered for the revival of this ancient institution of the country. Considerable advance was made towards the much desired consummation by the successful efforts of the Belgachia, Jorasanko, and Pathuriaghatta Theatres, but the unfortunate premature death of the late Rajah Issur Chunder Sing cut off all hopes, and extinguished the life, which, for a time played with such quick and healthy pulsation. Some of his collaborateurs are, however, thank God! still living, who are equally rich in resources and patriotic in ideas, and if they will only cherish an equal zeal and love for the drama they may yet

complete the work, which remains unfinished owing to the untimely demise of their lamented friend and leader. The Shobha Bazaar Family Theatrical Society will doubtless serve as a fitting and useful auxiliary to them.

On last Saturday night the Shobha Bazaar amateurs had their first performance. We are sorry to say that while they could command any one of the spacious halls, which adorn the Shobha Bazaar palaces, they preferred a small, low, dingy room for the location of the stage, where there was not only space for a decent gathering, but where the audience felt themselves literally cabined, cribbed, and confined. Nor can we commend the choice of the subject of the performance. It was the well known and popular farce of Mr. Michael M. S. Dutt, entitled "Is this Civilization?" This farce is undoubtedly one of the happiest productions of the fertile brain of the gifted poet. It is a life-like picture of Young Bengal, full of sallies of wit and humour, and written in graceful though familiar Bengalee. But sincerely as we admire the powers of the dramatist, we must candidly confess that this farce is not a fit subject for representation on the stage of a "Family Theatre." In faithfully portraying the peculiarities of Young Bengal, the poet has necessarily depicted habits and practices, which are equally shocking to good taste and morals, and which for the sake of propriety and decorum ought not to have been reproduced on a Family Theatre. Barring these defects, the performance was exceedingly creditable to the young amateurs. The scenes, which we believe were painted by a native artist, were appropriate and well done. The music, though not in keeping with the high merits of the acting, was not inferior. The dancing was varied and very spirited. Indeed it was one of the principal attractions of the performance. All the characters of the farce, we must do them the justice to say, sustained their parts equally well and admirably...

The chairman of the executive committee of this theatrical society was Kaliprasanna Singh. For some unknown reason he severed his connection with it before its staging of Michael M. S. Datta's *Krishnakumari* and many other gentlemen followed his example. The remaining members of the society, however, carried it on and on February 8, 1867 (given wrongly by some writers as July 24, 1865) performed the *Krishnakumari*. On Monday, the 11th February 1867, *The Hindoo Patriot* wrote:

THE SHOBHA BAZAR THEATRE.—The native theatres of Calcutta are in full swing. We lately noticed in these columns the opening of the Pathooriaghata and Jorashanko Theatres, and on last Friday night the amateurs of the Shobha Bazar Theatre entertained a respectable and select company with their first public performance of the well-known tragedy of *Krishnakumari* by Baboo Michael Modhoooodan Dutta. This is the best and indeed the only original drama in the Bengali language. Familiar with the richest treasures of the dramatic literature of Europe and India our author has enriched his mother-tongue with a production which would

bear comparison with the first class dramas of the ancient or modern classics. The scenes are laid in that region of Indian chivalry, which has been the theme of many a song and tale, we mean the Rajpootana States... it requires no mean histrionic talent to reproduce these thrilling events on the stage with immense effect. We must therefore make every allowance for the shortcomings of the amateurs of the Shobha Bazar Theatre, who without the advantage of an experienced director certainly did as much as could be fairly expected from them. The first three Acts lacked life and animation, but as the plot thickened, and the interest of the audience increased, the actors rose to the level of the crisis. The death scene was very affecting. It drew tears from many eyes. All the characters in the last Act were more or less equal to the occasion, and the general effect was one of decided success. There are some very promising amateurs in this corps, such as the young men who personated the parts of *Dhanadasa*, *Madanika*, *Bhim Sing*, *Balendra* and *Satyadas*, and if they persevere, we have no doubt that they will in time prove very successful actors. The scenes were well painted, and some of them were indeed exquisitely done. We particularly liked the garden scene. The rolling of the thunder was also well imitated. As for the Concert, great pains seemed to have been taken for it. The amateurs did not follow the beaten track of the Belgachia and Pathooriaghata Theatres. Their tunes too, we must confess, improved as the plot thickened. We wish that they would lay less stress on the *Dholuk*, which to our ear gave too much of "akrai" character to the music.*

V.

THE JORASANKO THEATRE

In 1867 the Jorasanko Theatre was started. The leading part in organizing it was taken by Ganendranath and Gunendranath—sons of Girindranath Tagore (second son of Dwarkanath Tagore), by Dwijendranath—the son of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, and by Srinath Tagore, the grandson of Radhanath (elder brother of Dwarkanath). It was strictly speaking a family theatre, for none but the relations and intimate friends of the Jorasanko Tagore family took part in it. The first play produced by it was *Naba-Natak* by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna. It was Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar and Rajkrishna Banerjee who selected this play of Ramnarayan's for performance at the request of the Committee of the Jorasanko Theatre, and Ramnarayan received an award of Rs. 200 for his work. The play was staged on January 5, 1867 in the large hall which served as the drawing-room of

*Cited in Mahendra Nath Vidyavidhi's *Sandarbh-sangraha*

Girindranath Tagore. *The National Paper* of February 6, 1867 wrote about this performance :

We are glad to notice the return of old days of friendship, love and union amongst Europeans and Natives. Of late there have been a good number of social gatherings where both the classes united very freely and cordially. The latest one was that held at the house of Baboo Ganendro Mohun Tagore on the occasion of a performance of the *Noba Natuck*. Many respectable European and native gentlemen were present. Baboo Ganendro Mohun Tagore, Barrister at law, entertained the whole party with lively conversations.

This piece was performed nine times within a short time. The famous actor Akshay Kumar Majumdar appeared in the rôle of *Gabesh Babu*, and the acting as a whole was of a very high order. Ardhendu Shekhar Mustafi, afterwards famous as an actor, was charmed with the acting and used to say : "It was the performance of *Naba-Natak* that has taught me all that I had to learn, see and hear about acting."

VI

BOWBAZAR BANGA-NATYALAYA

This was one of the famous theatres of the epoch, and was established through the efforts of Chunilal Basu and Baladeb Dhar. Both of them were talented actors and are said to have previously acted in the Pathuriaghatta Theatre. The well-known playwright Manomohan Basu wrote dramas for this theatre, which was at first housed at the residence of Govinda Chandra Sarkar, the maternal uncle of the Basus, in Visvanath Matilal Lane. *Ramarishkeha Natak* by Manomohan Basu (published in 1867) was acted here for the first time, most probably at the beginning of 1868. A play-goer from Baranagore wrote in *The National Paper* of March 25, 1868 after witnessing the second performance of this play :

There being varieties of opinion as regards the performances lately made by the Bow Bazar Theatrical Association on the "*Ramarishke Natuck*"; as a spectator, I beg my observations thereon be made known to the public through the medium of your Journal, to do justice to the parties concerned.....The stage was exceedingly beautiful in as much as money can make it and the scenes are in accordance with its requirements: Secondly the visitors were well received and welcomed. Thirdly the actors were elegantly and suitably dressed and lastly the whole performance was

excellent. The part acted on, being very pathetic, was not agreeable to many, but the actors were not wanting in their skill, for almost every gentleman present were obliged to bring out their handkerchief to prevent tears spoiling their clothes.

By a critical observer some defects can be found, such as, Naut was not a good songster. Chitra was not of feminine complexion and the like. but some allowance must be given considering that my remark was on their second day's act. and very likely have by this time been rectified...

The same theatre gave a performance of Manomohan Basu's *Sati Natak* (published early in 1873) on their newly built stage at No. 25 Visvanath Matilal Lane in the winter of 1873. The *Madhyastha* for Magh 1280 B. E. (p. 693) wrote about this performance :

Of the theatres in Calcutta, regarded as belonging to the first rank, the Bowbazar theatre is one. It gave the first and the best performance of *Ramarishkeha*. We say best because, though the piece has been acted almost all over Bengal, nowhere else have we seen or heard of the acting being of the same degree of perfection. The same gentlemen are now giving a performance of *Sati Natak*, another mythological play. They commissioned the author of *Ramarishkeha* to write this drama, and had it printed at their own cost.... We went to see the second performance of *Sati Natak*. We were very much pleased with the new house of the Bowbazar Natyasamaj. The high hall is eminently suitable for a theatre of this class. The decorations, the scenes, and the arrangements for lighting etc. are charming.

The same theatre produced Manomohan Basu's *Harishchandra* towards the end of 1874. We find in the *Madhyastha* for Magh 1281 B. E. :

PERFORMANCE OF HARISHCHANDRA NATAK.—The famous Bowbazar Amateur theatre is giving performances of Manomohan Basu's *Harishchandra Natak*. We have witnessed the performance more than once and been highly pleased with it....*

VII

The amateur theatres described above were the more important ones of that decade. But they by no means exhaust the list. This was an age of intense—but to a very great extent ephemeral—dramatic activity. Almost

* S. S. Sailendra Nath Mitra has contributed an illustrated article on this theatre to the *Vanga-rani* for Magh 1330 B. E. Unfortunately, his article is marred by several serious blunders which have been repeated by others. For instance, the writer says that Chhatu Babu (who actually died on Jan., 29, 1856) was present at the performance of *Sati Natak* (which took place in the winter of 1873) ! Again the year 1871 has been quoted as the date of publication and of the performance of this drama, which is certainly wrong. Another item : *Ramarishkeha Natak* was first performed early in 1868, and not towards the end of that year.

the sole occupation of the idle rich of Calcutta was to start amateur theatres. *Rahasya-Sandarbha*, a Bengali monthly, wrote in Sambat 1923 (1866-67) while reviewing a new play, called *Durvikshya-damana-natak* :

We have now a hailstorm of plays . . . to our discomfiture. Since every lane has a theatre of its own, the writing of plays is the rage among all idle people. . . . Everybody passes off as a drama whatever he likes to produce. And there are even such people who can waste paper by treating famine as a theme for a play. We suppose, after this, fever and cholera will come in their turn as the subject matter of dramas.

It will not be possible for me to give a complete list of all the plays and dramatic performances of these years because I have not yet been able to come across all the newspapers of the epoch. Two lists are, however, available in the reminiscences of Radhamadhav Kar as given in Part II of the *Puratan-Prasanga*, and the article on "Rangalaya (Bangiya)" in the *Visvakosha*.

But there remains one theatre which must be considered in some detail because in the end it developed into a public theatre and started a new epoch of dramatic activities in Bengal. It was the amateur theatrical society of Baghbazar. At the time when amateur theatres were springing up everywhere, some young men of Baghbazar also thought they would have a theatre of their own. They were Nagendra Nath Banerjee, Girish Chandra Ghosh, Radhamadhav Kar, Ardendu Shekhar Mustafi and some others, all of whom later became famous as actors. The lead was taken by Nagendra Nath Banerjee who had played a part in the *Padmarati* performed in 1866 at the house of Janardan Shaha of Suripara. The first piece staged by this theatre was *Sadhabar Eladasi* by Dinabandhu Mitra, its first performance having been given on the Durga Puja day (Saptami) of 1868, on an improvised stage in the house of Prankrishna Halder of Durgacharan Mukherji Parah, Baghbazar. The acting was not up to the mark. After more preparations another performance was given at the house of Nabin Chandra Sarkar of Shampukur on the fullmoon day following the Durga Pujas, and this satisfied everybody. The fourth performance came off early next year on the

Sripanchami day at the house of Rai Ramaprasad Mitra Bahadur.

The second play staged by it was the same author's *Lilarati*, which was performed on May 11, 1872 (30 Baisak 1279 B. E.) at the house of Rajendra Pal of Shambazar. Almost all writers—even Ardendu Shekhar Mustafi and Abinash Chandra Ganguli (biographer of Girish Chandra Ghosh) have committed the mistake of assigning this performance to the previous year. But there can be no doubt that the performance took place on the date given above, for we find in the *Madhyastha* (a Bengali weekly) of Jaistha 6, 1279 B. E. :

NEWS. . . . Last Saturday night the famous play of *Lilarati* was staged by the Shambazar Natyasamaj, and it is to be run for some weeks. . . . We learn that the stage was well decorated and the acting generally good.

Again on Ashar 16, 1279 (19 June 1872), a supplement to the *Madhyastha* contained the following letter :

To the Editor, *Madhyastha*.

THE PERFORMANCE OF *LILAVATI*. For some days some young men of Baghbazar have been performing *Lilarati* by Rai Dinabandhu Mitra Bahadur. In spite of some minor defects, their acting must be ranked with some of the best acting that has been seen till now.

Among the actors, Harabilas Babu, Khirodbashini, Lalitmoan, Lilarati, Srinath, Raghuva, Naderchand, Saradasundari etc. deserve praise in their due order. It is no exaggeration to say that the acting of the parts of Harabilas Babu, Khirodbashini and Lalitmoan was of a standard that is very rare.

The part of Lilarati is a difficult one, but the actor did justice to it. His recitations were very good.

The lamentations of Khirodbashini were so natural and pathetic that they melted the hearts of many of the spectators. The speeches and witticisms of Hemchand, Naderchand and Srinath also gave great pleasure to the audience.

On all the three days of the performance, many of the actors came out of the stage in the costumes of their parts. This mars the realism of the acting . . .

Calcutta.

A Spectator

6 Ashar, 1279 B. E.

This plainly shows that the three performances of *Lilarati* took place not in 1871 but in 1872 and on the dates given above. This is also borne out by the reminiscences of Radhamadhav Kar who says that *Lilarati* was staged at the house of Rajendra Pal in Baisakh of 1872.

The cast of the play was as follows :

Harabilas and maid-servant	Ardendu Shekhar Mustafi
Khirodbashini	Radhamadhav Kar

Lalitmohan
Hemchand
Lilavati
Srinath
Raghua Oriya
Naderchand
Saradasundari

Bholanath
Mejo Khuro
Rajlakshmi
Yogajivan

Girish Chandra Ghose
Nagendra Nath Benerjee
Suresh Chandra Mitra
Shub Chandra Chatterjee
Hingul Khan
Jogendra Nath Mitra
Amrita Lal Mukherji
(Bel Babu)
Mahendra Lal Basu
Matilal Sur
Kshetra Mohan Ganguli
Jadunath Bhattacharyya

This theatre soon converted itself into a public theatre, though, as a result, it had to lose one of its most promising members, Girish Chandra Ghose. It was the desire of many members of this theatrical club that it should sell tickets for its performances. Girish Chandra was opposed to it, because he felt they could not ask for money before setting up a good stage in a good building, as otherwise there would be very little chance of inducing the public to buy tickets.

Ardhendu and others were however of opinion that, as they could not afford a stage on an ambitious scale, they had better begin more modestly, and in the end this was the opinion which prevailed. Girish Chandra accordingly left the club. But the rehearsals for a new performance went on without him in the hall on the first floor of Bhuban Neogy's house, situated on the ghat of Rasik Neogy. In November 1872, Amrita Lal Bose, the famous actor only recently deceased, came down from Patna and joined the theatre. The theatre rented the ground floor of the front portion of Madhusudan Sanyal's house at Jorasanko—known as Ghari-walla barhi, and on Saturday the 7th December, 1872 was inaugurated the first professional Bengali theatre in Bengal, which brought the first or amateur age of the Bengali theatre to a close.

Concluded

Sane Protection

By S. N. MAJUMDAR

IT is only natural that sentiment should bring about in any country an inclination towards the protection of its industries from foreign competition. Nowhere is this more apposite than in India where a population predominantly agricultural is desirous of building up that proportion of industry which is necessary for its well-being. It is, however, important that sentiment, however laudable in itself, should not be allowed to out-run discretion. What India needs is sentiment allied to common sense. Of no value is a tariff wall that will immeasurably increase prices for non-existent or non-deserving industries. Indeed, even in respect to those which are already in existence, it is of primary importance that the protection granted shall be just sufficient to enable them to stand on their own feet in face of foreign competition. If any other principle is conceded, the people lays itself

open to the charge of that very exploitation for the benefit of the few, which has been so prominently featured in regard to foreign firms trading in India.

An industry which pleads for and is granted protection assumes an obligation which should enjoy priority over personal profit—that of developing their industry, which exists only by the bounty of the people through Government, for the benefit of the country. Now, that obligation is purely a moral one and unfortunately moral obligations are often more observed in precept than in practice, and it is essential that, if protection is to be granted, such provisions shall be embodied in the Act as may be necessary to ensure that the object for which protection is given shall be carried out. It is, for example, of no permanent value if protection does not enable the respective industry to manufacture in India a larger quantity of the

protected goods which have previously been imported, for in that case the State is merely subsidizing at the expense of the public an industry which has no real ground for existence. In this connection it should be noted that international trade demands an exchange of goods for goods, and it follows that if India wishes to sell her produce—and no one will deny this feature so essential to India's prosperity—she must be prepared to buy from her own customers in similar value, so that a considered policy of protection should be so adapted as to leave as free from extra expense as possible such commodities as India is not specially qualified to produce economically. Whilst, as a secondary consideration, India's poverty demands that in such industries as are entitled to protection, the additional impost should be kept down to the minimum required to enable them to exist without an undue burden being placed on the consumer for the benefit of the few.

It therefore follows that the closest scrutiny should be made into any industry that asks for protection. In the case of goods imported from Europe, America or Japan it should be borne in mind that a considerable amount of protection is automatically afforded by the cost of packing, freight and middlemen's profits whilst the revenue tariff which at present stands at 25 per cent is also an added encouragement to indigenous manufactures. If therefore an industry pleads for a still further degree of protection it must be in a position to demonstrate very clearly that it possesses unusual advantages.

An example of ineffective protection may be found in the added duty on corrugated iron sheets. The recommendation of the Tariff Board was given the force of law, but so admitted must be its ineffectiveness in reducing imports to the benefit of local industry that the Finance Member actually included in his budgeted revenue a sum of no less than 50 lakhs as the *extra* amount that would be realized from Customs revenue under this heading.

In writing the above, we have in mind the fact that the so-called Indian paper

industry is at present receiving consideration at the hands of the Tariff Board in respect to the plea for an extension of the protection which was afforded in 1925 for seven years.

To the business community this application makes very sorry reading. Six years ago the existence of one mill and a wave of self-interested optimism on the part of the others induced the Tariff Board to recommend a considerable degree of protection. Today, whilst it is true that one mill has made a certain amount of progress, the public is informed that matters are still in the experimental stage and that a further period of ten years protection is necessary before the industry can stand on its own legs. The Legislative Assembly having very wisely limited protection to such industries as can, with reasonable assistance, become self-supporting, the onus is on the paper mills to prove that they can anticipate a time when they will no longer be in need of protection.

In the case of paper, especially, is the need of intense analysis most important as, in considering the requirements of the one, it is too easy to lose sight of the fact that although paper is a manufactured article, all the protected varieties are the raw material of another industry—that of printing—an industry in which far more persons are employed and far more capital is invested than in the paper industry. And moreover the Indian printing industry is already severely handicapped by the fact that it has to withstand competition from abroad in the shape of printed books, etc. on which, as it would tend to restrict the spread of education if a duty was imposed, not even the revenue tariff is levied but such publications are admitted duty free. Any extra duty on paper is therefore an additional blow to the printing industry.

It behoves us therefore carefully to analyse the paper industry before any extension of an impost on this commodity is granted. The two vital points are to ascertain what amount of paper at present imported could be made in India and what the cost of the protection necessary to attain that object will be to the country. One paper refers to the imports as being 1,60,000 tons, blithely imply-

ing that all this can be manufactured in India if protection is extended. We wish in our hearts that hard facts would support this hope. Cold truth, however, compels us to destroy this castle in Spain. We find that of this quantity 45,000 tons consisted of old newspapers which at an average price of about £6 (Rs. 81) per ton has no interest for the Indian paper industry. A further 24,500 tons are news print which also is far too cheap to be manufactured here. 18,900 tons are included under the heading of cardboard and strawboard of which only a negligible portion could be made in India. Wrapping papers account for another 21,481 tons this being an unprotected item which consists entirely of papers which cannot be made in India or which are too cheap for the Indian mills to manufacture even if they were protected. Then, British paper to the extent of 8,390 tons are included. This consists of papers which cannot be manufactured in India or which are purchased at a higher price despite protection and obviously are of better quality and cannot be made in India until the local mills equip themselves to manufacture the better quality that is in large demand for certain purposes. The same remarks apply to manufactures of paper which total 1,590 tons.

From this it will be seen that the attractive total of 1,60,000 tons dwindles into comparatively small quantities when due consideration is given to the different classes of papers involved. In fact, the mills themselves—and it is unlikely that they erred on the lower side—only claimed that they hoped to be able to make 20,000 tons of the paper at present imported. That in itself is quite an attractive figure but it requires, as an important hypothesis, that the quality of paper produced shall be equal to the imported and shall meet the requirements of the printer.

We are informed that a modern paper-making machine of reasonable dimensions will make not less than 4,000 tons per annum. Assuming therefore, for the sake of argument, that the mills can capture a further 20,000 tons from importers if sufficient encouragement is given for the construction of

additional mills, it will be seen that the maximum possible will only provide for a further five machines. Now, two of these are already in existence in the Punjab Paper Mills which unfortunately was compelled to close down shortly after it had started—a strange fact indeed if it is true that there is so much scope for development in the industry. So that the only prospect in sight is that one more mill may be put into operation if all promises are fulfilled and the claims of the mills are actually reliable.

We now turn to the need for protection. For this purpose the most important point to consider is that of efficiency and manufacturing costs as compared with other parts of the world. The manufacture of paper is the same the world over and the only variation is that of whether supplies of primary and auxiliary raw materials are available in the country of manufacture. In the case of India primary raw materials are available but some auxiliary materials have at present to be imported. In the case of European countries, some are entirely self-supporting whilst others may have to depend on outside sources for some portion of their requirements—coal, chemicals, etc. Britain has to import all its raw material but is independent in practically all other respects. We propose to take British figures, as the error, if any, would be in favour of India. The comparison is additionally applicable as Britain imports all its wood pulp and a very large proportion of Indian paper is made from the same material.

We find that in England the selling price at mill of a paper in the same class as that manufactured in India is in the neighbourhood of £20 per ton or Rs. 270. In India the mill price is about Rs. 465 per ton so that it is incumbent on the mills to explain why their paper should be Rs. 195 or 72 p. c. higher than paper made elsewhere under similar conditions. A small concession may be made for the fact that there would be a higher freight to India than to England but we must not overlook the fact that we are considering an industry which promises to become independent of foreign raw material.

It is difficult to grasp the fact that such

a wide difference should be possible or, if possible, to accept the fact that the Indian public should be compelled to pay so much more for a similar article made in India. And it must not be forgotten that, as we have taken British prices for comparison, the paper made in England commands a higher price in the Indian market than locally made or Continental paper so that it is not only so much cheaper but must be admitted to be of better quality.

The difference of Rs. 195 per ton may not appear to be an appreciable amount in itself but when it is applied to the 30,000 tons of protected papers made in India it will be seen that the Indian mills receive about Rs. 58 lakhs more than similar paper would cost abroad.

It will be agreed that this discrepancy requires considerable explanation and deserves special attention from the Tariff Board not only from the point of view that an adequate supply of inexpensive paper is an important feature in a country like this which has so little to spare for education but also from the standpoint of whether, if the vast difference in cost can be justified by the mills, the industry can ever fulfil the essential requirement that it will eventually be able to dispense with protection and, without State assistance, be able to withstand competition on its own resources. It is very clear that the public can have no interest in agreeing to the subsidy of an industry unless the country receives some corresponding benefit, and that the subsidy, if granted, shall be absolutely essential to the industry and shall not be based on so high a percentage that it will inflict undue hardship on the consumer.

For this reason it is necessary to explore what the last six years of protection for paper has meant to the consumer. Although the correct comparison, when considering efficiency, is that of the cost of manufacture in other countries operating under the nearest similar conditions, when deciding what measure of protection, if any, is necessary, the figures to be considered are what such papers will cost when brought to India. To this figure is added the normal revenue tariff and the difference between the resulting

price and what it will cost at the protective duty will give the measure of the cost of protection to the consumer. On British printing paper this figure is about five pices per pound or roughly Rs. 60 per ton. On Continental papers it will be somewhat more. The actual estimate of the amount realized by the protective duty during the past six years is Rs. 1,16,00,000. In addition, the Indian mills have been enabled by protection to charge the same amount extra over the rates they would have been able to charge had protection not been granted. Assuming about three-fourths of the annual output of the Indian mills to be of the protected classes of paper, this would amount to about 30,000 tons and thus would result in a tax on the consumer of Rs. 18,00,000 per annum. This means that the actual cost to the consumer of protection is about Rs. 38,00,000 per annum whilst he is already paying some Rs. 1,50,000 more per annum (in packing, freight and revenue duty) than similar paper would cost elsewhere.

We now have to consider what benefits have accrued as a result of this impost. We find that three mills between them contribute approximately seven-eighths of the total output. Of these mills one was producing bamboo pulp when protection was introduced but has effected no increase in production. On the contrary, having installed a new paper-making machine it is now importing 75 p. c. of its requirements in pulp. One mill produced 2,000 tons (or about 5 p. c. of the total Indian output) of bamboo pulp in 1930 and third has only recently installed some plant for the production of this pulp.

It is claimed that this material (bamboo) which is the only one that offers any prospect of real development in this country, is still in the experimental stage and that a further ten years' protection is necessary for it to become properly established. We are therefore asked to face further additional taxation of anything up to Rs. 38,00,000 per annum or Rs. 3,80,00,000 in all and this on the basis of promises which may or may not be fulfilled.

Extravagant promises which proved incapable of fulfilment were made in 1925 and there is no guarantee that those now made will be any less fragile.

There is a further unpleasant feature about this industry. As we have stated above, the production of protected papers is estimated at 30,000 tons per annum, but we find that the Indian mills have been importing foreign pulp to an extent that the total for 1930-31 was some 22,500 tons. Translated into paper this means that of the protected paper made in this country after six years of protection only about one-fourth or 7,500 tons consisted of Indian raw material.

Apart from this we estimate that the Indian mills have received in the past six years about one crore of rupees by means of the higher price they were able to charge on account of the protective duty. Yet they only claim to have spent about fourteen and a half lakhs in new equipment for the production of bamboo pulp. It is, therefore, easy to realize why they are so insistent on the necessity for further protection.

In giving general consideration to the foregoing we are forced to the conclusion that

no reasonable case can be established for further protection. The amount of the varieties of paper that are at present imported, which can be replaced by *Indian made*, is doubtful and we do not consider that such a vast sum should be realized from the public when it appears that within measurable time the only benefit to the country is that one moribund mill may be restarted and one new mill constructed. We estimate that the present rate of revenue duty affords the industry protection to an extent of over 45 p. c. as compared with the price of similar paper in England and we are satisfied that that should be more than sufficient for the Indian industry to survive in affluence if it is being conducted on proper lines.

We consider therefore that every citizen who has the interests of the country at heart should oppose protection for the paper industry as being uncalled for, an unnecessary burden on the people and an intolerable tax on the spread of education.



How It Must Annoy

Those Magnificent Indian Princes !

—The Chicago Tribune

The Triumph of Toryism in Great Britain

By WILFRED WELLOCK

Ex. M. P. for Stourbridge

THE entire nation was surprised, and on second thoughts shocked by the results of the recent election. Even the Tories, while yielding to the temptation to celebrate their electoral victory, are not a little disturbed at the present parliamentary situation. They have a suspicion that a damaging blow has been struck at parliamentary government in this country. The shrewder politicians of all parties are fully aware that one or two more elections of this character would be sufficient to bring parliamentary government even in Britain to an end.

Anyone who has had parliamentary experience knows quite well that a House of Commons with a majority of 500 is not a Parliament but a dictatorship. Those of us who were in the last Tory Parliament (1924-29) know what a heart-rending experience it is to carry on an opposition against a Government majority of over 200. In such circumstances all that a Government need do is to throw its measures into the chamber and leave the Opposition to talk itself hoarse, conscious that whenever it pleases it can triumph with its mechanical majority. But if that is the case with a majority of 200, what must the situation be where there is a majority of over 500, which includes a clear Tory majority of 330?

The situation is unique. Never in the history of democratic Government in Great Britain has there been an election result to compare with this one. The Government majority exceeds that of the khaki election of 1918, or that of the Liberal Government after its sensational victory of 1906. The Government majority in the reformed Parliament of 1832, which was a composite one, was only 370. But 500!

I am aware that it is contended that in the present instance the circumstances are

exceptional, and that it was the intention to form a national or all-party Government. But that suggestion may be dismissed at once. It is mere camouflage, and was never anything else. The idea was first put forward by the Tories as a device, when all their other strategies had failed, for bringing the Labour Government to an end. No, we may as well face the facts soon as late. The present Government is as partisan a Government as ever took office in this country, while its election constitutes one of the greatest triumphs for reaction these Isles have ever known.

For eighteen months prior to the fall of the Labour Government, the Tory Party had been attacking with increasing intensity the Government's expenditure on public works and development and upon Unemployment Insurance benefit. Every device known to practised Parliamentarians had been used in order to induce the Liberal Party to withdraw its support from the Labour Government. The Tories had wheedled, coaxed, chided, pricked, goaded, and openly attacked the Liberal leaders to secure their end. They encouraged every sign of defection within the Liberal ranks, and made of Sir John Simon a veritable Saint Simon the moment he showed signs of breaking away from his Liberal friends. The Tory Party hoped to bring about the downfall of the Labour Government before the end of the long session, in July of the present year.

One of their last devices was to try and get a National Government, for financial reasons, at the time of the German crisis, and this idea persisted until Parliament went into recess. Within a month of that event, and when Parliament was not sitting, the Tories saw the triumph of their plan and the creation of a "National" Government.

This turn of events was a disaster

for the Tory Party and its propaganda. The Socialist Government crumpled up—or at any its leaders did—before the situation that was created, and let the Tories get away with the victory. Without doubt the situation was a difficult one, but nothing that has happened or been revealed so far justifies MacDonald and Snowden in yielding to the demands of the Tory Party and their Press, or of the banks at that time.

To what extent there was understanding between these three factors, or whether there was any understanding at all, I have no knowledge, but it is striking that they were all working for the same end. For over twelve months the bulk of the Tory Press had been carrying on reckless propaganda against the Labour Government, and by virtue of the two forms of expenditure mentioned earlier in this article, declaring that the Government was bringing the country to bankruptcy. This propaganda began to be believed when it became known that our banks, were in a difficult position owing to their commitments to Germany, where their loans were now locked up. It suited the Tory Party and its Press to mix up these two issues together, and thus to saddle the Government with the responsibility for the situation which had been caused solely by the banks. In order to get the banks out of a hole, the Government arranged a loan on terms, which involved a complete reversal of its domestic policy. It was on that issue that the Government fell and rightly fell. MacDonald and Snowden yielded to the proposals of Tory reactionaries and the banks. As the Liberal leaders also succumbed to this demand, and were thus prepared to go back on their election slogan of a huge development policy, the Labour Government had either to support the idea of a National Government and a policy of reaction as regards expenditure, or come out boldly in defence of its own policy, explain to the world in clear language the causes of the then existing financial situation, reveal the real strength of Britain's financial position, and mercilessly expose the shameful propaganda which the unpatriotic Tory Press had been carrying on for a year or more. This, together with

proposals, on Socialist lines, for meeting the deficit in the budget—a situation which is common to the countries who have been closely associated with us in the financial crisis referred to—would in my view have been the right course to take, notwithstanding that it might have meant the defeat and resignation of the Government. There would have been glory and honour in such a course whereas in bowing to the demands of reaction, MacDonald and Snowden struck a heavy blow at the Labour movement, in the building up of which they have played such an important part.

Having gained this signal victory, the Tories set out to exploit the position. This they did in a very ingenious way. In order to save their faces MacDonald and Snowden were compelled to lay stress on the necessity, in the crisis, for a "National" Government. This plea was necessary to the Liberals also, and it suited the Tories down to the ground. It gave the latter a golden opportunity of forcing an election which, by virtue of an appeal to patriotism and "National" interests, might enable them to sweep the country, and even to give the Tory Party a clear majority which would be used to enforce a system of tariffs on the country, as the Party would see to it that this issue was brought to the fore in the election contest.

And so it was. From the moment the emergency session of Parliament met, which occurred on September 8, the tariff hot-heads in the Tory Party gave the Government no peace, and indeed made its work impossible. So that in spite of numerous protests from many quarters, a General Election had to be declared; and once it was declared, tariffs was the sole theme of the Tory Party.

The situation thus created was extremely embarrassing to the Prime Minister and Mr. Snowden, as well as to the Liberals. For MacDonald and Snowden had to defend their action against that of their colleagues in the Labour Government. That meant, of course, that they had to make out a case for a "National" as against a "Party" Government. Thus as their personal honour and reputations were also at stake, they scarcely stopped at anything in order to secure a majority at the polls. At all costs they must

swamp Labour, in doing which they had at their disposal the entire Tory, and nearly the entire Liberal, Press at their service. The result was the use of misrepresentation on an unprecedented scale. The country was stampeded by panic as never before. Hence the result, which as I have already said, has startled and disturbed even those who were chiefly responsible for it. Without doubt the recent election and its results have done a permanent injury to the political life of this country. It is scarcely likely that the methods which proved so "successful" will not be tried again, especially as the defenders of the existing social and industrial system will become more and more desperate as the Labour Party comes nearer securing a majority.

And now that the "National" Government has met we find that it is precisely what many of us said it would be, viz., the most partisan Government this country ever had. In spite of MacDonald and Snowden, who did so much to swell the Tory majority within the Government ranks, and in spite of the Liberals, who played a feeble game from the first, the one issue around which everything is made to revolve is "tariffs." And so it will be to the end of the chapter. Thus there is every likelihood that the recent election will turn out to be the greatest hoax in our Parliamentary history. It may also reveal how a great appeal to patriotism and the reputations of two founders of the Labour Party were exploited for the narrowest and most selfish of party ends.

The First Conference of Indian Students in Germany

AT the initiative of Hindustan Students' Club of Munich, Germany (whose permanent address is *Studentenheim, Turken Strasse 58, Munich, Germany*), the first conference of Indian students in Germany was held on October 24-25, 1931. Miss Dr. Maitreyee Bose, M.B., one of the Deutsche Akademie scholars in medicine, in the University of Munich, was chosen unanimously Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dr. Taraknath Das, Hon. Member of the Deutsche Akademie, acted as the Chairman of the Conference.

The prime object of calling the Conference was to form a non-political central organization of Indian Students' Clubs in Germany. The Conference was attended by Indian students representing various German universities—Berlin, Cologne, Freiburg, Hanover, Hohenheim, Karlsruhe, Munich and Stuttgart. Letters were received from representative Indian students residing in Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Jena and Tübingen, expressing their full sympathy towards the object of the conference although they were unable to be present on the occasion.

The proceedings of the Conference opened with an Indian national song, which was followed by an address by Miss Dr. Maitreyee Bose, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates and explaining the object of the Conference. Dr. Taraknath Das, after his being elected unanimously as the Chairman of the Conference, delivered the following address:

THE PRESIDENT'S OPENING ADDRESS

Ladies and gentlemen,

I wish to thank you for the honour conferred upon me for your request to preside over

the deliberations of the first conference of Indian students in Germany.

Miss Dr. Maitreyee Bose, in her address as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, has already spoken of the object of the Conference. I wish to remind you of this object, as expressed by Dr. Girindranath Mukhopadhyaya, the Secretary of Hindustan Students' Club of Munich, in his letter of invitation sent out to Indian students in all culture centres of Germany. I have agreed to act as Chairman of the Conference with the clear understanding that the Conference will be non-political.

In an article on "International Federation of Indian Students" published in the *Modern Review* of October, 1931, I have discussed the need of a world federation of Indian students to promote cultural co-operation between India and the rest of the civilized world, and also to break up cultural isolation of India which has a great bearing on the present condition of the country. The arguments and facts I have used in this article are very familiar to you and it is not necessary for me to repeat them. Indeed, I feel that every Indian student who has given any thought to the welfare of the people knows that *Indian conditions cannot be bettered unless Indian national efficiency is improved in every field of human activity—scientific, economic and political as well as national defence.*...The problem, therefore, that is facing an Indian student who wishes to serve India and her people, is to do all that is possible to increase his own efficiency in his own field of activity.

One of the most important theories regarding the philosophy of education is that one must acquire fullest possible development of manhood and womanhood, and this can be achieved through many-sided activities concentrated on the object of attaining perfection. Similarly, I feel that the goal, the ultimate



The First Conference of Indian Students in Germany

goal, of every Indian student should be that he should do all that lies in his power so that India will have the fullest opportunity of developing her national resources. The most important of national resources are human resources. What can be done to develop the human resources of India so that she will attain at least the same standard of efficiency as Germany? This is the problem for Indian students in Germany.

Germany, with less than one-fifth of the population of India, not only fought the most powerful combination of Powers for four years and defended her frontiers, but after her defeat, in spite of all efforts of her former enemies to cripple her permanently, she has regained her former position of one of the greatest Powers of the world. This has been possible through the untiring energy of the German people. They have overcome most of the obstacles that were placed in their way. German shipping was practically destroyed by the Treaty of Versailles, yet in ten years this great people have developed a merchant marine of the most formidable character, having the fastest ships in the world. The German navy was destroyed and limitations were placed on the size of the war-ships that might be built by her, but German science and technology has invented a formidable weapon—the pocket battleship... Germans are not allowed to have any military or naval planes, but they have attained the first place in civil aviation with their Zeppelins and "Do X's" and other machines. It was the object of enemies of Germany to destroy German commerce. This is absolutely true, so far as Great Britain was concerned. But the to-day German export trade is larger than that of Britain and second only to that of U. S. A. The thing that strikes me most is that the German people, by sheer energy and application of industry and superior national efficiency, is transforming their defeat into a greater victory than any nation has ever before achieved.

I think that the greatest lesson that Indian students can learn from Germany is the German example of increasing national efficiency. Indian national efficiency, from the stand-point of German standard, is very low. Indians must act to raise Indian efficiency to such a level that it would be second to none. Indian students who are now in foreign lands and those who will be coming to foreign lands for carrying on studies have the greatest responsibility for bringing about such changes as will give the fullest opportunity to the Indian people to increase Indian national efficiency and contribute their legitimate share to the cause of human progress.

I am not going to discuss the various measures which might be adopted to remedy the existing condition of India. To-night you have not met for such a purpose. However, I wish to record that you have to adopt many-sided activities to raise the position of Mother India. If any one makes some singular contribution in music, art, engineering, medicine, political science, commerce or any branch of human endeavour, he, from my point of view, is a great patriot and he is doing his legitimate share in raising the down-trodden millions of India. He is also raising the standard of other oppressed peoples of the world. He is levelling the artificial racial barrier, based upon superstitions and ignorance.

Friends, the task before you is the task of organizing self-help to acquire all that is best in the world and to spread this treasure in India. For this purpose Indian students in every country should work with an effective programme. To be sure, you can do much individually, but you can do more in an organized way. I hope that through your earnest efforts and deliberations, the existing Indian student movement in Germany will be strengthened and it will be the fore-runner to the establishment of a World Federation of Indian Students which will enable you to co-ordinate all efforts to aid India from the stand-point of

cultural co-operation and assertion of the Indian people as equals of others.

My one request to you all is that please do not get into hair-splitting arguments on dry constitutional issues and thus wasting very valuable time or discussing mere forms; but you should concentrate on the object of carrying out the ideal with the spirit of harmony and collaboration. We may have different views on various problems of life; but I venture to hope that you all are on agreement that Indian national efficiency must be increased through your own efforts, and in the field of cultural work, persons of varied political and economic views can co-operate.

Ladies and gentlemen, you are here to strengthen the Indian student movement in Germany. By many, this may not be regarded as a very important thing. But I am convinced that you are already engaged in making new history for Mother India. You are all anxious to contribute your share and let us hope that you will be able to do our work more effectively and with greater efficiency than ever before.

Hindustan Students' Club of Munich through its Secretary, Dr. Girindranath Mukhopadhyaya, M.B., one of the scholars of the Deutsche Akademie, presented a detailed plan of organization, while the Hindustan Association of Central Europe (Berlin), through its representatives, Prof. Abdullah and Dr. Guha, presented an outline for the same purpose. The fundamental difference between the two proposals was that the Munich plan was for federation while the Berlin plan was for centralization.

After two days' deliberations, the principal idea for which the Conference was called, was carried out. The Conference favoured the programme of federation and it was decided that Munich should be the permanent headquarters of the Central Association of Indians in Germany (for the interest of Indian students). The Conference appointed a committee of three, composed of Dr. Basu, the President of Hindustan Students' Club, Mr. Lele and Mr. Batakrisna Ghosh, which was empowered to carry on further activities to give effect to the decisions.

The Conference adopted various resolutions, and among them was the resolution of condolence and sympathy for the untimely death of Mrs. S. R. Rana of Paris and Mrs. H. K. Rakshit of New York. The Conference expressed its gratitude to the Deutsche Akademie (especially to Dr. Thierfelder) and to the Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle (especially Director Beck) for their interest for the welfare of Indian students in Germany.

The text of the closing address of Dr. Tarakanath Das is as follows:—

THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING ADDRESS

Ladies and gentlemen,

I wish to thank you all for your co-operation which has made the first conference of Indian students in Germany a success. The net result of the Conference is that you have organized a central association of Indians in Germany in the interest of Indian students. It is to be seen what result this association brings forth in course of time.

All will depend upon individual workers. I wish the organization every success.

In the meetings of the Subject Committee and as the chairman of the conference, I have given unmistakable expressions of my personal inclination regarding the activities of Indian students in Germany. I have pointedly remarked that none of you should forget that you are in a foreign country with a distinct obligation. I have advocated that the association should be non-political and Indian students, for whose interest this association has been formed, should devote their best energies in acquiring educational efficiency in their respective lines and should refrain from political activities and propaganda. You are aware of the fact that I am not opposed to Indian national aspirations. I am an advocate of foreign work by Indian nationalists. But I have made it distinctly clear that if any political work is to be carried on in foreign countries to further the cause of Indian national aspirations, it should be done by some Indian political organization, such as the All-India National Congress, which should send its recognized leaders in various countries to establish foreign relations with the free and independent countries. Indian students in Germany who wish to serve Mother India effectively should devote their energies for increasing their efficiency and should not take part in any activity which may hinder them in carrying out their educational work in Germany and may stand in the way of their returning to India.

In this connection, I have a solemn obligation to myself, to the India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie of which I am one of the founders and Die Deutsche Akademie, to remind all those Indian students who are scholars of Die Deutsche Akademie of their obligations to themselves and Die Deutsche Akademie. They have been advised that as scholars of India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, they are not to take up any political work which may hurt the non-political character of Die Deutsche Akademie. It is also expected that these scholars should demonstrate by their work that Indians, getting adequate opportunity, can uphold the dignity of their own people. *I am of the opinion that those Indian students who will be able to prove that they are in no way inferior to German scholars in scientific fields, will serve their country's cause more effectively than by carrying political discussions.*

I have noted with great satisfaction that Dr. Srikantam, Prof. Gharpure and others have suggested that you should carry on the work of enlightening the Indian people in such a manner that it will be of some assistance to increase their national efficiency. I have thought of this considerably. I think that if Indian patriots who talk of saving India agree to give one year of their life—either in the shape of active work or their income—to spread true education in India, the condition of India will be changed rapidly. Thousands of Indians have studied in foreign universities, but after their return to India, majority of them have not raised their little fingers to better the educational condition of the people and thus to increase Indian national efficiency. I hope that all of you will show your sense of patriotism in some form of concrete work in the field of spreading education after your return to India.

India needs tens of thousands of first-rate experts in various fields of human activities; and may you all become real experts in your own fields and serve Mother India with efficiency and effectiveness.

Advice To Indian Students

WHO WISH TO CARRY ON HIGHER STUDIES IN GERMAN UNIVERSITIES

By DR. FRANZ THIERFELDER

Honorary Secretary, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie

IT is most gratifying to us to see that many Indian students are anxious to carry on their higher education in German universities. During the last three years we have received some two thousand letters from India, asking for information about educational facilities in Germany. We have answered these letters individually and we shall always be glad to supply information asked by *serious students*. However, we wish to make the following points clear which should be kept in mind by all Indians who wish to come to Germany as a student or seeker after knowledge.

1. No Indian should come to Germany without sufficient funds for his maintenance. This is self-understood. However, during the last few months we have received applications from various Indians, who are already in Germany, seeking pecuniary aid and some seeking employment. We wish to make it absolutely clear that there is no opportunity for any foreigner to earn a living in Germany. No foreign student can secure any opportunity for employment. German people are now out of employment and during the coming winter the number may rise upto 8,000,000 or more. *According to the laws of the land no foreigner can be given an opportunity to get into any gainful occupation which may displace a German worker from his position.*

2. Although German factories in the past have extended opportunities for practical training to many Indian students and they are willing to extend the privilege whenever it is possible, yet it is practically impossible for German factories to make any special arrangements for foreign students for practical training which may displace a German worker. In some cases foreign students who pay their own expenses may get the opportunity for practical training. *But no Indian student should take it for granted that he will get the opportunity. He must make sure of the possibility of securing the opportunity before leaving India.* No Indian student can be given any opportunity, unless he knows German well enough to carry on conversation in German and has good theoretical knowledge on the subject he wishes to master.

3. We have received several applications for help from Indian students. We wish to make it clear that Die Deutsche Akademie is not a charitable organization. It has secured several stipends for Indian scholars and has arranged for practical training for others. It hopes to facilitate exchange of professors and students between Germany and India. It has no special fund for aiding Indian students other than those who receive stipends.

4. We often receive many letters from Indian students who are under-graduates and wish to secure a degree from a German University within a short time. There is no short cut for securing a degree in any German University. For a German graduate of High School (Gymnasium) it takes at least eight semesters or four years' study to get a University Degree. Let this be fully understood that every German student who does not devote four years' study in a university

is not eligible for a degree. He must not only finish his studies satisfactorily, but will have to write a thesis in German and pass a difficult oral examination given by professors. These examinations are to test the knowledge of the candidate for a degree.

An Indian student who has passed his Intermediate Science Examination may get along as a regular student in a German University, provided he is very diligent. Such a student will require more than four years—sometimes six year—to finish a regular university course. We therefore advise that Indian students wishing to study in German Universities should have their B. Sc. degree from an Indian University before they take admission into a German university. In fact, we think it to be economical and more practical if Indian students finish their engineering education or take their M. Sc. degree in Physics and Chemistry, before they come to Germany for higher studies in these branches. Indian Medical students should finish their regular studies in Indian Universities and take M. B. Degree before they come to Germany for higher medical training. For beginners in medical studies in German Universities it takes at least six years to complete the course. A medical graduate from Indian universities can secure M. D. after four semesters' study and passing the required examination.

5. In every case, it must be remembered that it is absolutely necessary for a prospective student to have adequate knowledge of German, so that he will be able to follow lectures in classes which are delivered only in German. *Even those who have working knowledge of German, should come at least two months before the beginning of semesters (Winter Semester begins in early November and the Summer Semester begins in early May), so that they will be able to carry on intensive study of German language from competent German teachers before taking admission into Universities.*

6. For a foreign student it is essential that he should be well provided with funds to meet his expenses. *One wishing to live modestly in Germany requires two hundred to two hundred and fifty marks per month or Rs. 150 to Rs. 175. One must also be prepared for extra expenses for clothing, etc.*

Let there be any misunderstanding we wish to say that German universities welcome Indian students, whether they be beginners or research scholars. We at the same time think that it is better for India's and Germany's cultural relations, if India sends her most worthy scholars to German universities. German education stands for efficiency and India's national efficiency can be raised quickly through the efforts of the highest type of Indian scholars willing to acquire all that is best in Western civilization and its assimilation. We are anxious to promote cultural co-operation between India and Germany, which can be carried out effectively through the co-operation of Indian cultural leaders.

Government Managed Commercial Concerns in Mysore State and Labour

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

AT times men at the helm of Mysore State have possessed both vision and courage. Instead of blindly modelling their administration upon the British-Indian pattern, they have dared to fashion their own designs. That has been true particularly in regard to the development of the economic resources of the State. The policy of *laissez faire* pursued by the Government of India and the provincial administrations subordinate to it, has not commended itself to some of the Dewans in control of the State and they have not hesitated to depart from it.

It was perhaps inevitable that men of British birth and descent who found themselves set in authority over British India should follow the line of least resistance in regard to the industrial movement. Their own country prospered under such a policy, at any rate, until, comparatively recent years. His Britannic Majesty's Government left industrial activity to private enterprise and refused to impose any tariffs except for purely revenue purposes.

The Government of India, constituted as it was, was not, in reality, free to chalk out an independent financial and economic policy for itself. It was, to begin with, a subordinate administration, taking its orders from the Secretary of State for India, who was an important member of the British Cabinet and a servant of the British Parliament in which the financial and economic interests of Britain were strongly represented and capable of making themselves heard. Even if the inspiration for framing important economic measures for application to India did not come from the outside, those measures could be introduced only upon approval by the authorities in Downing Street. Instances in which the officials in our country appeared to have been over-ruled in such matters have not been unknown.

Even when policy was framed in India and left unaltered by Whitehall, it emanated from British officials who, despite all constitutional reforms, have managed to preserve their monopoly of power. These officials, however loyal to Indian interests, had been bred in an atmosphere of *laissez faire*. British India was therefore committed to that policy, until the British psychology underwent a change or Indians were permitted to come into their own.

Indian administrators in the Indian States were, however, somewhat differently situated. They were under no obligation to follow the line of least resistance in respect of industrial development. They were sons of the soil, who knew at first hand conditions in the country and the handicaps under which every unit comprised in India laboured.

Literacy was low. Facilities for technical education existed in only a few centres and they were, as a rule, not of the most efficient type. Organization of credit was poor. Capital was shy. Persons who had money were, with few exceptions, unenterprising or selfish. Indians did not control the making of transport rates or tariffs. Nor did they determine the currency policy of their country.

Few Indian rulers seem, however, to have taken cognizance of India's handicap to the point of adventuring upon a bold and comprehensive policy of fostering industry through active State intervention. The reason is not far to seek.

The education imparted to many of the Princes was not of a type calculated to make them independent thinkers. Like the system in vogue at the "finishing academies" that British girls attended during the Victorian age, it laid emphasis upon externals—polished manners, "smart" English, sport and the like.

Administration in the Indian States has, moreover, had to be conducted with an eye on the British Resident, who remains a power to

be reckoned with even during the era of non-intervention. The peculiar conditions existing in "Indian India" have developed a subtle type of mind, almost infinitely resourceful in finding indirect means to get things done.

It is not surprising therefore that most Indian rulers should have preferred to let industrial development take its own course. Inaction spelled comfort for themselves and their officials.

One or two of the Rajas who, in the first flush of manhood, actually departed from the doctrine of *laissez faire* were, moreover, unfortunate in the men they placed in charge of the factories they established. Heavy losses ensued in consequence. Soon the zeal evaporated and the State concerns were closed or sold for anything they would fetch. Such failures had the effect of discouraging other Indian rulers from making experiments of a like nature.

II

Mysore has not been fortunate in all its economic ventures: but it has shown great pertinacity in endeavouring to stimulate such development through Government agency.

Shortly after the "rendition" Sir Sheshadari Iyer took the plunge. He turned down the offer made by a concession-hunter to generate electricity from the falls at Sivasamudram. As a friend of mine who was close to him at that time put it, he argued that if some one born many thousands of miles away from Mysore could make money for himself after paying all expenses and, in addition, something in the way of royalty to the Government, why could not the Government itself, conducted as it was by indigenous agency, make a good thing out of the undertaking. He therefore refused to part with the concession and set to work to evolve a plan whereby all the profits would go automatically to the people of Mysore.

To do this Sheshadari needed courage of a very high order. The Maharaja was at the time a boy at school. The Dewan worked under dual control—that of the Maharani-Mother, who was acting as Regent and of the Resident, the power behind the Regency. He was therefore not a free agent. Yet he managed to send away

empty-handed a concession-seeker—an influential Briton, I believe.

Sheshadari had circumspection as well as courage. He did not permit enthusiasm to over-ride his judgment. He called experts to his aid. With their help he evolved a sound scheme. He found the money for the capital works. He imported machinery from the United States of America and Switzerland. He insisted upon the manufacturers sending their own men out to Sivasamudram to install it. He made arrangements for working the plant that served a double purpose:

- (i) they made it possible for the State to derive a handsome return on the capital investment; and
- (ii) a number of Mysoreans and near-Mysoreans were trained to take control of the plant and other electric works, in due course.

All honour to Sir Sheshadari Iyer!

The Mysorean landlord who succeeded that great Madras Dewan chose to play for safety. So did his successor, V. P. Madhava Row, who followed, did not lack courage; but he took the view that under the system in vogue the men whose money he would be risking were (politically) mute and therefore he must be cautious in launching out on new projects.

Something must be said in favour of that view. It does credit to the conscience of the official who took it. No better argument for making the taxpayer's voice supreme in the spending of the public money could be advanced. To Madhava Row's credit be it said that, born of the people, he remained the people's man, even when serving as the Dewan of three of the most powerful Maharajas—the rulers of Mysore, Baroda and Travancore. Arrived at an age when it is customary for Indians to shirk responsibility, he did not hesitate to journey to London in 1919 and led the Indian National Congress deputation when it appeared before the Selborne Joint Committee on the Government of India Bill.

With the installation of Sir M. Visvesvaraya as Dewan, during the second decade of the present century, a new era in industrial development opened in the State. He

possessed certain advantages over his predecessors. He was, to begin with, a Mysorean by birth. Unlike many other Mysoreans of his time, he had elected to go out of his State and had made a brilliant engineering career for himself in the neighbouring Bombay Presidency. He returned to his "native province" as a man of mature years whose advice as a consulting engineer was in demand elsewhere. No Indian had held the Chief Engineer's post in Mysore until it was offered to him. His elevation from that position to the "Dewanate" came almost as a matter of course.

Wiry in physique, Visvesvaraya had taken great care of his body. His tastes were simple. He was abstemious in eating and a total abstainer from intoxicating drink. He believed in open air and plenty of exercise. His habits were regular. He was therefore full of vigour and vivacity. Men half his age could not bear a quarter of the strain to which he took delight in subjecting himself.

Official life in Bangalore—the headquarters of the Mysore Government—is regulated on the principle that all Indians are children of eternity and therefore hustle is utterly unnecessary. Clerks arrive at the public offices at 11 A. M. "Officers" in some cases do not get there until noon—or even later. There are adjournments every two hours or so for "coffee"—very potent stuff indeed. By 4-30 P. M. many pairs of eyes are glued to the clock. By 5 o'clock the trek homeward—or clubward—has commenced. And fashionable clubs in Bangalore are not prohibitionist institutions any more than the Government is. Every excuse that can be used to keep the offices closed is taken advantage of. Working days appear merely to be interludes between holidays.

Mysore is not, I suppose, any worse than British India in this respect. It is no better, at any rate. Why should a State run by Indians be not in advance of one conducted by non-Indians?

I wonder how the easy-going officials felt when a human dynamo like Visvesvaraya was installed as the Dewan and how they fared under him! He certainly made things hum. Schemes came out of Visvesvaraya's brain

like *weinerwürsts* out of a sausage-machine. They embraced all manner of subjects—all phases of human activity—administrative, constitutional, educational, public health, sanitation, social reform, finance and economics.

Visvesvaraya had no faith in the policy of *laissez faire*, at least for India. He took the earliest opportunity to assume the management of certain railway lines till then worked by a company with offices registered in London. He put through a project for supplementing the water-supply for generating electricity at Sivasamudram by damming Cauvery river and its tributaries near Mysore City.* His enthusiasm found special vent in the development of the natural resources of the State.

III

Before I deal with some of the Visvesvaraya schemes I must briefly refer to the living conditions at Sivasamudram, especially those of the wage-earners.

The settlement has a pretty setting. Through it runs the canal specially built to convey the Cauvery water from the highest point in the vicinity to the turbines through large pipes, thereby obtaining the maximum "head." If at the commencement of the operations the place was anything like the surrounding country it must have looked wild. But in 1921, when I first saw it, it presented a neat, trim appearance, as it did during more recent visits paid to it by me. Straight, fairly broad roads have been laid out. They are lined with trees that provide shade from the scorching rays of the sun, which seems particularly hot to anyone coming from Bangalore or Mysore City, and no wonder, for there is a considerable drop in altitude.

The buildings on either side of the canal that catch the visitor's eye are set in well-kept little gardens. The "Inspection Bungalow" (open to the public when not in use by officials) is deep-veranda-ed. It is separated by the road in front from a beautiful pool.

* For particulars of this project see the second article of this series in the November issue of this Review

At one side stands the hospital, also a substantial bungalow, with a neat yard surrounding it. It is fairly well equipped and at the time of my last visit it was in charge of an Assistant Surgeon—a "fairly senior man in the Service," as he was described to me.

The "officers' quarters" are on the opposite side of the canal. They are commodious and airy. The one in which Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and I were given a tea party by the Superintendent (Mr. N. N. Iyengar, who received his electrical training in the United States of America and has lately obtained a more paying post in Bombay) was remarkably cool considering the temperature at Sivasamudram. When I said something complimentary about the bungalow, the secret came out. It was designed for an American—and not an Indian—to live in. So were some of the other houses near by.

The "cooly quarters" were neither commodious nor cool. The "old ones" reminded me of prison cells, set one against the other—and back to back. The "new ones" were of the "cottage type" but even they were cramped. It was evident at the first glance that not as much trouble had been taken to provide this part of the colony with shades as in the case of the part wherein the better paid staff lived.

I spoke of the congested conditions in which the workers were compelled to live. One of the electrical engineers calmly absolved his own department by shoving the responsibility on to the Public Works Department. The P. W. D. had built the original "lines," he said. He seemed to be proud of the "cottages" that had been recently constructed by his own department.

Another official with whom I discussed the subject was a man of humour. He told me of a worker—an "outsider," (non-Mysorean), by the way—who was so tall that when he slept at night in one of the "cells" allotted to him, his feet stuck out of the door. Wage-workers in India should, I suppose, be grateful for small mercies.

The labourers live in cramped quarters here no doubt; but their prison-like cells are fairly substantial and are kept whitewashed. They have electric light (without charge, if I

remember aright). I have seen water flowing with force from taps near the "lines." There are schools for children and places of Christian, Muslim and, I believe, though I am not sure, Hindu worship. They have a co-operative store from which they can purchase the necessities of life at prices just a little above cost.

I know that all these amenities were not specially created for the labourers at Sivasamudram. No American could have been persuaded to live there if some sort of arrangement for making water safe to drink had not been installed. Electric energy costs only a fraction of an anna per unit at the head-works. Schools must be provided for the children of officials and clerks.

The labourers at Sivasamudram nevertheless benefit from these amenities—or can benefit from them if they so desire. That cannot be said of all the public works under execution in the State, or managed by the Government.

Given a quickened social conscience, however, the condition of workers at the hydro-electric head-works could be immensely improved. The concern is highly remunerative. The Chief Electrical Engineer—a Coorg trained in Schenectady, New York at the expense of the State, which employed more than one relation of his—quoted to me, while I was at Sivasamudram, statistics from a report he had just made to the Government to show that his department was contributing to the general revenue some Rs. 25,00,000 a year as *net profit*. He was naturally proud of the result. "We work on a purely commercial basis," he told me.

Judged by the money appropriated for improving the condition of the labourers, the electrical department of Mysore's concept of a "commercial basis" is exceedingly narrow. That appears strange, especially when it is realized that:

(i) from the very beginning until recently the department was run by Americans;

(ii) since then the American mantle has fallen upon an America-trained Indian and nearly all of his principal assistants at Sivasamudram have spent years in the United States of America; and

(iii) the works at Sivasamudram have

been built in "stages," the latest additions, due largely to Visvesvaraya's driving force, having but recently been completed.

I wonder if these America-trained Indians know nothing about "welfare work"; or they think that Indian labourers are not good enough to be given decent conditions of living and working; or if the proposals for funds to improve the workers' conditions sent up by the Department have been turned down by the powers that be at Bangalore.

I regret I was unable to secure data for answering these questions. The officials—professional as well as executive—whom I questioned were evasive. In the absence of precise information all I can say is that the State, while avid to absorb the materialism of the United States of America, seems reluctant to employ devices of American invention to make the lot of the worker bearable and even happy.

IV

I now return to my narrative of the industrial development that took place under Visvesvaraya's leadership. A minor enterprise upon which he embarked—the soap factory at Bangalore—succeeded almost from the start. He was fortunate in the young man—Sasale G. Sastry—whom he selected for establishing and conducting it.

The son of a Palace pandit, Sastry had no difficulty in securing a scholarship, for prosecuting higher scientific studies abroad. Acute of perception and industrious, he made good use of the opportunity afforded him. He secured the Master's degree in chemistry from the London University, managed to work his way into a soap factory in one of the English Counties and mastered the technique of soap-making. Visvesvaraya made it possible for Sastry to visit the United States, Canada and Japan before returning home. He went to as many soap works as he could and made careful notes of all that he saw and heard. Upon his return to Bangalore the young chemist and chemical engineer did a little experimental work in soap-making. The results satisfied the Dewan. Money needed

for machinery was promptly sanctioned and orders were placed with an English firm. Sastry was given a free hand in erecting it when it was finally received.

Certain buildings near the Public Offices in Bangalore were vacated and the Public Works Department instructed to remodel them to serve as a soap factory. That was a fundamental blunder. Engineers might manage to convert an old building into a factory so as to make it possible for manufacturing processes to be conducted there with economy and efficiency. But the human factor has to be taken into consideration. Space must be provided for workers as well as for machinery. This fact apparently escaped the attention of the men who set up the soap works in that congested quarter.

Labour in India is cheap and easily replaced. Why, then, worry about it? That seems to have been the attitude even in this otherwise progressive State.

I do not know what the conditions were at the very beginning of the undertaking. I went over the factory for the first time early in 1922—some three years after the operations were commenced. The place looked dismal, even on a bright afternoon.

I went over the factory again some months back. The *Swadeshi* movement had brought prosperity to it. The output had greatly increased compared with what it was at the time of my previous visit. After paying interest on the capital advanced by the Government (under Rs. 85,000) and providing nearly half a lakh for depreciation, a net profit of nearly a lakh and a half had been earned. In making these calculations the salary of the Government chemist has not been, I believe, included.

From the financial point of view, therefore, the Government had done well. It had, moreover, set a good example—stimulated private enterprise. Several soap factories had been established in or near the State. Sastry told me of the trouble he was having with persons who tried to imitate the soaps he put out.

From the workers' point of view, how-

ever, things had not improved since my last visit, except, perhaps, that the wages were a trifle higher. The factory looked, in fact, even more crowded.

Where was the space for any welfare work even if the management had felt the need for such activity?

by Nature were concerned. The jungle extended for miles along both banks of the Bhadra. Any extent of land that might be needed for industrial purposes could be had. All that was necessary was to fell the timber and clear the place of stumps and undergrowth. Rich deposits of iron existed



Mr. Venkatnarayanappa
The General Manager of the Bhadravati Works



Women Workers employed by contractors in the
jungle round about Bhadravati

V

A night's railway journey from Bangalore lies Bhadravati, on the banks of the Bhadra river, which, a short distance below, meets the Tunga, forming a mighty stream, known as the Tungabhadra. It must have been a settlement of some importance when the Hoysala dynasty was in power in this part of India. It has, in any case, a beautiful temple. An image of Krishna (as Venugopala) enshrined in one of the niches in it is a work of art that I would travel far to see.

If Vesvesvaraya could have had his way this place would have become a great industrial centre. Nor had he miscalculated, so far as the opportunities provided

close by. Manganese, too, was available in the vicinity. So was limestone. With the abundant supply of wood that could be had from the forest, a fine grade of iron could be made. A hundred miles or so to the west a series of mighty waterfalls hurled themselves over a cliff into a deep ravine. Visvesvaraya meant to capture the energy that was being wasted and use it to smelt steel and for other purposes.

The great engineer-Dewan had not, however, reckoned with the human element. There were men who were insanely jealous of the power he wielded—men who would stop at nothing to shatter his dreams and drive him out of office. Some of his subordinates did not believe in the State



Homes of the Workers at Bhadravati

managing industrial concerns. Then, too, he had failed to make allowance for Indian inertia and the complications caused by the great war. I fear he also permitted his enthusiasm to run away with him. Worse still, he let himself be carried away by the visions splendid painted by some of the investigators he held in fee.

The result has been tragic. A sum of money—vast for a State like Mysore—has been lost and the faith of the people in the ability of a Government to manage a business concern has been shaken.

If the project had not been taken in hand at a time when the coffers of the State were bursting, the requisitions made by the experts would have been more carefully scrutinized, a stricter control would have been exercised over the outgo and the enterprise might have fared better. A little less haste in the beginning would have actually made for greater speed in the end and saved the scheme from being wrecked.

From what I have been able to learn on the spot during several visits to Bhadravati, the original estimates for building the iron works were framed after hurried investigation. The spending of vast sums was entrusted to a corporation that did not put an anna into the undertaking. That corporation was to receive a stipulated fee each year, whatever happened. Its fee was to be enhanced, in certain circumstances. It was able virtually to name its own terms because (I think) it was not at all keen upon assuming the respon-

sibility and was, with difficulty, coaxed to do so by the Dewan.

Machinery was purchased, mostly in the United States of America, through experts who received payment on a percentage basis. The larger the bill they incurred, the greater would be the amount they received. Being men of repute, they no doubt did not permit money considerations to deflect them from the stern course of duty towards their (ultimate) employer—Mysore State. But the system, though in vogue in Britain as well as the United States cannot be commended.

Probably because the original plans were prepared in haste, the design of the plant had to be changed after the machinery had been ordered. This, in itself, considerably increased the cost. Some of the machinery actually imported was later found to be unsuited to Indian conditions and had to be scrapped—a sheer waste.

Other causes helped to send up the bill. The war deflected shipping from commerce to killing. The transport of machinery became a costly process and involved vexatious delays. The dollar exchange went against India. The cost of machinery naturally increased. Some three or four lakhs of rupees were lost on that account alone. Originally the Government had expected to pay less than two-thirds of a crore of rupees for the plant. The actual cost exceeded a crore and twelve lakhs. The Government detailed a bright young "civilian" to look after the financial end of the works. But the system in which he

served as a cog made any real control impossible. The Mysore Government, in short, had to pay through the nose. It did so with remarkably good grace. The author of the scheme (Sir M. Visvesvaraya) was at its head. He enjoyed, at the time, the unbounded confidence of the Maharaja. Money was therefore not stinted. Requisitions, though in excess of the estimates, were met.

I must say in fairness to Sir M. Visvesvaraya that he had to contend against disloyalty from within and opposition—often underhand and determined—from the outside. Even Time seemed to be leagued against him.

Delay, through one cause or another, made it impossible for him to capture the favourable market for selling the output, as he had anticipated. If he had managed to produce iron when prices were high, he might possibly have made profits that would have enabled him, in a short time, to recoup the capital expenditure.

As it turned out, however, the State purchased machinery when the prices and shipping charges were at the peak and the American exchange was unfavourable. By the time the pig iron was ready for sale, the slump had begun. The market worsened until iron manufacture ceased to be profitable even for concerns that had been built in the most favourable circumstances. The works have never paid their way. The cost to the tax-payer has been heavy.

No one outside the Finance Department at Bangalore and the inner ring at the works at Bhadravati has an exact knowledge of the total losses that have been incurred on this venture. The amount cannot but be large for a State like Mysore. There is, to begin with, loss on account of capital investment. The plant has never been able to pay anything towards interest and sinking fund charges. This item, in itself, cannot be small. The cost incurred upon the plant was nearly 50 per cent in excess of the original estimate. The capital cost has had to be drastically written down. There have been recurring losses on operation. The total amount on that charge, too, is large. Year after year the value of the stocks held had to be written down. The pig iron stacked up in piles in the

immense yards of the works awaiting a buyer cannot be appreciating in value or improving in quality. The same is true of the products of the distillation plant.

I doubt if two crores would cover the losses already incurred. And the end of losses is nowhere near in sight.

I have great sympathy with Sir M. Visvesvaraya—the father of the scheme. The Fates frowned upon him from the very moment he committed the State to it.

If his colleagues and subordinates had pulled their weight, instead of some of them exerting it against him, and if he could have remained in office for some years longer, his dream might have been realized. He was, however, hampered from beginning to end and had to leave his work half-finished.

I cannot, however, congratulate Visvesvaraya—and even less his successors in office—upon the arrangements made for working the plant. Their pathetic faith in the ability of the "Mysore Civilians" to turn their hand to anything betrayed them, I fear, into blunder after blunder.

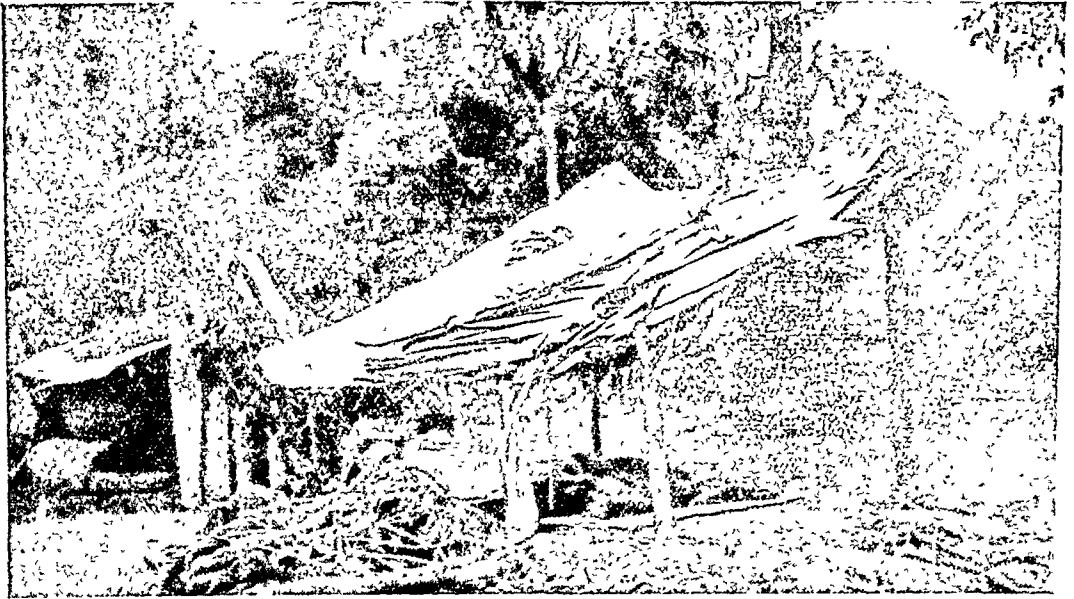
Men nimble at figures—men clever at dealing with office files—men capable of preserving law and order among a dumb population—are no doubt useful for the purposes for which they have been trained. When, however, they are installed in positions that would tax the capacity of technicians and business men of vast experience, they are bound to flounder.

This elementary fact has yet to be grasped at Bangalore.

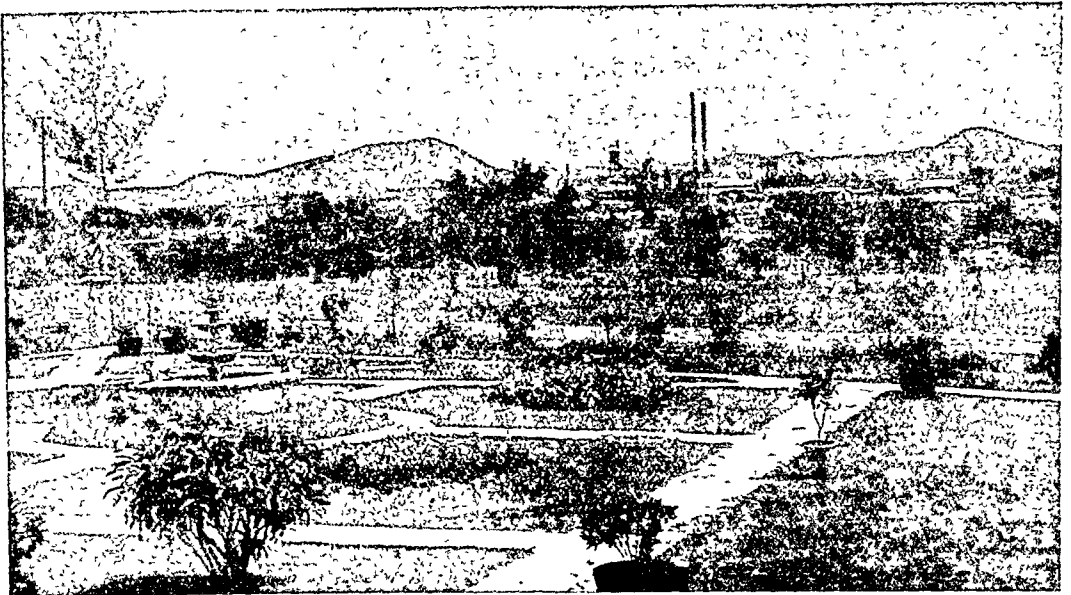
The scientific side—particularly the chemical and metallurgical side—at Bhadravati has never received the attention it deserved.

Nor has the sales side.

The men who have been set to run the works may be brilliant in their own way. They are certainly amiable (that much I can say from my own experience). But they have not received the specialized training nor have they the experience requisite for conducting a great industrial undertaking. The clique spirit has, moreover, been rife at Bhadravati. Non-Mysorean Brahmans with fine technical and scientific qualifications have not been able to "stick it out." Non-Brahmans have fared even worse.



Coolies' "Country Homes" at Bhadravati



The Mysore Iron Works at Bhadravati Viewed from the Veranda of the "Viceregal Lodge"

The real sufferer is the poor tax-payer in the State—entirely voiceless ; for the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council, as I shall show in another article are

not sovereign bodies—they are, in fact, mere-creatures of the officials, their creators.

Had affairs been better managed at Bhadravati, the Government could have set private

employers a splendid example in the matter of housing labourers. The plans, as detailed by the General Superintendent—a Russo-American—on the occasion of my first visit to the works in the early part of the last decade, made me very optimistic.

Upon recently revisiting the works, I found, however, that the Russo-American had gone away soon after my visit and the scheme of which he had talked had never been taken in hand. "Funds did not permit it," I was told.

Most of the labourers at Bhadravati therefore dwell in primitive thatched huts. Little has been attempted in the way of sanitation. One of the first cuts ordered from Bangalore was, in fact, the suspension of the drainage scheme—surely a necessity in a "modern" industrial colony.

The "hospital" provided is a shack near the gate of the works. At the time of my last visit the Assistant Surgeon in charge was trying to obtain sanction for supplementing it with two rooms wherein he could put a few "in" patients.

So meagre indeed is the medical provision made for works of this magnitude that when the Assistant Surgeon goes out on the "line," as he is expected to do, only a sub-assistant surgeon is left in charge. I must hasten to add that this is not due to narrow outlook upon the part of the Medical Department. The cost of the medical establishment is, I understand, debited to the Iron Works and the desire upon the part of the management to economize is responsible for this parsimony.

Why should economy always be practised in Mysore State at the expense of the poorest of the poor?

VI

The "Viceregal Lodge" at Bhadravati, where I spent many days as an honoured guest, left nothing to be desired. The rooms were tastefully furnished.

There were spring-beds with mosquito curtains, commodious almirahs and handsome dressing-tables in the bedrooms. Hot and

cold running water and English porcelain-lined bath tubs were provided in the bathrooms. Excellent food was served at a long, prettily decorated table in the dining-room by a butler who knew his job thoroughly. There was a carefully kept garden in front of the bungalow.

The houses in the vicinity were also commodious. Two or three of them, I was told, were used as "guest houses" and the others as officers' residences. The bungalows had been designed for Americans. The present occupants received only a fraction of the salaries that had been paid to the foreign experts and therefore pressed the Government (successfully, I believe) to reduce the rent.

If money had not been lavished upon housing the few at the iron works at Bhadravati, the many might not be living in wretched conditions. The dwellings of members of the subordinate staff look like the boxes in which machinery is transported.

If the Americans, during their tenure, introduced any form of welfare work, their Mysorean successors did not think it worth while to keep it up. During the many days that I spent there I did not see any signs of it.

Yet the General Manager, a "Civilian" is a most considerate man. He exerted himself in every way to make Mrs. St. Nihal Singh and me comfortable while we were at the Works. So did his Personal Assistant, a young Brahman of engaging manners who, I hear, is specializing in steel manufacture.

The only explanation I can offer is that the men placed in charge of Government works have yet to acquire the modern conception of taking good care of workers. Some day, I hope, the State will become progressive in this respect and set an example which the private employers may copy to advantage.*

* This is the third article in the series "Condition of Wage-Workers in Mysore State." The first and second articles appeared in the *Modern Review* for October and November respectively. The final article in the series will appear next month.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

Muhammadan Educational Endowments

I

To
The Editor, *The Modern Review*
Sir,

I crave the hospitality of your columns with a view to pointing out certain inaccuracies in the article entitled "The Muhammadans and the Education Policy of the Government" published in the November issue of *The Modern Review*.

In concluding his article the writer observes:

(4) There is no scholarship, etc., given by a Moslem which is open to the Hindus.

(5) There is no scholarship, etc., endowed by Hindus which is not open to Moslems.

A perusal of the Calcutta University Calendar would show that the above generalizations are not correct. The information furnished below has been collected from the C. U. Calendar for 1930.

The following scholarships, etc., endowed by Muhammadans are open to the Hindus.

(1) Nawab Abdul Latif and Father Lafont Scholarship. Gift of Nawab A. F. M. Abdur Rahaman to be awarded "to the successful candidate who stands first among the lady students of the year in any science subject other than Mathematics at the I. A. or I. Sc. examinations." (P. 279).

(2) Khujasta Akhtai Banu Subrawardy Gold Medal. Gift of Dr. A. Suhrawardy to the author of the best thesis embodying the result as original research or investigation in a topic relating to the reciprocal influence of Hindu and Moslem cultures and civilization. (P. 252)

(3) Ibrahim Solaman Satehjee Memorial Fund for the promotion and study and research in Muhammadan Law. (P. 246)

The following scholarships, etc., endowed by the Hindus are not open to the Muhammadans.

(1) Nabin Chandra Kundu Prize (p. 271)

(2) Harikankari Devi Medal (pp. 276-7)

(3) Eshan Scholarship (p. 283)

(4) Harishchandra Prize (p. 291)

(5) Pratiba Devi Scholarship (p. 370)

(6) Guruprasanna Ghose Scholarship.
"Preference shall always be given to Hindus" (p. 387)

(7) Radhuka Mohan Scholarship (pp. 390-1)

Besides the above, a careful scrutiny of the list of scholarships, etc., of each institution affiliated to the Calcutta University if available, may likely show that the writer is not quite justified in his remarks. Nos. (4) and (5).

CALCUTTA

Yours etc,
PRABHAT SANJAL

II

Dear Sir,

With reference to my article headed "The Muhammadans and the Education Policy of the Government," in the November issue of *The Modern Review* the following additions and corrections have been found necessary after further enquiry. I shall be highly obliged by your publishing them in your much esteemed paper.

Yours truly,
CALCUTTA ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE

In section B (p. 545) on "Education exclusively Hindu and exclusively Moslem" after "1. Sanskrit College" read "(with the School Department)." After "No Government Scholarships and stipends" read "But there are 60 part-free studentships of the monthly value of Rs 2 each in the College and 100 part-free studentships of the value of Re. 1 each in the School Department." And add—"2. Hindu School" under the heading "Govt. Institutions for Hindus." After "8. Calcutta Madrasah" read "with its School Department recognized by the University." After "18 Mohsin Scholarships" (line 5 from the bottom, p. 545) read "The exact number of free-studentships and part-free studentships could not be obtained." The omission to mention the number of part-free studentships in the Sanskrit College does not, however, affect the total expenditure given in the article. More details regarding the different Madrasahs and the Islamic Intermediate Colleges, specially the scholarships, free-studentships, etc., are reserved for future occasion. A few words about the Islamia College are however necessary here. The Director of Public Instruction's Report (1929-30) gives "Rs. 31,191" as the amount paid "out of public funds" for the college. But there is a wide discrepancy here between the said Report and the Inspection Report by the

Inspectors of Colleges (for 1931). The Finance sheet of the latter shows—

RECEIPTS

Fees	...	Rs. 31,233 1 0
Recurring Govt. Grant	...	9,312 2 0
Other Sources	...	1,203 0 0

Total Rs. 41,748 3 0

EXPENDITURE

Teaching Staff	...	Rs. 1,00,094 7 0
Clerical	...	5,165 10 0
Menial	...	2,004 7 0
		{ 311 11 0
Furniture	...	{ 976 6 0
		{ 65 0 0
Library	...	2,445 7 6
Apparatus	...	35 1 6
Scholarship	...	5,358 15 0
Miscellaneous	...	6,519 14 0

Total Rs. 1,21,935 9 0

Deducting the total income from the total expenditure—

Rs. 1,21,935 9 0
41,748 3 0

Rs. 80,187 6 0

we get a deficit of Rs. 80,187-6-0. Assuming that this deficit was paid "out of public funds," the total expenditure on the Islamia College for

one year (1929-30) would be, according to the University Inspection Report, Rs. 80,187-6-0 plus Rs. 9,312-2-0, that is, Rs. 89,499-8-0 and not Rs. 31,191 as given in the Director's Report. Who will explain this big difference? It should be noted that the number of students in the Islamia College, as given in the Inspection Report (1931), is 371 and Rs. 5,358-15-0 was spent on scholarships, etc., in 1929-30. I understand also that there are 4 full free-studentships and 12 half-free studentships in this college.

In Section F—"Government encouragement to Moslem separatism" read "It is learnt from a reliable source that there are at least 70 Madrasahs in Bengal that follow the syllabus of the Calcutta Madrasah alone"—at the end.

In the summary, item No. (5), after "not open to Moslems" read "in non-sectarian institutions."

In section D—"Reservation of Free-studentships for Moslems," add at the end—"There are 6 free-boarderships in the Muhammadan Hostel of the Hugly College (C. U. Calendar, 1931)."

Under the head "Government expenditure on Sanskrit (Hindu) education, no figures for the Hindu School are given, as such information is not easily procurable by laymen. I am reliably informed, however, that the Hindu School which was founded, financed and richly endowed by Hindus, is fully self-supporting hardly requiring any Government subsidy.



Kashmir under Muslim Rule

AS DESCRIBED BY MUHAMMADAN HISTORIANS

(Translated from the Persian)

By X. Y. Z.

[It should be borne in mind that the majority of the people of Kashmir are Muhammadans, and among the latter the Sunnis form a majority.]

FROM "TARIKH-I-KASHMIRI AZAMI"

EARLY in the year 1089 Hijri (1678 A. D.) Ibrahim Khan was appointed for the second time as Governor of Kashmir. During this term of his office, strange occurrences happened in Kashmir. . . . A religious riot took place. The cause of it was as follows: Abdus Shakur, one of the people of Hasanabad, 'which is a *mahalla* of the Shias, with his sons troubled a Sunni named Sadiq, and their enmity was protracted into a long-standing quarrel.' In the course of the dispute, the aforesaid Shias publicly did some acts opposed to Canon Law and spoke some scornful words with reference to the Prophet's Companions [*i. e.*, the first three Khalifs, who were usurpers according to the Shias.] In spite of the complaint that Sadiq had lodged with the officers of Canon Law [*i. e.*, the Qazi], they [*i. e.*, the Shia defendants] remained under the protection of Ibrahim Khan. The Qazi Muhammad Yusuf, on his part, was filled with pious zeal; the people of the city [Srinagar] too cursed him greatly; and the flames of tumult and mischief were kindled. As Ibrahim Khan was keeping the defendant in his own house, the common people set fire to Hasanabad. During this movement, Fidai Khan [the son of the governor] noisily came out to protect the people of Hasanabad. From the other side, the men of the city and the Khans of Kabul [who had come to Kashmir by order of the Emperor to reinforce an expedition] with their troops . . . all of whom were Sunnis, in concert with some other *mansabdars* . . . confronted him, and on both sides many were slain and wounded. The crowd

made a great tumult; the control passed out of the Qazi's hand.

Ibrahim Khan, finding himself powerless, surrendered Abdus Shakur and others, against whom there was a charge of blasphemy. They were confined in the *chabutra* [of the Kotwal]. Ultimately the aforesaid Abdus Shakur with two sons and one son-in-law were put to death. . . . The mob plundered and demolished the house of the *mufti* Mullah Muhammad Tahir, whose judgment was the reverse of the Qazi's. The disturbance and fighting in the city by the mob were very great. Baba Qasim, the religious head of the Shias, was seized by the mob in the streets and slain with insult and torture. Fidai Khan rode out to punish the mob. The encounter took place before the house of Mirza Salim [a Sunni leader in the riot], who was slain with a number of the mob.

In the meantime Shaikh Baqa Baba (a descendant of the saint Khwaja Habibullah Naushahari) collected a mob and set fire to Ibrahim Khan's house. The governor sent his troops and arrested Baqa Baba, the qazi, the news-reporter, the paymaster, and eminent men of the city like Khwaja Lala Kani, Khwaja Haji Bandi and Khwaja Qasim Langar. The men of the city were subjected to marvellous despair and terror from both sides.

When the affair was fully reported to the Emperor Alamgir, he . . . dismissed Ibrahim Khan, . . . the arrested persons were released. This event took place in the year 1096 (A. D. 1685).

During Saif Khan's governorship (1664-1667), Husain Malik Chari, a Shia, was put to death for an insulting remark about the first three Khalifs.

It was during the term of Fazil Khan (1697-1700) that the men of Kashmir can be said to have [first] commonly attained to *mansabdari*;* he recommended Kashmiris for *mansabs* and the Emperor approved them all.

FROM KHAFT KHAN'S MUNTAKHAB-UL-LUBAB
(Vol. II, Pages 867-871.)

Year 1132 Hijri, (1720 A. D.)

At this time it was learnt from the news-reports of Kashmir that Mahbub Khan *alias* Abdun Nabi Kashmiri, who for a long time had quarrel with the Hindus, had, in view of the change in the character of the times, associated with himself a party of Musalmans, fond of disturbance, gone to Mir Ahmad Khan, the deputy governor of the province, and the qazi, and on the ground of certain precepts of the sacred law urged them to forbid the Hindus to ride horses, to wear coats, to tie turbans on their heads, or carry arms, or visit green fields and gardens, or bathe on special [sacred] days; and in this matter employed much filthiness [of language]. The officers replied, "Whatever the Padishah of the times and the masters of Canon Law at Court order in connection with the *zimmi*s (*i. e.*, legally protected infidels) of all the country, we too can enforce on the Hindus of this place." Mahbub Khan, becoming angry and displeased [at this reply], wherever he saw Hindus, with the help of some Muslims subjected them to all kinds of oppression and disgrace. No Hindu could pass by any bazar or lane whom they did not molest. One day, a high Hindu of Kashmir named Majlis Rai, having gone with a party to visit a garden and meadow, was feeding Brahmans. Mahbub Khan, who had gathered round himself 10 or 12 thousand Musalmans, fell upon them by surprise and began to beat, bind and slay them. Majlis Rai fled with a few and reached Mir Ahmad Khan. Mahbub Khan, with all that party,

came to the house of Majlis Rai and the Hindu quarter [of Srinagar] and engaged in plundering and burning the houses. Whoever, Hindu or Muslim, came out to forbid them was slain or wounded. Similarly, they surrounded the house of Mir Ahmad Khan, and began to strike at it and throw stones and brickbats and discharge arrows and muskets into it. Everyone whom they found they seized and dishonoured in various ways. Some they slew, and many they wounded and robbed.

Mir Ahmad Khan was unable all that day and night to issue from his house and put down their tumult; by a hundred stratagems he secured release from that crowd. Next day, having collected a body of men, he, with Mir Shahwar Khan, the paymaster, and other officers, took horse and went against Mahbub Khan. They too assembled in the same manner as on the previous day and came forth to encounter Ahmad Khan. Another party, coming in the rear of the Khan, burnt the bridge which Mir Ahmad had crossed; to both sides of the road of the bazar where Mir Ahmad Khan had arrived, they set fire, and engaged in discharging arrows, bullets, stones and brickbats from the front and the roofs of houses and the top of walls. Women and children from all sides hurled wood shavings and clods of earth, whatever they could lay their hands on. A great fight took place. In this riot, Sayyid Wali (the sister's son of Mir Ahmad) and Zulfiqar Beg (*naib* of the Police Prefect) with many others were slain and wounded. The situation became critical for Mir Ahmad Khan, who could not find a way either to advance or to retreat. He made submission and after undergoing a thousand insults and humiliation procured his release from that destruction.

Mahbub Khan went to the Hindu ward [of the city], plundered and burnt such houses as still remained, returned to the house of Mir Ahmad a second time, seized and dragged out with every kind of insult Majlis Rai and others who had taken shelter there, cut off their noses and ears, circumcised them—nay more, of some they cut off the . . . [*qita'-i-alat-i-tanasal*], and kept them in prison.

Next day, assembling with the same

* The reason for this Muhammadan people's wholesale exclusion from any office (*mansab*) under Muhammadan local governors and Muhammadan sovereigns at Delhi, is to be found in their character as summed up in a Persian couplet which is well known. As late as Nov. 12, 1846, the saintly Sir Henry Lawrence wrote in an official report,—
"Cashmeres are everywhere noted for their litigiousness, vociferous volubility and begging propensities."

tumult in the Jama' mosque, they dismissed Mir Ahmad Khan from the *naib-subahdari*, gave the title of Dindar Khan (the Religious Lord) to the source of all this disturbance and trouble (*i. e.*, Mahbub Khan), appointed him as the governor of the Musalmans, and decided that pending the arrival of a new *naib-subahdar* from the Imperial Court he should carry out the execution of Canonical rules and the judge's decisions. For five months Mir Ahmad Khan remained retired in his house and deprived of power, while Dindar Khan became the all-powerful governor, sat in the mosque, and transacted all the business of the country and the administration.

When the news of it reached the Emperor, he sent out Mumin Khan Najm-i-sani as deputy governor for Inayatullah Khan, dismissed Kazim Khan (the son of Amanat Khan Khafi) the diwan of Kashmir, on account of this riot; many of the high officers of Kashmir also were punished. . .

As villainy is the leaven in the nature of the people of that country, by order of the True Avenger, he [*i. e.*, Mahub Khan, now Dindar Khan] too was destined to suffer, in retribution for his acts, what had been inflicted upon another Muhammadan sect [namely, the Shias of Kashmir] and on the Hindus. . . When Mahbub Khan went to the house of Shahwar Khan Bakhshi, . . . he was seized, his two young sons, who used always to go in front of him reciting the *maulud*, had their bellies ripped open, and he himself was put to death with torture.

*Every man gets [in return] what he has done ;
He gets back the good or evil that he does.*

Next day, the Musalmans assembled demanding the blood of their chief (*muqtada*, priest, exemplary man, *i. e.*, Mahbub Khan), went to the *mahallas* of the Jadbels, who were reported to be Shias, and Hasanabad, and began to beat, bind, slay and burn. The battle raged for two days, finally the assailants gained the victory and put to the sword about two to three thousand persons there,—among whom a large number of Mughal (*i. e.*, Central Asian) travellers had alighted,—with many women and children. Lakhs of Rupees worth of goods were carried off in plunder. For two or three days the flames of disturbance blazed up, and it is better not to write about what was done to this multitude [of victims] in the form of bloodshed and destruction of property and of female-chastity,—which has been reported by reliable witnesses.

The rioters after finishing [this work] went to the house of the Bakhshi and the qazi. Mir Shahwar Khan, in utter helplessness, concealed himself in a place where he could not be followed. The qazi fled away in disguise. They demolished his house to its foundations, and carried off its bricks one by one by the hand. Mumin Khan, after entering the city, sent away Mir Ahmad Khan, providing him with equipment and escort to Yamanabad, . . . and willynilly made a compromise with the people of Kashmir.



Indian Minorities and Reference to League of Nations

BY PROF. DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI

THERE seems to be a fundamental misconception in some quarters in relation to the suggestion made by the Hindu Mahasabha and some members of the round table conference that the Indian minorities problem should be referred to the League of Nations. For instance, the following appeared in *The Times* of London on October 31 last :

Maulvi Shafae Daoodi, secretary of the All-India Moslem Conference and a member of the Legislative Assembly, in a statement yesterday said :

"Under Articles 12 and 13 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the League is only competent to deal with disputes between its Member States and not disputes between classes or communities within any Member State. Further, these articles stand on the general principle that only disputes of a legal character, such as treaties, damages claimed under treaties and questions of law, are suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement. This obvious general principle also bars the alternative proposals."

The proposal to refer the Indian Minority Problems to the League of Nations does *not* mean that the arbitration of the League is being invoked to settle the domestic disputes of any state-member of the League. The proposal means

(1) That India should be permitted to solve her own Minority Problems by the same method and scheme by which she has herself helped so many Sovereign States and Nations of Europe to solve their difficult Minority and Racial Problems for the establishment of world-peace ;

(2) That this scheme is embodied in a standardized form in what is known as the Minorities Guarantee Treaty, which is intended for application to Minority Problems all over the world and has been already applied in nearly twenty different States of Europe, including the premier Moslem State of Turkey ;

(3) That this Scheme of Minority Protection was formulated by the collective wisdom and statesmanship of the Allied and Associated Powers (including England and India), who, as victors in the Great War, proposed its universal application as an important step towards world-peace ;

(4) That, therefore, to this Scheme and

to all its principles and provisions of Minority Protection both India and England are already parties, contributories, and signatories ;

(5) That both India and England have with other victorious Powers forming the High and Contracting Parties on one side bound the other States of Europe like Turkey by this Minorities Guarantee Treaty ;

(6) That the question as to how far the proposers of this Treaty like India are themselves bound by it like the Signatory States, such as Turkey, had been raised several times at the League of Nations by the Signatory States-Members of the League and has been decided by a Resolution adopted at the Sixth Assembly of the League of Nations to the effect that all States-Members of the League suffering from Minority Problems are expected to follow the same principles and standards of Minority Protection as they have applied to the Signatory States ;

(7) That, in pursuance of this Resolution, and the direct commitment and responsibility of both England and India in the matter of this international Scheme of Minority Protection, it is proposed that India should be allowed to apply the Scheme to herself which has been so effectively applied to other States ;

(8) That, even if the different minorities and communities of India agree to go into arbitration or to a judicial tribunal for the settlement of their differences, the settlement for which India is already responsible in Europe as an original member of the League ranks as International Law binding upon the arbitral body proposed ; and

(9) That, failing any agreement between the different minorities and communities of India, if the British Government has to intervene for a settlement of their differences, that intervention must necessarily be on the lines of the League's Scheme to which the British Government is committed in a very special manner in respect of its formulation and elaboration.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi, Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticisms of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.

ENGLISH

NUMBER: THE LANGUAGE OF SCIENCE

By Tobias Dantzig, Ph.D., Professor of Mathematics, University of Maryland. (George Allen & Union Ltd. London.)

This is a book which I have read with delight and profit, and which I can recommend not only to students of mathematical science but also to such laymen as are interested in the history of human culture in all its aspects. As the author tells us in the preface, it neither deals with the technicalities of mathematical science for which the layman has a horror, nor is it a technical history of the mathematical science chronicling the dates of important discoveries; the story is here told in plain words of the evolution of one, probably the most fundamental side, of mathematical culture, from the earliest times (Egyptians and Sumerians) to the modern age. The style is invigorating, and the interest never flags. It reads like a story book, and leads the reader from one abstruse idea to another in a most fascinating style.

The author begins with an examination of the number sense which is found not only amongst the primitive people, but also amongst some animals. He tells us how civilized men from the earliest time had attempted to develop his 'number sense' with the aid of suitable symbolisms, and takes us through the attempts of the ancient Egyptians, Sumero-Accadians, Greeks and then comes to the modern Hindu-Arabic decimal notation. Regarding this great discovery, he quotes the opinion of one of the greatest of mathematicians who ever lived:

"It is India that gave us the ingenious method of expressing all numbers by ten symbols, each receiving a value of positions as well as an absolute value: a profound and important idea which appears so simple to us now that we ignore its true merit. But its very simplicity, the great ease which it has lent to all computations, puts our arithmetic in the first rank of useful inventions: and we shall appreciate the grandeur of this achievement the more when we remember that it escaped the genius of Archimedes and Apollonius, two of the greatest men produced by antiquity" (Laplace.)

It is now fairly certain that the decimal notation was invented in India sometime between 400 and 500 A. D., and introduced to the Arabic world by Muhammad Ibn Musa al Chorasami.

It is expressly called the Hindu method by Ibn Musa and the subsequent Arabic mathematicians, but this has been disputed recently by Kaye. Dr. B. B. Datta of the Calcutta University has however shown that Kaye's arguments are entirely fallacious and are due to his ignorance of Sanskrit. It is pleasant to notice that the author of the present treatise has

not allowed himself to be influenced by the ill-conceived arguments of Kaye.

In the subsequent chapter, the author goes on expounding how the number-concept went on expanding, how starting from the primitive conception of positive integrals the concept of negative numbers, irrationals, imaginary and composite numbers, and transcendentials were successively arrived at.

He ascribes the discovery of irrational numbers such as "root two" to the Pythagorians, whose Universe was ruled by numbers. But the principle was found to have its limitations as the diagonal of a square was found to be incommensurable with its sides. Sridharacharyya in the 9th century used the irrationals for the general solution of quadratic equations and this fact was made known to Europe through the Arab mathematicians. The seeds of mathematical science, when once sown on the West-European soil, flourished with a vigour and life which had never been witnessed in the East. Regarding this event, the author quotes the mathematician Jacobi:

"History knows a midnight, which we may estimate at about 1000 A. D., when the human race had lost the arts and sciences even to memory. The last twilight of paganism was gone, and yet the new day had not begun. Whatever was left of culture in the world was found only with the Saracens, and a Pope eager to learn studied in disguise at their Universities and so became the wonder of the West. Finally Christendom, tired of praying to the dead bones of the martyrs, flocked to the tomb of the Saviour himself only to find for a second time that the grave was empty, and that Christ had risen from the Dead. The mankind too rose from the dead. It returned to the activities and the business of life.... At last, however, the daylight broke, and mankind reassured, determined to take advantage of its gifts and to create a knowledge of nature based on independent thought, . . . The dawn of this day in history is known as the Renaissance."

Our author deals with the development of mathematical culture under this Renaissance, of course, always taking care to begin with the Greeks. It may be remarked in passing that in the Eastern countries, the spirit of free enquiry, of which the best representatives in India were Mahavir (800 A. D.) and Bhaskaracharyya (1060 A. D.), Omar Khayyam in Persia (twelfth century), and which later excited the wonder of European savants, was smothered by barbarities committed by hordes of various Central Asian tribes (Turks and Mongols) in the culture lands of India, Persia, and Mesopotamia, as a result of which the light departed out of these lands. The new light shed its first lustre on the Italian soil, and its first triumph was the solution of the cubic equation which was never attempted by Hindus, and

only unsuccessfully attempted by the famous Omar Khayyam, better known as a poet. Italy also produced Galileo, the creator of the science of Dynamics, which according to Spengler, is the distinctive contribution of West Europe to civilization. Our author traces the beginnings of dynamics to the Sophist school, particularly to Zeno the Eleatic who in his famous argument of Achilles and the tortoise, tried to disprove the reality of motion. But Greek thought, like all ancient thought, was essentially static. But after this temporary glow, the spirit of free enquiry was smothered in Italy by the fanatical clergy, and the light shifted to West Europe,—Germany, France, England, and the Scandinavian countries. The author traces and takes us through the discoveries of infinitesimals, transcendental, quaternions, transfinite, and antinomies etc. etc., concepts which even to the trained students of mathematics are abstruse enough. But his style and manner of presentation is such that the interest is always kept sustained. The book does not presuppose, as he tells us in the introduction, a mathematical education, on the part of the reader, but it presupposes something which is rarer: a capacity for absorbing and appraising ideas. At the present time there is a great need for a popular exposition of these abstruse ideas as these are being increasingly applied to problems of physics. The new quantum mechanics of Heisenberg, Dirac and Schrodinger makes use of the theory of groups, matrices, γ -numbers, and the indication is that results in pure mathematics, which are supposed by terribly practical-minded people to be the products of the disordered brains of some cranky geniuses, will find in the years to come increasing application in practical problems. No example is more striking than the way in which Riemann's four-dimensional non-Euclidian geometry, presented as a doctorate thesis in 1853, was found 63 years later by Einstein to provide the suitable symbols for working out his theories of Time and Space.

The reviewer is quite in agreement with the author's opinion that methods of teaching mathematics as practised in schools and colleges is very faulty, and instead of creating interest creates a distaste, as it neglects the cultural side altogether. He recommends the book for serious study to all students of the history of human culture. It will also form an excellent supplement to the usual text-books prescribed for students taking the honours course in mathematics in Indian Universities.

Meghnad Saha

THE PLATONIC TRADITION IN ANGLO-SAXON PHILOSOPHY

By John H. Muirhead, LL.D., Professor Emeritus of Philosophy in the University of Birmingham.
(George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.)

This volume, along with the *Philosophy of Coleridge* by the same author, is an able challenge to the current view that the chief and characteristic contribution of British philosophy to the speculative thought of Europe lies in the development of Empiricism to the time of Mill, Spencer and Adzwick, the seed of which was sown in the thought of Bacon, Hobbes and Locke—that this trend was taken into by the wave of Kantian and post-Kantian Idealism for a time, to return finally to its own old along lines of its own genius.

These two studies reveal to us streams of thought flowing concurrently yet undiscovered till the present time. Long before the time of Bacon the seeds of Platonism had been planted in England by John Scotus Erigena. In the early part of the century of Hobbes and Locke the revival of Platonic philosophy in Italy worked its way through schools in Oxford and Cambridge, more so through the latter. On the Continent, it is true, the current of Idealistic thought awaited Kant for its liberation from Cartesian Materialism and Lockian Empiricism, whereas on the British soil, thinkers like Coleridge were toiling to nurture the seed of Idealism that had already been planted. This continuity of Platonic tradition is then traced in this work through Ferrier, T. H. Green, Benjamin Jowett down to the present time. Though the author makes no pretence of furnishing us with a history of English and American Idealism, yet linking up a few main periods with no apparent continuity in a common trend of thought, he succeeds in convincing us of the Platonic tradition in Anglo-Saxon philosophy.

Dewanchand Sarma

KALIDASA

Sri Aurobindo. (Arya Sahitya Bhawan, Calcutta.) 1929.

Written from the æsthetic point of view, this brilliant and remarkable little book provides the reader with a stimulating survey of the ancient thoughts in the department of classical literature. It is interesting to see in this neat volume (covering only fifty-one pages), issued at a low price, the revival of a form of literature badly needed at the present moment. It is really a bracing monograph on the characteristic build of Kalidasa's æsthetic genius and at once reveals his remarkable position in the evolution of India's cultural life. The book points out, and that very ably and successfully, the temperaments predominant in Valmiki, Vyasa and Kalidasa. The author's comparison of Kalidasa with Shakespeare, his times with those of the Philosophers and Pauranikas deserves notice. The similes have always, as is universally known, the sharp and clear Kalidasian ring. The book contains the substance of Kalidasa's seasons which, in his opinion, "is the first poem in any literature written with the express object of describing nature." Kalidasa in his description, he holds, is always more intellectual and emotional than spiritual. The more one reads of Kalidasa from the pen of Sri Aurobindo, the thinker philosopher, critic, and artist, the more avid becomes the appetite. We must pay tribute to the highest standard of thought and expression it contains. As the most penetrating character study and superb literary criticism, the book remains unequalled in its kind. The book is small but very very weighty. We reckon it as a worthy contribution to literature.

Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan

A STUDY OF CONVERSION

An Enquiry into the development of Christian personality by the Rev. L. Wyatt Lang, Vicar of St. Mark's Church, Plumstead Common. Foreword by William Brown, M.D., D.Sc., (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.) Price 10s. 6d. net. Pages. 262.

The reader will find in this volume much that is absorbing and intensely suggestive and helpful in his

own individual life. One would like to see more light in the description of how individual minds develop ideals of conduct and specially of the manner in which power is obtained to strive for the ideal. The author is conscious of the difficulties. In exactly the same surroundings, one mind develops one ideal and another mind reacts in a different fashion. It is suggested that the ultimate explanation is to be found in the law of assimilation which governs "the whole development of personality." And the author would leave the problem at that, though he admits that the subject requires further research. We do not feel that the author has contributed much to the solution of this great problem. We are still in the realm of mystery. Further, we doubt if modern psychology has thrown any light at all on the mystery of conversion. Augustine centuries ago wrote: "Why this person and not the other are drawn to Him, no one should attempt to judge without running the risk of falling into error."

As a descriptive account, however, of the whole process of conversion, Mr. Lang's book is lucid, systematic and convincing. The accounts of conversions quoted at length are well-chosen and illustrative of the points at issue. We should be particularly thankful to the author for his insistence on the fact that conversion is a process of mental and spiritual growth, from childhood to death. "The duration of the conversion-process is almost co-terminous with life" (p. 253). Conversion is not ordinarily a sudden and catastrophic event in a man's life. "The three phases of the conversion process—recognition, decision and activity—normally pass smoothly into one another" (page 46).

Points of supreme interest are raised throughout the book; one having special relation to us in India is the greater frequency of conversions in Christianity than in any other religion. "The conversion experience is infrequent in pagan religions, owing probably to differences in the ideas of God and to depreciation in the value of personality... Conversion is indigenous in Christianity because of the great value it attaches to Christ's plan for human regeneration" (p. 16). The author describes the conversions of Ramkrishna and Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore. We are not competent to decide the extent to which pagan religions depreciate human personality, but we have no hesitation in saying that the most powerful urge to return to God is the belief that "He careth for us." If "God careth" we cannot be so worthless. The value of human soul, even the most degraded, is such that even God is intensely interested in it. He loves us with everlasting love. This faith, this conviction of God's everlasting care has broken the most obdurate hearts.

The analysis of the conversion-crisis, of the final decision to accept a new standard of life, leads the author to make some important observations as to the nature and influence of religious education. Mr. Lang is obviously not an intellectualist.—"An explanation of Christian character does not alone induce recognition or acceptance: before these are possible a person must give attention and be willing to be interested. But when the end is unappreciated, both attention and interest are withheld. In this way a large part of the influence of both secular and religious education is lost" (p. 201). "The devotional or emotional aspect of religious education seems to be much more important than simple instruction" (p. 33).

The careful reading of this book has left in us the striking impression that the Sin most grievous of

which we can be guilty is indecision and insincerity. "Sin can be defined as an unrestrained enjoyment of instinctive emotions." The self requires guidance and fixation of aim and this is supplied by the choice of an ideal. Drifting along kills personality. "Without decision religion becomes inept. The attitude of recognition without acceptance is delusive" (p. 257). The expression brings to our minds the following question: What are we to think of those who admire and recognise in Jesus Christ an ideal of life and yet do not accept Him? An aesthetic satisfaction will never supply the creative energy that will produce a new creature.

P. G. Bridge

REPORT OF THE LINDSAY COMMISSION

(Oxford University Press.) Pp. xiii+388. Price 3s. 6d.

"C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la gare" (railway station), was the remark of a Frenchman on seeing the Albert Memorial Hall in London, and it often happens that the admired monuments of one age become objects of scorn in the next. The Lindsay Report has unfortunately all the marks of a monumental work, both in its contents, and also in its get-up, which latter is, however, below the usual standards of the Oxford Press, no fewer than eight pages being left blank (pp. 66, 67, 70, 71, 74, 75, 78, 79). The tone of the whole report is given by two significant sentences which occur at the beginning. "We knew that if we should advocate a radical revision of policy we had no power whatever to bind those who appointed us to accept our findings and no certainty that when they considered our report they would be convinced by it. We were aware that if the danger we should suggest should be realized, if we recommended a radical reconsideration of policy which those who appointed us could not accept, we should only have done something to discredit a policy which we could not change" (pp. 7-8). Now, the whole idea of appointing a commission is that it should first investigate, and then report the defects it has discovered, and offer suggestions whereby the defects may be remedied. So far as the defects reported by the Commission go, they were surely sufficiently obvious long before it was appointed; then as regards the remedies suggested, these are naturally governed by the two sentences quoted above. The chief idea of the Lindsay Commission is that the colleges should try to obtain greater prestige, and therefore greater influence in the universities, by instituting research departments, and the financial difficulty of supporting such departments is slurred over in some sentences of optimistic verbiage. That the appointment of the Commission led to a great increase in the clerical work of the colleges is obvious from the statistics given in the appendix, which however need not be considered too seriously as they have not been worked out on a common basis; that the Report will lead to the appointment of some new Committee which will demand further statistics is probable; that any good will come from this increase in the work of the already overworked college staffs, is doubtful. Until the colleges, or college authorities are willing to undertake the risks and responsibilities of leadership by striking out in fresh directions, the Christian colleges in India will remain as they are at present, in

some cases better, in some cases worse, than the Government colleges.

Christopher Ackroyd

STUDIES IN INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE, 1931.

By H. L. Chhabani, M. A. Price Rs. 6 Pp. 260.

This book is largely based upon lectures delivered by the author to the University students on Indian currency problems during 1921-27. It is in a way an advanced treatment of the subject of Indian currency and exchange which the author dealt with in his previous publication on "Indian Currency, Banking and Exchange."

The author advocates currency reform through the maintenance of (a) convertibility of rupees and notes into gold bullion, and (b) the demonetization of the British sovereign, amalgamation of the paper currency and gold standard reserves, creation of a central bank to assume control of currency and credit and stabilizing the gold value of the rupee.

In the line of argument the author has taken up for all these topics, he has our full sympathy if not entire support. We are sure after the recent happenings the author will himself modify some of his views and cease to be so insistent on the maintenance of an impartial attitude for which he appears to be very anxious in this publication. As a guide to the students and to those desiring an elementary introduction to the complicated subject of Indian currency and exchange this book should prove valuable. The author does not unequivocally support the claims of Indian Chambers of Commerce for a revision of the Ratio and yet his suggestion for the stabilization of the gold value of the rupee can have no other meaning and necessary consequence than an alteration in the Ratio. In this respect the author seems to have neglected the true implications of his suggestions. Any way, Professor Chhabani deserves to be congratulated for his timely studies.

INDIAN CURRENCY, FINANCE AND EXCHANGE, 1929.

By H. L. Chhabani, M. A. Price Rs. 3. Pp. 165.

This is a small compendium of studies by Mr. Chhabani into the field of Indian currency, finance and exchange. After the publication of his latest book noted above, it is hardly necessary to ask the public to go through the previous publication by the same author. There is only one thing attractive about this little book, viz., that it gives in a nut-shell the theory of money and short account of the Indian monetary and banking system.

THEORIES OF POPULATION FROM RALEIGH TO ARTHUR YOUNG.

By John Boner, M. A., LL. D., P. B. A. Price 10s. Pp. 253. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd.)

The problems of population have offered insuperable difficulties to students of Economics in all ages. The latest studies in this connection have given a definitely new outlook. Dr. Boner has presented a very learned study tracing the development of thoughts on population from Raleigh to Arthur Young.

This book consists mainly of lectures given at University College, London, during February and March 1929, dealing with the thought and theories of

leading men of the 17th and 18th centuries in England on the subjects of population and vital statistics.

This is a very useful work on Demography. Dr. Boner begins with Raleigh in an atmosphere of plantations, plagues and wars. From Raleigh we learn to regard the race but to forget the individual. Bacon taught us to rely on a strong Yeomanry. Then came Hobbes who by inspiring everyone else to write against him caused a large addition to the stock of our knowledge. Harrington saw the sucking power of the cities. John Graunt in his memorable "Observations" expounded the true power of population within and without walls of cities to fight the plague. Graunt made a distinctive contribution towards the study of large numbers. Petty was of considerable help in bringing into use the figures of countries. Then came Halley who presented better figures and the doctrine of chances received better handling. Johan Peter Süssmilch, the father of German Demography, made the most of every figure that he got whether on the Continent or in England. To him Hume is a better guide than Montesquieu. This is his link with Hume, who is more economist than demographer. Richard Price may be called somewhat reactionary in his attitude to the question of England's population. But he stimulates other men to think on the subject. Arthur Young, the last in the chain, is the most practical and convincing. He took over the whole theory of population and studied it in its relation to general economic theory.

Nalinaksha Sanyal

PANORAMIC INDIA

Sixty-four Panoramic photographs by W. R. Wallace. Introduction and notes by Kanaiya Lal H. Vakil, B.A., LL.B. (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay).

The author (or should we say photo-artist) and the publisher are to be felicitated on this beautiful production. This is probably the first production of its kind sponsored by an Indian publishing concern. Although the printing—evidently by the Rotogravure process—has been in Germany, that does not detract from the value of the publisher's enterprise.

Mr. Vakil's notes add to the value of this book to the artist and the art-lover.

Some of the photographs, as for example No. 17—Benares, No. 32—Ajanta, and No. 46—Udaipur carry new revelations of beauty by their novel presentation of familiar scenes.

K. N. Chatterjee

THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF WOMAN'S EDUCATION

By the late Prof. G. M. Chiplunkar, B. A., S. T. C. D. (Bom), M. A. (U. S. A.), Fellow of the Indian Women's University, Poona

The late Prof. Chiplunkar was a student of sociology and a close associate of Dr. Karve in the work of woman's education. This book, published after his death, is the result of these two prominent interests in his life; for it attempts to study the problem of women's education in India on a scientific basis.

Professor Chiplunkar belonged to the generation of social reformers who, after their first period of

worship of the West, went to the other extreme of total condemnation of everything western. The first part of the book is, therefore, devoted to a detailed criticism of the present system of higher education of women prevalent in the West, which, he tries to prove with the help of medical and psychological authorities, has resulted in the masculinization of women, the break-up of the home and the total unfitness of the modern educated women for the duties of wifehood and motherhood.

The second part of the book is constructive. It contains a plea for a separate women's university in India, where girls are to be educated solely with the purpose of preparing them for the duties of wifehood and motherhood in their future lives. "To Indian women no education is more valuable than the education for home-making," says the author, adding that "wifehood and motherhood are the two great careers open to our Indian women and child-widows." Women's education Professor Chiplunkar would make strictly vocational, and the vocations he would restrict to wifehood and motherhood. Except for this general principle that women's education is to be aimed only at preparing them as fit wives and mothers, and not also as perfect women with fuller inner and outer lives—Prof. Chiplunkar gives some valuable suggestions regarding the syllabus, the hours of study and the ideal educational conditions for growing girls.

The problem of women's education is one of the most vital problems in India at the present day. Prof. Chiplunkar's book on the subject, though biased, is to be welcomed as an earnest attempt at tackling the problem.

Asha Adhikari

VASIKARANA TANTRAM OR THE ART OF CONTROLLING OTHERS

By *Sicami Premananda Yogi*. (M. S. Ramulu & Co, Rayapuram, Madras.) Pp. 283+xii, price Rs. 3.

This book is a curious hotchpotch of Eastern and Western occultism. It gives instructions for the development of "soul force" by the practice of universal love. "Thoughts of human beings acting on the invisible matter and surrounding and interpenetrating them, creating eddies, that may be compared to charged electric batteries." The author gives specific directions to develop the "controlling look" which compels others to obey one's wishes. Perhaps the most entertaining description refers to the method of "taming a violent husband." It would be an interesting psychological study to find out why books of this type generally find their publishers in Madras.

G. Bose

BENGALI

KALIDASER GALPA, OR TALES FROM KALIDAS

By *Raghunath Mallik, M.A.* With a foreword by *Rabindranath Tagore*. (Prabasi Press, 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.) Price Rs. 3.

This handsomely got-up volume tells in Bengali prose the stories of seven works of the immortal Sanskrit poet Kalidas, namely, *Kumara-sambhava*, *Raghuvamsa*, *Nalodaya*, *Meghaduta*, *Vikramorvasiyam*,

Malavikagnimitra and *Abhijnan-shakuntalam*. He has told the stories in a popular and interesting style, retaining at the same time some passages the beauty of the great poet's lines. The book will give those who cannot read and understand the original of Kalidas easily, some idea of the charm of his stories within a brief compass. It also contains a paper on the times of Kalidas by the author. There are many interesting line-drawings printed with the text and twelve illustrations in colour, by some of the best artists of Bengal. The cloth cover is gorgeous with a design in gold. The pale pink jacket is still more charming with its design printed in black and blue and gold, the deer being in gold.

X.

MARATHI

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA DARAR

No. 16. *The Bassein Campaign 1737-19*. Pp. 142 and one map. (Re 1. 8 as.) No. 17. *Shu and Bajirao, Administrative*. Pp. 134 and two plates of facsimile of handwriting (Re 1. 9 as.) (Government Central Press, Bombay.)

The importance of the 16th Part lies in its giving the Maratha side of the war (1737-1740) which is "justly considered as one of the greatest exploits of the Marathas." In it "the losses to the Portuguese amounted to nearly the whole of the northern provinces, from Varseva to Daman... with 40 villages and a revenue of over £2,500. They lost besides Bassein, eight cities, 20 fortresses... the famous island of Salsette where was situated the fortress of Thana... In Goa they lost Salsette (southern) On the Goanese continent Bardes was also lost.. The value of the implements of war, ammunition, etc. lost in the various fortresses, cities, and ships, exceeded £250,000, exclusive of 593 pieces of artillery... The expenses [to the Goa Government] during two years of the war amounted to £230,000." (Danvers's *Portuguese in India*, ii. 412.)

The hero of the campaigns in the "North" (i. e. Daman) was Chimnaji Appa, brother of the Peshwa Baji Rao I., and the many despatches addressed to him which are here printed for the first time give many personal details and unknown episodes, enabling us to fill in the outline of the narrative known before. The treaties which concluded this war between the Portuguese and the Marathas are given in their Portuguese version in J. F. J. Biker's *Collecao de Tratados e concertos de pazes*, Vol. VI (1885), pp. 220-220. The translation was done by Senhor Bogañ Camotin, whose knowledge of Sanskrit is evidenced by the fact that he renders *Shāhu-nripater-harsha-nidhān* by *Raxa Xahu Rey*, *Thesouro de alegria* without the mark of the genitive case! The original Marathi texts of these treaties are said by Biker to be preserved in the *Archivo da India*, livro 1 degree Pazes. It would be interesting if any scholar in Goa prints them as a supplement to this volume.

Part 17, *Shahu and Bajirao (Administrative)* is equally interesting and important, but from another point of view. The *Times* in a recent issue aptly remarks, "The publication of Wesley's letters adds to our knowledge of his character by intimate personal touches rather than by any striking novelty of opinion or action." This sentence almost exactly describes the nature of the volume before us. We

say 'almost', because we can never forget that Shahu and Baji Rao were both of them makers of Maratha history, a very critical epoch in the destiny of that nation, and a correct knowledge of their character and policy—which the present volume gives such detail—is indispensable to a true interpretation of the facts of Maratha history. To put it briefly, Shahu appears at the end of the volume, not the "sleeping partner" and semi-imbecile puppet on the throne that popular tradition has so long represented him to have been, but a very active, wide-awake and dutiful sovereign. The varied importance of this volume cannot be over-estimated.

The Bombay Government deserve the thanks of all parts of India for this liberal contribution to our historical knowledge.

Jadunath Sarkar

SITA
A Norel by Mr. Ramrao S. Manepatil, M.A., LL. B. Shriapure Baroda. Price Rs. 2.

Sita, a delightful norel from the pen of Sjt. R. S. Manepatil, is a very welcome addition to the current Marathi literature. The plot or theme of the novel is well conceived and very intelligently executed. Interest is sustained without interruption from start to finish and sentiments expressed through some of the characters in the book are as admirable as is the manner of their portrayal. The author's official life in a premier State affords him a splendid opportunity of studying the rural conditions and the problems that confront the rural populace. Consequently the author has been successful in presenting a vivid picture and thereby emphasizing with force the necessity for individual as well as concerted effort in the social, economic and political uplift of the rural population, which is the real backbone of the country.

The author's style may lack something of the admirable simplicity of language but there is much to commend in the brevity and lucidity of his expressions which amply compensate for the former drawback. On the whole the book affords very pleasant reading inasmuch as it keeps up an unflagging interest throughout its perusal. That the author, overpreoccupied as he must be in his official life, should have found time for such literary pursuits is highly commendable. The Marathi reading world will expect more such efforts from the author. We wish the book had been more cheaply priced to be within the reach of the common folk.

R. M. K.

GUJARATI

SWARAJYA NE SANSKRATE

By Prof. J. B. Durkal, M.A., of the M. T. B. Arts College, Surat. Printed at the Shankar Printing Press, Surat. Cloth bound Pp. 324. Price Rs. 2 (1931)

Prof. Durkal's activities are many-sided, but a couple of common features always colour them, they are observation and thoughtfulness. The rapidly changing political problems of our country have inspired him to write this book, which consists of a number of short and long essays, on subjects bearing on the present political ferment. He, like most of us, is not only for Swarajya but also for

surajya, good government, i.e., a Rajya (rule) under which the different creeds and cultures, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Jain, Parsi, Christian, should take their proper place side by side and flourish. The panacea that he finds for ending the present chaotic conditions in India and her future uplift is education, not education imparted on present (Western) lines, but an entire overhaul of this system. The author believes in old Indian culture and therefore naturally harks back to the "old strong principles," which should be "proclaimed by beat of drum." He has, for the benefit of those who do not know Gujarati, contributed a brief "Review in English of the present political problems," which is full of thought. People may not agree with all his views but all the same the compilation is a valuable contribution to the political literature of the day.

SAUBHAGYA RATRI, PART I.

By Thakur Narayan Visanji and Bhimashankar Bhuralal Sharma. Printed at the Arya Sudharal Press, Baroda. Cardboard Cover, pp. 222. Price Rs. 2. (1931)

Saubhagya ratri, is the first night of the honeymoon of a newly wedded couple, and Pandit Krishnakant Malaviya has hung on that peg, a number of pieces of advice to the bride as to how she should conduct herself or behave on the threshold of her married life. In a series of letters in Hindi and addressed by her friend to the bride, a number of subjects have been handled, the combined aim and effect of which is to make the bride an ideal housekeeper and wife; no aspect of the household or domestic life of a Hindu is left untouched; illustrations from the literatures of the East and the West have been used to reinforce the truths told by the writer. Panditji's own foreword is a very clear exposition of the matter, and the capable translators have been fortunately able to preserve this force and effectiveness of the original Hindi: this is what makes this book valuable.

K. M. J.

VANAR SENA NI VATO

Mr. Keshavprasad G. Desai, B. A., LL. B. (Jitantal Amarsi, Amedabad.) Re. 1.

Vanar Sena Ni Vato is the catching title of a collection of interesting short stories for children by Sjt. Keshavprasad Desai. *Vanar Sena* was a very fitting epitaph given to the army of the juveniles during the civil disobedience campaign in 1930-31 and the *Sena* formed a very peculiar phase of the great national struggle. Mr. Desai has, therefore, very happily chosen the title of his new book.

Mr. Desai has made a creditable contribution to the attempt in this particular direction and seems to have developed a special faculty for juvenile literature. His delightful stories presented here in a well got-up book make very pleasant reading to children. The book is an opportune publication and places within the reach of every parent a suitable gift for their children at a ridiculously cheap price, as the book is cloth-bound and printed in thick, antique paper in bold types. The author deserves congratulations from and gratitude of the little world.

R. M. K.

Rabindranath Tagore

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

RABINDRANATH Tagore is our greatest poet, and prose-writer. Son of a *Maharshi* (a "great seer"), and himself a seer and sage, he belongs to a family the most gifted in Bengal in the realms of religion, philosophy, literature, music, painting, and the histrionic art. There is no department of Bengali literature that he has touched which he has not adorned, elevated, and filled with inspiration and lighted up by the lustre of his genius. Difficult as it undoubtedly would be to give an exhaustive list of his multifarious achievements from early youth upwards—for his is a many-sided and towering personality, even the departments of literature and knowledge which he has touched and adorned would make a pretty long list. The late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, M. A., D. Litt., C. I. E., said of the Poet in the course of his presidential address at the preparatory meeting for the Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations :

"He has tried all phases of literature—couplets, stanzas, short poems, longer pieces, short stories, longer stories, fables, novels and prose romances, dramas, farces, comedies and tragedies, songs, operas, *kirtans*, *palas*, and, last but not least, lyric poems. He has succeeded in every phase of literature he has touched, but he has succeeded in the last phase of literature beyond measure. His essays are illuminating, his sarcasms biting, his satires piercing. His estimate of old poets is deeply appreciative, and his grammatical and lexicographical speculations go further inward than those of most of us."

Tennyson, in his poem addressed to Victor Hugo, called that great French author "Victor in Drama, Victor in Romance, Cloud-weaver of phantasmal hopes and fears," "Lord of human tears," "Child-lover," and "Weird Titan by thy winter weight of years as yet unbroken. . . ." All these epithets and many more can be rightly applied to Rabindranath Tagore.

Many works and some kinds of works of Rabindranath in Bengali have not yet been translated into English or thence into other Western and Eastern languages. In

the translations, moreover, much, if not all, of the music, the suggestiveness, the undefinable associations clustering round Bengali words and phrases, and the aroma, racy of Bengal and India, of the original has been lost. No doubt, the translations of the poems and dramas—particularly when done by the poet himself, have often gained in directness, in the beauty and sublimity of simplicity, and in the music and strength belonging to the English or other language of the translations. But admitting all this, one is still constrained to observe that, for a correct estimate and full appreciation of Rabindranath's intellectual and literary powers, his gifts and genius, it is necessary to study both his original works in Bengali and their English translations as well as his original works in English like *Personality*, *Sadhana*, and *The Religion of Man*. What high estimates of Tagore as an author many competent judges have formed without the advantage of reading his Bengali works, will appear when the *Golden Book of Tagore* is published. By way of giving a foretaste of such estimates, I may quote the following from Sir C. V. Raman's speech at the preparatory meeting for the Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations :

"The award of the Nobel Prize for Literature generally causes dissatisfaction ; for many question the justice of the award. It is a difficult task to make satisfactory awards every year for poets ; for poets are rarer than scientists, and good poets are rarer still. If awards for literature were made every twenty years, preferably once in a century, Rabindranath was certain to be chosen."

The music of his verse, and often of his prose as well, which fills the outer ear is but an echo of the inner harmony of humanity and the universe—"the music of the spheres"—which exists at the heart of things and which he has caught and made manifest by his writings. How wonderfully full of real life and colour and motion and variety they are ! His hymns and sermons and some

of his other writings let us unconsciously into the secret of his access to the court of the King of kings, nay to His very presence, and of his communion with Him. Thence he has brought us the message: "Be lovingly one with humanity, one with all things that live, one with the universe, one with ME." His hymns and other writings in a spiritual vein have, therefore, brought healing to many a troubled soul.

Insight and imagination are his magic wands, by whose power he roams where he will and leads his readers thither, too. In his works Bengali literature has outgrown its provincial character and has become fit to fraternize with world literature. Universal currents of thought and spirituality have flowed into Bengal through his writings.

In philosophy he is not a system-builder. He is of the line of our ancient religious-philosophical teachers whose religion and philosophy are fused components of one whole. Both his poetry and prose embody his philosophy—the latest prose-work in English being *The Religion of Man*.

But he is not simply a literary man, though his eminence as an author is such that for a foreigner the Bengali language would be worth learning for his writings alone.

It does not in the least detract from his work as a musician to admit that he is not an *ustad* or "expert" in music, as that term is understood in common parlance. He has such a sensitive ear that he appears to live in two worlds—one, the world of visible forms and colours, and another, the world of sound-forms and sound-colours. His musical genius and instinct are such that his achievement in that art has extorted the admiration of many "experts." This is said not with reference only to his numerous hymns and patriotic and other songs and to his thrilling, sweet, soulful and rapt singing in different periods of his life, but also in connection with what he has done for absolute music. He is not only the author of the words of his songs, possessed of rare depth of meaning and suggestiveness and power of inspiration, but is also the creator of what may be called new airs and tunes.

I had the good fortune to be present at some of the meetings in Germany and

Czechoslovakia where he recited some of his poems. His recitations were such that even when the poems recited were in Bengali and hence not understood by the audience, he had to repeat them several times at the earnest request of the hearers. Those who have heard him read his addresses and deliver his extempore speeches and sermons in Bengali know how eloquent he could be as a speaker, though his delivery in years past was often so rapid and his sentences branched out in such bewildering luxuriance as to make him the despair of reporters.

He is a master and a consummate teacher of the histrionic art. Those who have seen him appear in leading rôles in many of his plays have experienced how natural and elevating acting can be. From the prime of his manhood upwards he has been in the habit of reading out his new poems, discourses, short stories, plays and novels to select circles. On such occasions, too, his elocution and histrionic talents come into full play.

If, as observed by Mr. V. N. Mehta, I.C.S., as president of the last Allahabad University Music Conference, it is true that "the credit of reviving music in public for respectable women goes to Bengal and the Brahma Samaj," part of that credit belongs to Rabindranath Tagore and his family. The Tagore family and Rabindranath have also made it possible for girls and women of respectable classes to act. The poet has also rehabilitated in Bengal dancing by respectable girls and women as a means of self-expression and innocent amusement and play. Like some kinds of songs, acting and dancing of some sorts can be of a degrading character. But all singing, acting and dancing are not necessarily bad, and should not, therefore, be indiscriminately condemned.

Tagore's patriotic songs are characteristic. They are refined and restrained, and free from bluff, bravado, bluster and boasting. Some of them twine their tendrils round the tenderest chords of our hearts, some enthrone the Motherland as the Adored in the shrine of our souls, some sound as a clarion call to our drooping spirits filling us with hope and the will to do and dare and

suffer, some call on us to have the lofty courage to be in the minority of one; but in none are heard the clashing of interests, the warring passions of races, or the echoes of old, unhappy, far-off historic strifes and conflicts. In many of those written during the stirring times of the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal a couple of decades ago, the poet spoke out with a directness which is missed in many of his writings, though not in the "Katha-O-Kahini" ballads which make the heart beat thick and fast and the blood tingle and leap and course swiftly in our veins.

To Andrews Fletcher of Salton, a famous Scottish patriot, is attributed the authorship of the observation that "if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." He is generally quoted, however, as having said so with respect to songs. Both ballads and songs have much to do with the making of nations. Rabindranath's songs and ballads—the former to a greater extent than the latter, have been making Bengal to no small extent and will continue to mould the character of Bengalis, literate and illiterate, town-dwellers and village folk, and their culture and civilization. But it is not merely as a maker of songs that he has taken part in the Swadeshi movement. His socio-political addresses, the annual fairs suggested or organized by him, are part of the same national service. He has worked earnestly for the revival of weaving and other arts and crafts of the country—particularly village arts and crafts, and contributed his full share to making education in India Indian as well as human and humane in the broadest sense, and to the sanitation, reconstruction, reorganization and rejuvenation of villages. Even official reports have praised him as a model landlord for his activities in these directions in his estate.

His scheme of constructive non-co-operation, as outlined in his "Swadeshi Samaj," etc., was part of his Swadeshi movement politics. The "no-tax" campaign adumbrated in his play *Paritran* ("Deliverance") and the joyful acceptance of suffering and chains by his Dhananjay Bairagi were his idea of what political leaders should do.

As he has denounced Nationalism in his book of that name, taking the word to mean that organized form of a people which is meant for its selfish aggrandizement, even at the expense of other peoples by foul, cruel and unrighteous means, and as he is among the chief protagonists of Internationalism, his profound and all-sided love of the Motherland has sometimes not been evident perhaps to superficial observers. But those who know him and his work and the literature he has created, know that he loves his land

"with love far-brought

From out the storied Past, and used

Within the Present, but transfused

Thro' future time by power of thought."

His penetrating study of and insight into the history of India and Greater India have strengthened this love.

In his patriotism there is no narrowness, no chauvinism, no hatred or contempt for the foreigner. He believes that India has a message and a mission, a special work entrusted to her by Providence. But he has never denied that other countries, too, may have their own special messages and missions. He does not dismiss the West with a supercilious sneer, but wishes the East to take what it should and can from the West, not like a beggar without patrimony or as an adopted child, but as a strong and healthy man may take wholesome food from all quarters and assimilate it. This taking on the part of the East from the West, moreover, is the reception of stimulus and impetus, more than or rather than learning, borrowing or imitation. The West, too, can derive advantage from contact with the East, different from the material gain of the plunderer and the exploiter. The study of his writings and utterances leaves us with the impression that the West can cease to dominate in the East only when the latter, fully awake, self-knowing, self-possessed and self-respecting, no longer requires any blister or whip and leaves no department of life and thought largely unoccupied by its own citizens.

His hands reach out to the West and the East, to all humanity, not as those of a suppliant, but for friendly grasp and salute. He is among the foremost reconcilers of

racess and continents. He has renewed India's cultural connection with Japan, China and Islands-India by his visits to those lands.

In spite of the cruel wrongs inflicted on India by the British *nation*, and whilst condemning such wrong-doing unsparingly, he has never refrained from being just and even generous in his estimate of the British *people*.

His politics are concerned more with character-building than with the more vocal manifestations of that crowded department of national activity. Freedom he prizes as highly and ardently as the most radical politician, but his conception of freedom is full and fundamental. To him the chains of inertness, cowardice and ignorance, of selfishness and pleasure-seeking, of superstition and lifeless custom, of the authority of priestcraft and letter of scripture, constitute our bondage no less than the yoke of the stranger, which is largely a consequence and a symptom. He prizes and insists upon the absence of external restraints. But this does not constitute the whole of his idea of freedom. There should be inner freedom also, born of self-sacrifice, enlightenment, self-purification and self-control. This point of view has largely moulded his conception of the Indian political problem and the best method of tackling it. He wishes to set the spirit free, to give it wings to soar, so that it may have largeness of vision and a boundless sphere of activity. He desires that fear should be cast out. Hence his politics and his spiritual ministrations merge in each other.

Age and bodily infirmities have not made him a reactionary and obscurantist. His spirit is ever open to new light. He continues to be a progressive social reformer. His intellectual powers are still at their height. His latest poetic creations of the month—perhaps one may safely say, of the week or the day—do not betray any dimness of vision, any lack of inspiration or fertility, nor are there in them any signs of repetition. He continues to be among our most active writers. This is for the joy of creation and self-expression and fraternal giving, as he loves his kind, and human intercourse is dear to his soul.

His ceaseless and extensive reading in very many diverse subjects, including some out-of-the-way sciences and crafts, and his travels in many continents enable him to establish ever new intellectual and spiritual contacts, to be abreast of contemporary thought, to keep pace with its advance and with the efforts of man to plant the flag of the conscious master in the realms of the unknown—himself being one of the most sanguine and dauntless of intellectual and spiritual prospectors and explorers.

When Curzon partitioned Bengal against the protests of her people, he threw himself heart and soul into the movement for the self-realization and self-expression of the people in all possible ways. But when popular resentment and despair led to the outbreak of terrorism, he was the first to utter the clearest note of warning, to assert that Indian nationalism should not stultify and frustrate itself by recourse to violence. He has been equally unsparing in his condemnation of the predatory instincts and activities of nations, whether of the military or of the economic variety. He has never believed that war can ever be ended by the pacts of robber nations so long as they do not repent and give up their wicked ways and the spoils thereof. The remedy lies in the giving up of greed and the promotion of neighbourly feelings between nation and nation as between individual men. Hence the poet-seer has repeatedly given in various discourses and contexts his exposition of the ancient text of the Ishopanishad :

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत् ।

तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ॥

"Everything that exists in this universe is pervaded by God. Discarding evil thought and earthly greed, enjoy the bliss of God; do not covet anybody's wealth."

In pursuance of this line of thought, while the poet has expressed himself in unambiguous language against the use of violence by the party in power in Russia, and while he still holds that private property has its legitimate uses for the maintenance and promotion of individual freedom and individual self-creation and self-expression and for social welfare, he sees and states clearly

the advantages of Russian collectivism, as will be evident from his following cabled reply to Professor Petrov, of V. O. K. S., Moscow:

"Your success is due to turning the tide of wealth from the individual to collective humanity."

As an educationist, he has preserved in his ideal of Visvabharati, the international university, the spirit of the ancient ideal of the *tapovanas* or forest retreats of the Teachers of India—its simplicity, its avoidance of softness and luxury, its insistence on purity and chastity, its spirituality, its practical touch with nature, and the free play that it gave to all normal activities of body and soul. While the ancient spirit has been thus sought to be kept up, there is in this open-air institution at Santiniketan no cringing to mere forms, however hoary with antiquity. The Poet's mental outlook is universal. He claims for his people all knowledge and culture, whatever its origin, as their province. Hence, while he wants the youth of India of both sexes to be rooted in India's past and to draw sustenance therefrom, while he has been practically promoting the culture of the principal religious communities of India as far as the resources of the institution permits, he has also extended a friendly invitation and welcome to the exponents of foreign cultures as well. This has made it possible, for any who may so desire, to pursue the study of comparative religion at Santiniketan. He wants that there should be no racialism, no sectarian and caste and colour prejudice in his institution.

Visvabharati stands for neither merely literary, nor for merely vocational education, but for both and more. Tagore wants both man the knower and man the maker. He wants an intellectual as well as an artistic and aesthetic education. He wants the growth of a personality equal to meeting the demands of society and solitude alike. Santiniketan now comprises a primary and a high school, a college, a school of graduate research, a school of painting and modelling and of some crafts, a music school, a school of agriculture and village welfare work, a co-operative bank with branches and a public health institute. The poet's idea of a village is that it should combine all its beautiful and healthy rural

characteristics with the amenities of town life necessary for fulness of life and efficiency. Some such amenities have already been provided in his schools. For want of adequate resources, it has not yet been possible to teach the sciences here up to any higher stage than the elementary. For lack of resources in men and money and other reasons the founder's ideal, too, has not yet been fully realized. There is co-education in all stages. It is one of the cherished desires of the poet to give girl students complete education in a Woman's University based on scientific methods, some of which are the fruits of his own insight and mature experience. But financial stringency stands in his way.

When he is spoken of as the founder of Visvabharati, it is not to be understood that he has merely given it a local habitation and a name and buildings and funds and ideals. That he has, no doubt, done. To provide funds, he had, in the earlier years of the school, sometimes to sell the copyright of some of his books and even to part with his wife's jewellery. In the earlier years of the institution, he took classes in many subjects, lived with the boys in their rooms, entertained them in the evenings by story-telling, recitations of his poems, games of his own invention, methods of sense-training of his own devising, etc. Even recently he has been known to take some classes. And he continues to keep himself in touch with the institution in various ways.

Rabindranath has been a journalist from his teens. He has often written with terrible truthfulness—I can bear witness to the fact from personal knowledge. It is a damaging proof of the deterioration of British rule in India that what could be lawfully and safely published in periodicals half a century ago cannot now be published without the risk of being pounced upon. An article contributed by Rabindranath to *Bharati* fifty years ago under the sarcastic caption 'जुतार व्यवस्था' ('prescription of shoe-strokes') comes to my mind in this connection. But let that pass. The poet has successfully edited several monthlies and contributed to numerous more. He has written for many weeklies, too. He is the

only man in Bengal I know who was and still is capable of filling a magazine from the first page to the last with excellent reading in prose and verse of every description required. Still, it is lucky that he has not stuck long to journalism. Men of genius having a journalistic bent would certainly be an acquisition to any periodical or newspaper as editor. But as plodding and a third-rate intellect may do for the profession, according to the usual requirements of the public, it is best that geniuses should do other work.

I have been privileged to publish perhaps a larger number of poems, stories, novels, articles, etc., from Rabindranath's pen, in Bengali and English, than any other editor. It has been a privilege without any penalty attached to it, as he is regular, punctual and methodical, and as it is easy and pleasant to read his beautiful handwriting. It may be of some interest to mention the fact that up-to-date more than 180 pieces of Tagore's literary work has appeared in *The Modern Review*, either in the original English or in translation, counting long serial novels or series of letters and other works, as single items. As an editor, he was the making of many authors, who subsequently became well known, by the thorough revision to which he subjected their work.

His beautiful handwriting has been copied by so many persons in Bengal that even I who have had occasion to see it so often cannot always distinguish the genuine thing from the imitation.

There is an impression abroad that no English translation of any Bengali poem by Rabindranath was published anywhere before the *Gitanjali* poems. This is a mistake. As far as I can now trace, the first English translations of his poems appeared in the March, April, May, August and September numbers of this Review in 1911. The first translation of a short story of his appeared in it in December, 1909.

I have referred to his beautiful hand. All calligraphists cannot and do not become painters; though, as Rabindranath burst into fame as painter when almost seventy, the passage from calligraphy to painting might seem natural. I do not intend, nor am I competent, to discourse on his paintings. They are

neither what is known as Indian art, nor are they any mere imitation of any ancient or modern European paintings. One thing which may perhaps stand in the way of the commonalty understanding and appreciating them is that they tell no story. They express in line and colour what even the rich vocabulary and consummate literary art and craftsmanship of Rabindranath could not or did not say. He never went to any school of art or took lessons from any artist at home. Nor did he want to imitate anybody. So, he is literally an original artist. If there be any resemblance in his style to that of any other schools or painters, it is entirely accidental and unintentional. Over seventy now, he was telling his daughter-in-law the other day that he wished to practise the plastic arts; only he was afraid of making her house untidy. He may have begun already. In this connection I call to mind one interesting fact. In the Bengali *Santiniketan Patra* ("Santiniketan Magazine") of Jyaishta, 1333 B. E., published more than five years ago, Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, the famous artist, describes (pp. 100-101) how his uncle Rabindranath was instrumental in leading him to evolve his own style of indigenous art. Summing up, Abanindra Nath writes:

“বাংলার কবি আরেঁ সূত্রপাত ক’লে ন, বাংলা’র আর্টিস্ট
সেই সূত্র ঘরে একলা একলা কাজ করে ক’লে কত দিন—”

“Bengal's poet suggested the lines of [Bengal's modern indigenous] art, Bengal's artist (*i. e.*, Abanindra Nath himself) continued to work alone along those lines for many a day—”

It is time now to close this rapid and hurried sketch.

It has been my happy privilege to live at Santiniketan as the poet-seer's neighbour for long periods at a stretch. During one such period, my working room and sleeping room combined commanded an uninterrupted view of the small two-storied cottage in which he then lived—only a field intervened between. During that period I could never catch the poet going to sleep earlier than myself. And when early in the morning I used to go out for a stroll, if by chance it was *very* early I found him engaged in his daily devotions in the open upper storey verandah facing the East, but usually I found that his devotions were already

over and he was busy with some of his usual work. At midday, far from enjoying a nap, he did not even recline. During the whole day and night, he spent only a few hours in sleep and bath and meals, and devoted all the remaining hours to work. During that period, I never found that he used a hand-fan or allowed anybody to fan him in summer. And the sultry days of Santiniketan are unforgettable.

The infirmities of age may have now necessitated some change in his habits—I do not exactly know. But even now he works harder than many a young worker.

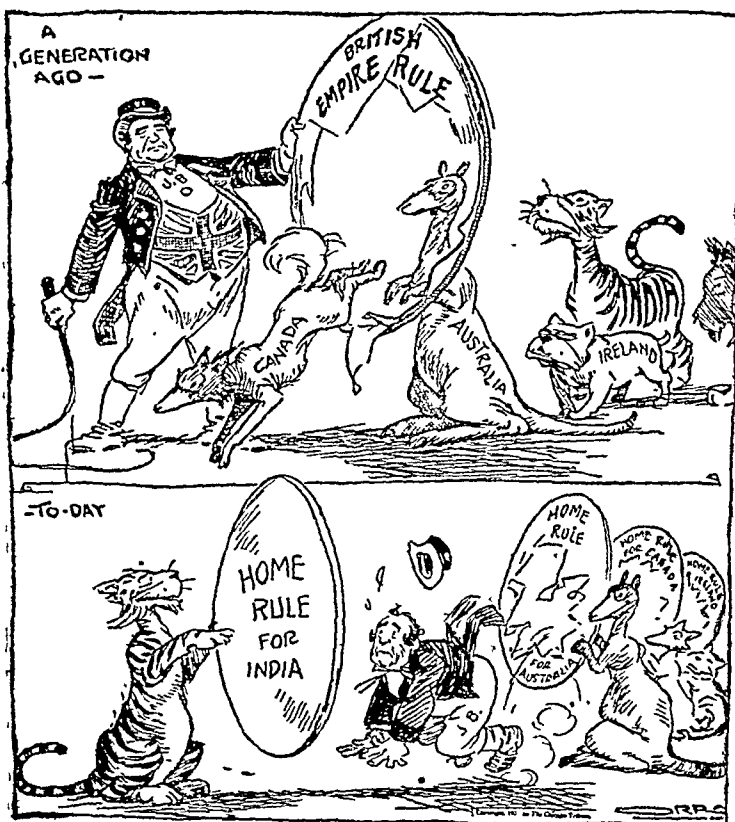
He is, of course, not a perfect man, as some others have been claimed to be; but I have all along looked upon him as an earnest *Sadhak*. He is not, however, an ascetic, as his ideal of life is different.

“वैराग्यसाधने मुक्ति से आमार नय,”

“Liberation by detachment from the world is not mine,” he has said in one of his poems.

One object of the *sadhana* of all believers in God is to be godlike. As God's universe, which is both His garment and self-expression, is not a dreary desert, the life and externals of godlike men need not always be imitations of a desert. As bare deserts are, however, a phase of God's creation, asceticism may be a stage, a phase, of God-seeking and self-realization, but not the whole of it. Genuine asceticism for finding one's own soul and the Oversoul and for the good of man is worthy of reverence. Equally worthy of reverence, if not more, is the treading of the fuller and more difficult path of *sadhana* of those who are in the world without being of it.

THE OLD ANIMAL TRAINER SEEMS TO BE SLIPPING



From "Chicago Daily Tribune"

INDIANS ABROAD

BY BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Indian Colonization in Brazil

The other day I had the privilege of meeting Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Singh and discussing with them the problem of Indian colonization in Brazil. It was Lala Lajpat Rai, who drew the attention of Mr. Singh in 1916 to the



Mr. and Mrs. C. L. Singh

possibilities of having an Indian colony in Brazil, but Mr. Singh could not do any thing practical in this connection till 1928, when he along with his wife sailed for India from New York. On arriving at Colombo they heard the shocking news of the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. This caused them considerable

dis-appointment as they had expected to receive a great deal of help in their work from Lajpat Rai. But they decided to continue their work. Since that time they have been interviewing a number of our prominent leaders in political and commercial circles, telling them of the vast possibilities of Brazil for Indian colonization. Mr. Singh was born in the West Indies and is an American subject. He also held a commission in the U.S. A. Army. After that he joined some business and was able to earn something like five thousand dollars annually. But the idea of having a flourishing Indian colony in Brazil had caught his imagination and he renounced his business, sold his comfortable house in Chicago and started on his mission. It has been no easy task for Mr. and Mrs. Singh to do all the work that they have been doing during the last three years. Many of our prominent business men have shown lip sympathy towards their object, but none have helped them in any practical manner. Indeed most of them know nothing about Brazil. The following extracts from the speech of Mr. Vincent de Avelino, Consul-in-charge for Brazil in Calcutta, will give an idea of Brazil to our readers.

Brazil's Enormous Resources

In his address to the Rotary Club the Consul said :

"Brazil of to-day is already the greatest power of South America. Brazil of to-morrow will be one of the greatest powers of the world."

Mr. de Avelino added he welcomed this opportunity of making the possibilities and potentialities of Brazil, one of the largest and richest countries in the world better known in India. In extent Brazil was larger than Europe, excluding Russia, and larger than the United States, excluding Alaska; and certain of the States were greater than the largest European countries. For instance, Amazonas was five times larger than Great Britain. Para contained Norway four times; Austria and Sweden would fit into the State of Bahia, and Germany was smaller than the States of Minas Gerais.

"Geographically" the speaker continued, "Brazil extends from approximately 4° north to 30° degree south latitude, the bulk of which is at an altitude giving a range of climatic conditions which suit the life of all nationalities. The Director of our National Observatory says that the whole of Brazil presents to the European race three different regions. A warm humid Zone

(equatorial climate) in greater part unsuitable to its development. A second Zone (sub-tropical climate), much cooler, where with appropriate hygiene one can easily adapt one's self, and a third (temperate climate) where acclimatizing is unnecessary as the best and healthiest conditions prevail.

DEVELOPMENT PLEA

"The population of the country, 40,000,000 occupies tenth place among the countries of the world and is about half that of the whole South American Continent. Two of the national problems of the highest importance for the development of Brazil are emigration and capital. As with all new countries, we need foreign co-operation to move our enormous resources. The present position is like that of North America a century ago when opening her ports, she extended her arms to all these who desired to help her wonderful work of progress and civilization. Thus, Brazil has opened her ports and welcomes all who wish to co-operate with her. As a man who possesses a treasury but cannot open it because he does not possess the keys, Brazil, possessing one of the richest and most fertile soils, needs labour to cultivate the land and develop her mines and industries.

"We need the co-operation of the foreign capitalists and the complement of labour and there are good chances for both. The country is rich and repays generously all efforts and enterprise. In 1928 the amount of foreign capital invested was approximately 2,592,000 American dollars. Agriculture holds first place. The industries are closely related to it and, in a lesser way, to other factors of the country. Coffee represents the greatest agricultural product. We grow and export about four-fifths of the coffee crop of the world which means that Brazil controls the coffee market as India the jute, England coal, and the United States, the oil markets. Cocoa is produced upon a scale which makes Brazil the second largest grower in the world.

"Brazilian cotton is generally similar to the American. The best qualities grow in the States of Pernambuco, Parahyba, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceara and Marangao.

TOBACCO CULTIVATION

"There are about 126,000 hectares under tobacco cultivation, the principal States concerned being Bahia, Rio Grande do Sul, Minas-Geraes, Goyaz and Sao Paulo. The State of Bahia produces about 85 per cent of the whole.

"Before the development of rubber plantations in the East, Brazil was the chief source, and trees taken from Brazil to the rubber-producing countries still afford the main supply. The general depression which hampered the rubber industry in the Amazon district during recent years was occasioned by the fall in values as compared with the pre-war period, but the industry is now about to enter into a new period

of prosperity, according to Mr. Henry Ford's economic plan, lately revealed."

Mr. de Ayoleno then went on to deal with rice, sugar and matte. Since 1925 the average annual production of sugar has been computed at 700,000 to 800,000 tons, while matte or Herva-matte, made into a beverage had valuable therapeutic properties. Matte tea was nearly 100 per cent cheaper than Indian or China Teas.

Regarding oil-bearing seeds, their collection had not yet been systematized scientifically, but the Amazon valley constituted in the extent and variety of its oil-bearing plants probably the largest source of vegetable oils in the world.

Turning to timber, he went on to say that the forest area, computed at 1,000,000,000 acres, furnishes timber of unexcelled variety, ranging from the hardest to the lightest kinds. The woods of the Amazon Valley are little exploited; macaranda, found especially in the State of Espírito Santo, ranks as the most valuable form of timber. The pine forest in Para and Santa Catharina may be regarded as commercially the most exploitable. Brazil is the biggest coffee producer, takes second place for cacao, third for tobacco, fourth for cotton, eighth for rice and tenth for and potatoes."

(*Statesman* August 8, 1929)

If the Indian Government had any imagination they would have grasped the wonderful opportunity of Indian emigration to Brazil. The Japanese Government have been doing this and with considerable success. When Mr. Singh was in Brazil he saw Europeans as well as Japanese landing there by boat loads, hundreds every week. The Japanese are so well organized that immediately on landing they are diverted to the trains which take them to San Paulo, where they then pass the customs and are sent to their respective colonies. The Japanese have their Consuls and guides in many of the out of the way towns. Under the influence and guidance of these representatives the Japanese immigrants adapt themselves to their new environments.

The System of Colonizing in Brazil

Mr. Singh gave me the following information about the system of colonization in Brazil:

"Ordinarily in colonizing a centre which has already been opened by the Government, an individual is sold sixty acres of land and a family one hundred and twenty (120) acres. The purchaser is requested to make a small advance payment and pay the remainder by instalments. The colonizers are also given some aid such as temporary housing, some farm implements, and some plants for cultivation on instalment basis.

"In the case of a country establishing a colony, it is undertaken in a somewhat different manner. The Government or more often

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

HARAPRASAD Sastri—the grand old scholar of Bengal, one of the most important pioneers of research work in Indology in this part of the country, the world-renowned Sanskritist, passed peacefully away in his Calcutta residence on the night of the 17th November last. He was almost an octogenarian at the time of his death, having been born in 1853 (December 6). He came of a well-known Brahmin-Pandit family which could claim a long line of veteran scholars who occupied a very important place in the cultural history of Bengal. "Nearly half the real Sanskrit celebrities of the land are disciples of this family," wrote Mr. Ramaprasad Roy, the first judge-elect of the Calcutta High Court and the son of Raja Rammohun Roy.

He was entirely a self-made man. Reduced to extremely straitened circumstances he found himself in great difficulty in finding money for prosecuting his studies. But that fabulously generous "friend of the poor" Pandit Isvar Chandra Vidyasagara offered him board and lodging which enabled him to go on with his studies. Though subsequently there was a temporary misunderstanding between the two, the Mahamahopadhyaya ever gratefully remembered and eloquently described the valuable and timely help he received from Vidyasagara.

His was a life dedicated to Indology for more than half a century; for it was as early as the year 1878 that, at the request of Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra, he translated the *Gopallapani Upanishad* into English and assisted him in the preparation of his monumental work on Nepalese Buddhist literature. He began life as a mere school-master and had to work under heavy odds as he himself had occasion to describe in detail in the course of conversations. He was along an untiring worker, and even in his last years when his health was

fast failing he could always be found in his study busy with his books—sometimes dictating papers to some of his eager disciples or reclining by the side of one of his book-shelves and wistfully hunting for some information from this book or that.

He was in his manners a typical Brahmin Pandit—full of humour, outspoken, sympathetic though outwardly appearing to be just the reverse of these—a type which unfortunately is fast disappearing. He was not familiar in the game of hide and seek in his dealings. He called a spade a spade not knowing how to be insincere and say what he did not believe to be true. He would thus often appear to be very rough and this aspect of his character had made him unpopular among a certain section of the people. But those who had the privilege of coming into intimate contact with him knew that his roughness was only superficial and he was all affection and tenderness within.

He was a deep-read man. His information was based not only on printed works, but also on manuscripts, a very large number of which he had to go through. Few scholars have had to deal with as many manuscripts as he and for so long a time.

He began his search of Sanskrit manuscripts on behalf of the Government of India as early as 1891 on the death of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra who was in charge of the work for a long time. In this connection he examined important collections of manuscripts in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, etc. not examined by the late Dr. Mitra and described them in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (Vols. I—IV). He also acquired several thousands of MSS. for the Government of India on the publication of the descriptive catalogue on which he was engaged. He was deputed by the Government on several occasions to examine the very important manuscript collections located in the Nepal Durbar Library. In two

big volumes he described the important MSS. he examined there. Here he found a good many manuscripts of outstanding importance, the find of which have been very useful in the determination of the chronology of Sanskrit literature. In 1908 he accompanied Prof. MacDonnell in his tour in Northern India and collected rare Vedic manuscripts for the Max Müller Memorial at Oxford. Sometime after he "played an important part in arranging for the purchase, the cataloguing and despatch to England of the wonderful collection of Sanskrit manuscripts (numbering about 7000) which Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung of Nepal so generously presented to the Bodleian Library," Oxford—as occurs in an autograph letter dated 5th January 1910 of Lord Curzon. He also edited and published from the Asiatic Society of Bengal as also from the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat some of the more important works discovered by him. The *Ramacarita* and the *Buddha-gita* a *doha* are the most important among these from the standpoint respectively of the political and literary history of Eastern India.

Scholars have already had the benefit of his vast knowledge in the field of Sanskrit literature resulting from his acquaintance with this extensive of manuscript material from his descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts (six volumes of which have already come out) and also from prefaces appended to them. Prefaces of particular volumes gave in detail the history of the literature of the volume and were found to be highly useful. At the request of the present writer, he was prevailed upon to make arrangements for the issue of separate copies of these prefaces apart from the catalogues and the preface of the grammar volume was thus separately issued. These prefaces contain much valuable material gathered from MSS. In these he was found to have betrayed his inclination towards claiming greater antiquity for many a branch of literature than is usually assigned to them. It is a misfortune to students of Sanskrit literature that Pandit Haraprasad Sastri could not finish the catalogues and prefaces and thereby present to scholars a detailed and valuable history of Sanskrit literature.

In these days of extreme specialization most of the scholars in India confine themselves within the narrow limits of the subjects of their adoption, and it is growing very difficult to get hold of scholars who can speak with any amount of authority on topics not within the limits of their 'watertight' compartments. Mahamahopadhyaya



Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Sastri

Haraprasad Sastri was however, happily, an exception to this rule. He was one of the very few scholars who had immense familiarity with almost every branch of Indology.

It is difficult to give even a brief account of the literary activities of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, for they were manifold inasmuch as there does not seem to exist any branch of Indology to which he has

not made some sort of contribution. To the lay public he may be generally known to have been a Sanskrit Pandit, but Orientalists are aware that that he did not write on the history of Sanskrit literature alone, but also on Epigraphy, Anthropology, Religion and old Bengali literature.

An idea of the range of his activities may be gained from a complete bibliography of his works which the present writer has prepared with the generous help of the Mahamahopadhyaya himself. The bibliography is expected to be published in the second part of the Haraprasad Commemoration Volume the first of which has already come out.

He was a mine of information and had a remarkably sharp memory. An hour's talk with him was sure to help any scholar to gather new materials on the subject he was working upon. He was not in the habit of taking down notes as he went through different works. But curious though it may seem, everyone who had the privilege of coming into close contact with him would bear testimony to the fact that he could and would refer to various facts scattered through different works without having to consult them. And if necessary, it would not be long before he could trace out pertinent passages that were required from books read by him long ago.

He was responsible not only for securing and drawing attention to a good many valuable manuscripts which have been of very great interest to Indologists but also for several theories some of the published of which have caught the imagination not only of scholars but also of the people in general. One of these was his theory that the outcaste people of Bengal were Buddhists in disguise who had lost their social status owing to the gradual disappearance of Buddhism from the land. This was embodied in one of his earliest publications—*Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal*.

The memory of the past glories of Bengal was always uppermost in his mind in all his researches. This led to the publication of his papers on *Contributions of Bengal to*

Hindu Civilization and Literary History of the Pala Period, published in the *Journal of the Bihar Orissa Research Society* for 1919. It was this thought that induced him to draw up biographical sketches of the little known Pandits of Bengal who had at one time exercised a great influence on society by their teaching and literary productions. He was contributing month after month these sketches in the form of short articles to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat. Some of these have already been published in the journal of that Society while some more are awaiting publication. The humble author of this note was fortunate in having been associated with the Mahamahopadhyaya in this work.

Scholars outside Bengal are particularly familiar with his work in English though his contribution to Bengali literature was not less important. His numerous writings in Bengali reveal a fascinating, enviable and almost inimitable style. He studiously avoided Sankritism in his Bengali writings. This was all the more surprising as he was one of the greatest Sanskritists of his time and belonged to a family of orthodox Sanskritists. Books and papers written by him in Bengali on historical subjects had magical power on his readers before whom vivid life-like picture of the past was sure to be presented in and through his writings. In fact they were as interesting reading as works of fiction. He had the intention of presenting a picture of the social condition of the past in the form of novels and that he was eminently successful in this is eloquently proved by his two Bengali novels—*Benar meye* and *Kamranamala*. His beautiful writings relating to literary criticism of the works of some of the Sanskrit poets like Kalidasa will long remain standard works and go a great way in popularizing the poetic excellences of these writers to the people of Bengal.

The most popular Bengali work of Pandit Haraprasad Sastri seems to have been the *Valmiki Jay* or "The Triumph of Valmiki," a poem in prose, the central idea of which is the triumph of literature over physical and intellectual power. The work elicited words of unstinted appreciation from masters of

literature. "The work of imagination of this young writer is like the strides of a proud and haughty lion," wrote Bankim Chandra. A translation of the work so pleased the great Shakesperean critic Prof. Dowden that he remarked, "It will extend the horizons of Western Imagination." Dr. Brajendranath Seal gives to this work *the first place* in Bengali literature. The work has been translated in many European and Indian languages.

In the field of old Bengali literature he was one of the pioneer workers. He was one of the first to draw the attention of scholars to the wealth lying buried in it. In fact even scholars who could not persuade themselves to agree with him could not but recognize the importance of his work in this direction. No apology appears to be necessary in quoting what *Dhavalgiri* wrote in the *Calcutta Review* (August 1923, p. 310) in this connection as it represents the appreciation of his work by what may be called his literary opponents. "I should be the last man," said he, "to be blind to the invaluable services he has rendered to Bengali literature."

It cannot be said that the lifelong labours of this unassuming scholar had received the recognition that they so richly deserved. He was however made a C.I.E. and a Mahamahopadhyaya by the Government. The Dacca University only recently conferred on him the honorary degree of D.Litt. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain only did the right thing in counting him in its list of thirty honorary members selected from the world of Orientalists belonging to different countries. The Asiatic Society of Bengal which was his field of work all through not only made him a fellow in 1910 when the system

was created—but also elected him its President for 1919 and 1920 and thus conferred upon him the highest honour at its disposal.

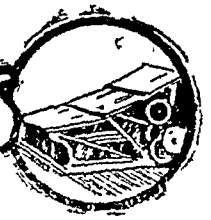
The Asiatic Society of Bengal as also the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat—of which he was the President and earnest promoter for a number of years, undertook to present volumes of essays to him in recognition of his valuable work. The commemorative volume of the Parishat was to be presented to him on the occasion of his attainment of the seventy-fifth year. It was the first part of the Parishat volume alone that could be informally presented to him in August last.

A charge was often found to have been levelled against the great savant that his researches were all embodied in papers—which were invariably short in size—and he had no large original work to his credit. The Mahamahopadhyaya heartily laughed at this charge. But his admirers owe him a duty and they should acquit him of this charge by arranging to publish an edition of his collected papers as is being done by the Bhandarkar Research Institute in respect of the writings of the scholar associated with the name of the Institute. Could not the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and the Asiatic Society of Bengal undertake the task of publishing respectively his Bengali and English papers? This would enable the future generation to form an idea of the valuable work done by the scholar all through his life in the pages of journals—little known, forgotten or inaccessible. In fact, this would be doing real honour to the memory of one who may be said to have laid down his life at the altar of the goddess of learning.





INDIAN PERIODICALS



Personality

Mr. Peter Freeman gives a discourse on the cultivation of personality in his "Personality in Everyday Life" published in *The Indian Review*. He says:

One should have an ideal for one's body as well as for one's mind. The latter cannot be truly efficient, nimble-witted or quick-thinking, retentive and forceful without its working in harmonious co-operation with a body healthy in every way.

Bear in mind that *personality* is the outward expression of oneself; in many ways it is the mirror of one's inner life... a lined face is often the reflection of a tortured spirit.

It is the physical that has to be the medium of the hidden life of one's mind and spirit. The importance, therefore, of making the best of one's body and outward expression is obvious.

In this connection careful attention must be given to the cultivation of a well modulated and expressive voice, graceful and natural movement, and to physical appearance generally.

Even the care of such things as finger nails, teeth and hair, are important factors.

Whilst it is only too true that the mind is the measure of the man, it is the vital that mind should have a firm bodily instrument through which to express its wisdom and learning.

Together these two create a personality which, if rightly cultivated and developed, stands at the ever-open door of illimitable human possibilities.

Let no one be mistaken with the erroneous idea that one must possess wealth or fame to become a personality of note. This idea is false in every respect.

There is only one aristocracy—the aristocracy of character. Under this supreme test we find as many aristocrats in any mining village as we should in Mayfair. Wealth is man's servant, and under no circumstances should it be allowed to enslave him or his kin.

The quality of the soul has much to do with the creating of a personality. It is possible to appreciate the deep beauties of a lingering sunset, yet be penniless... "He who reads a poem well—is a poet. He who sees a mountain well—is an artist."

The soul, reflected by the emotions and feelings, can be developed by an instant response to the call of beauty wherever it is to be found and in whatever form.

It is not possible to remain soul-less, inhuman, ungentle, brutal, and also become a personality, and an abiding inspiration to one's fellow-beings.

Then, there is the cultivation of the spirit.

This task does not demand a belief in any set religion, or the holding of a theological creed; the only belief that is necessary is a belief in oneself as part of a great and growing spiritual universe.

A hard task, some may urge, but really a very easy one if we stop to meditate on the oneness of Life. Whatever separates one individual from another—

money, mind or manners—the two fundamental law of birth and death are common to all.

Egypt in the Cycle of Civilization

Writing in *The Aryan Path* Mr. William H Steer describes the cycle of Egyptian civilization:

During its long history there have been many marked fluctuation in the intellectual as well as the national life of Egypt. Most of its dynasties experienced this wax and wane within its own period, and the whole of its history, from Menes till it finished as a power, proved the certainty of cyclic truth.

Before Egypt became united it had least 600 years of history. United Egypt has been known from 4400 B. C. (some chronologists say 5869 B. C.) and there were thirty Dynasties up to the time of Alexander the Great. The Middle Kingdom, roughly 2500 B. C. was eminent in literature and language, and during its course many private libraries existed. The weaker reign of the Shepherd Kings, the the Hyksos, followed; then came, circa 1700 B. C., the First Empire, with Thebes as the capital and notable for the endeavour of King Ikhnaton (Amenhotep IV) to set up the worship of one God, the source of light and life. It failed, and with it the First Empire, to be succeeded by the XIXth Dynasty, 1400 B. C., with Rameses II as its greatest ruler, and with signs of decay evident all through the reign of his son Menephthah. There was a rally in the reign of Rameses III, and fluctuations for eight succeeding centuries under Priest-kings and and Persian intruders till Alexander the Great smashed the power of the XXX and last purely Egyptian dynasty in B. C. 332. Rome and Byzantium then had a hand in its destinies and in modern times France and England, but as an Empire, Egypt died.

In literature Egypt showed vitality and variety as early as 3000 B. C.; poetry, ethics, medicine, theology, astronomy, fiction. But her monuments are her great legacy, and in them Egypt displays an admirable self-contained example of the cyclic principle, as, too, of course, does her national history.

More than India, or Assyria, or Babylon, Egypt is the land of art and stories in stories, and in the sculptures, the hieroglyphs and pictographs are seen the fluctuations of skill and execution, while in papyri similar phases are traceable. The earliest pottery decoration was to depict basket-work, and it was faithful; but extant specimens show that, by the close of the 1st Dynasty a deterioration to careless copying and inferior colouring was manifest. Then came the pictographs and hieroglyphs, well formed by the Vth Dynasty, descending to crudity till the XXth Dynasty. Statuary and incised work and bas-relief show the same wax and wane over varying dynasties till the general revival of

the XVIIIth Dynasty, as seen in temple work, statuary and funerary appointment such as those recently discovered, the Tutankhamen relics. But after that, vitality dropped to the end of the Empire, to be revived later under the Roman occupation.

The New Benares

Old order changeth, giving place to New. Benares, hitherto a place of pilgrimage for the devotees of one religion, and consequently circumscribed, has found in the Hindu University of Benares, a home for men of all creeds who will meet there to imbibe one another's thoughts and culture, giving birth to a new India and a better world. This at least is the dream and ambition of Mr. N. B. Parulekar, who is contributing a series of thought-provoking articles in *The Aryan Path* on "Renascent India." He says :

The answer of old Benares is clear and unmistakable. One may forget all about reincarnation, all about Brahma, sadhus, pilgrims, philosophers and shrines. One may take or leave as many of these as he pleases. But that on which the Holy City is insisting all these millenniums of her existence and which is really the beginning and breath of spiritual wisdom is meditation. *The divorce between meditative and active life is the root error in the building of modern civilization.* By a curious process of self-deception we consider a man as a scientist who sits in a laboratory to study physics, chemistry, biology and so on, but instead if another sits quiet in order to study the inner being of man we call him a dreamer. Afraid of its own self, human intelligence has studied matter, machines, mathematics, much more scrupulously than its own nature, just as a pullman porter who may be all courtesy to a stranger but is studiously rude to his own relations. As soon as the scientist will sit down to think of his own Self and the Self of others he becomes a philosopher and a better judge of how to use power.

Changing Civilization

Mr. Gurdial Mallik writes in *The Theosophist* on the changing aspect of modern civilization.

To-day science has become one of the transforming ideas of European civilization, which, consequently, in its character and content, has become largely industrial. It is an age of faith in empirical verification, and the deities which the Westerner worships are the machine, capitalism, standardization, the city, mass-education, the historical attitude, democracy and Nationalism. In short, man is being made in the image of his experience. But there are impulses and ideals which rational experience cannot interpret or adapt to modern conditions; hence, the pains of transition. There are some who hold that the past must be rejected wholesale; there are others who believe that all wisdom is embodied in tradition. The former are in favour of a fullness and freedom of life, even though their use of experience as a touchstone of truth in such matters as the home and sex is "like the playing of a child with a knife," while the latter are trying to revive the old philosophies of escape, and, in this connection, look up to Oriental civilizations for insight and instruction.

Professor Randall is of opinion that the "ideals of the East [of resignation, submission, charity, etc.], will know but rare adherents in the future." He says, in effect, that we cannot set back the hands of the clock and have to make wealth serve life. We need not throw overboard all that has come down to us in the form of moral ideals, but take them and make them better. The Greek ideals can still teach us something. The scientific spirit of enquiry and experimentation is commendable, but as, in the ultimate, "all human living rests on some faith—the faith that certain things are of transcendent importance," what we need is "an experimental moral faith"—faith in intelligence and intelligent faith in the future—faith in the potentialities of industry and science. Thus will it come to pass that the demands of the age: "respect for human personality, freedom for its development, fruitful and harmonious human intercourse, the passion for beauty and the thirst for truth," will be fulfilled. And this consummation will be achieved when the industrial machine is under social control and the gospel that is preached to the people is the gospel of social justice.

Religious Truth

Professor D. G. Moses writes in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon* on the nature of religious truth. He says :

Religious truth is the outcome of faith, a venture of the whole personality, often in the face of the most contradictory facts. In this respect it shares the common characteristic of all knowledge. That Reality is knowable and knowable by our minds is the all-embracing assumption of thought. It is never proved in the scientific sense of the term proof; but it is growingly verified by the fact that more and more knowledge has been gained on this assumption and found to be true. James Ward has a fine passage in his book on "The Realm of Ends," illustrating the idea of an unscientific trustfulness as a necessary preliminary to all development. He says, "There was little, for example, in all that the wisest fish could know, to justify the belief that there was more scope for existence on the earth than in the water, or to show that persistent endeavours to live on land would issue in the transformation of his swim-bladder into lungs. And before a bird had cleaved the air there was surely little, in all that the most daring of saurian speculators could see or surmise concerning that untrodden element, to warrant him in risking his neck in order to satisfy his longing to soar; although when he did try, his forelimbs were transformed to wings at length, and his dim prevision of a bird became incarnate in himself." But while all discovery demands initial faith, the discovery or apprehension of religious truth very often implies a more daring faith, a trust not only in the absence of clear proof but also in the presence of facts that appear to be contradictory to its assumption. Of course, this is only the first stage in the process of the attainment of religious truth. What begins as an experiment is followed by an experience which justifies the experiment and which in its turn certifies itself as true by its ability to function in life and illuminate more and more of Reality. It is this characteristic of religious truth that finds expression in Anselm's saying, "Credo ut intelligam."

Modern Marathi Poetry

The growing vernacular literatures of India are one of the most promising signs of the artistic and intellectual awakening of the people of the different parts of India. Professor Madhava Rao T. Patwardhan writes in *Triveni* on Marathi poetry :

Modern Marathi poetry is essentially lyrical. It is influenced by English lyrical poetry of the Romantic Period. It began some fifty years ago with the loose but graceful rendering of some English lyrics into Marathi verse by Vishnu Moreshwar Mahajani of Akola in Berar. Modern Marathi poetry written on the Sanskrit classical models is of even earlier origin. It has not yet gone out of vogue and its great representative today is Sadhudas (b. 1884) of Sangli who in his 'Ranavihar', 'Vanavihar' and 'Grihavihar' has attempted to narrate on a grand scale the ancient story of the Ramayana. Tilak, Keshavasut, Madhavanuj, Chandrasekhar, Vinayak, Bee, Tambe and Dutta are all representatives of the new lyrical school. They were born between the years 1865-1875. Of these only three, Chandrasekhar (b. 1871), Bee (b. 1872) and Tambe (b. 1874) are still living. . . .

Sumant (b. 1881), Sadhudas (b. 1884), Govindagraj (b. 1885), Tekade (b. 1887), Tiwari (b. 1887) and Balakavi Thombare (b. 1891) were the poets who now began to attract the small poetry-reading public. From amongst these Govindagraj, Rendalkar and Balakavi were the leading poets of the present century. They were more gifted, more assertive and more combative than their predecessors; and they were greatly instrumental in making modern Marathi poetry popular with the rising generation of the student world. Govindagraj soon gave up writing poetry and took to writing plays in which field his brilliance was crowned with unparalleled success. Again, it was the youngest, Balakavi, who was the first to pass away. He was accidentally run over by a train in 1918. In 1919 passed away the great Govindagraj and also Tilak, and in 1920 the vigorous and prolific Rendalkar was gathered to the majority....

In 1920 was published the first volume of Tambe's poetry. He is Vinayaka's junior by two years and was born a year before Dutta. He hails from Central India and belongs to what is known as the Greater Maharashtra. For years he had been composing lyrics. They were known to his few friends and admirers; but he was not at all anxious to see them published. At last, in 1920, Prof. V. G. Myder of the Indian Women's University collected the stray lyrics, published them in book form and commenced to give them publicity by reciting them before the students of the Poona Colleges. What with the exquisite lyricism in Tambe's poetry and what with the reciter's sweet voice and expressive, almost theatrical gestures—the recitations were a grand success. Tambe's haunting song 'O fix not on me those forceful eyes of thine' was soon on the lips of all lovers of poetry.

Just about that time was formed at Poona the 'Maharashtra Sharada Mandir'—an association primarily of poets; but people like Prof. Vamana Malhara Joshi and Prof. Datta Vamana Potadar who do not write verse and are yet interested in Marathi poetry, could and did join it. Its members used to meet on Sundays to read, to hear, to discuss and to enjoy modern poetry. Ananta-tanay,

Shridhar Ranade, Girish and Adnyatavasi were among its moving spirits. The last named published in 1923, under the auspices of the Mandal, 'Maharashtra Sharada'—an anthology of modern Marathi poetry, and Girisha published in the same year similarly his 'Unfortunate Kamala' a popular long poem describing the sufferings of a Hindu child-widow....

In 1927 was published the second volume of Tambe's poetry—a veritable mine of gold. Most of these lyrics are simply matchless. They are of enduring interest. The poet had been confined to bed with a serious illness, and these utterances inspired by the gleam that was dimly visible through the shadow of death, are as sublime as they are pathetic. They are richer in colour, imagery and intensity than the songs of Sumant's 'Bhavaninada,' which were published in the pages of 'Kavya-Ratnavali' a little earlier. As the recitations have turned people away from active reading to passive listening, these two books unfortunately, in the absence of a champion reciter, have not yet received their due; while Tiwari's spirited but prosaic 'War-songs' have run through three or four editions!

Madhav Julian's 'Sudharak' was published in 1928. It is a strange mixture of romance and satire, original in conception and execution but very annoying and bewildering to hide-bound critics. The same year saw the publication of the 'Mango-grove' of Girish. It is a love-story of village-life. Early in 1929 came 'Yashodhan'—a comprehensive collection of Yashavant's lyrics. That the edition was exhausted within nine months and bears ample testimony to Yashavant's great popularity. In the same year, was published the Marathi version of 'Umar Khayyam' from the original Persian. In 1930, Girish published a comprehensive collection of his stray lyrics in 'Kanchanaganga.'

The Indo-Javanese Civilization

To the same paper, Mr. T. N. Ramachandran contributes a very interesting article on the "Golden Age of Hindu-Javanese Art." Mr. Ramchandran writes :

Many of the present geographical names in Java cannot but instil in our minds a feeling of appreciation derived from the conviction that they should have been largely derived from or inspired by Indian originals. The highest peak of the isle is called *Semeru* or *Smeru*. It is needless for me to point out that one is at once reminded of the Mount *Sumeru* of Indian mythology.

Java is divided into many districts, one of which the eastern-most one, is called *Besuki*. Surely this is the Javanese form of the Sanskrit *Vasuki*, the King of the serpents. The attribution of this name to that part of the isle is explained by Dr. Vogel as probably due to the existence of "some sanctuary dedicated to the serpent deity" (*Vasuki*).

The central river in Java, and for the matter of that the principal river of Java, which takes its origin from the southern slopes of a mountain called *Prahlu*, bears the illustrious name *Serayu*, a name evidently derived from the Sanskrit *Sarayu*, the glorious river now known as the *Gogra*, on the banks of which was situated Ayodhya, the seat of Sri Rama.

The Javanese and the Malay languages are "as full of words of Sanskrit origin as the English is o

Latin words." As is the case with Sanskrit words, in Malay words the accent falls on the last syllable but one. The name *Arjuna*, for example, will be pronounced by the Javanese as *Arjuna*. Other features worth mentioning are that the pronunciation of most the Javanese words has undergone change, that the original meanings of the words have too often been modified and that the aspiration of aspirate consonants is not found.

The old Javanese language is denoted by two Sanskrit words, *Basa*, *Kari*, i.e., "the language of poetry." We also find that the term *Kari* is often used as synonym for *Ved*. Whatever literature was treasured in that *Kari* language it was, we may assert, largely derived from or inspired by Indian originals. We meet with Sanskrit names particularly among the *birudas* and designations of the nobility and the high functionaries of Java.

Rulers and other chiefs of Central Java are known by the titles, *raja*, *prabu*, *adipati*, and *aria*. The Indian or Sanskrit equivalents of these are *raja*, *prabhu*, *adhipati* and *arya*. Hereditary rulers and chiefs are known as *bupuli* (Skt. *Bhupati*). The designations most common among officials are *montri*, *pati*, *dyaksa* (Skt. *adhyaksha*), and *tedono* (Skt. *radana*).

In the case of personal names, we find that there are not only names of Arabic origin but also names of Sanskrit origin. The Javanese nobility always appear to have had a distinct preference for such names as *Suryanata*, *Suryaputra*, etc. It may be asked how these names, although they are of Sanskrit elements, appealed to the Javanese nobility, especially when we find that such names are not nowadays used in India. The answer that Dutch archaeologists including Dr. Vogel give to this question is:—"The use of such names is, no doubt, primarily due to Hindu influence, but in their present form they must be the outcome of a prolonged independent development."

The architectural term, *mandapa*, which means "a pillared hall" is of special interest to the student of Javanese architecture. Its Javanese equivalent is *pendapa*, a name which is applied to a big pillared-hall attached to the house, in front of it, in which the Javanese chiefs are wont to receive their guests.

A telling evidence of the influence of Hindu culture on that of Java is furnished by Javanese mythology. Sri Rama, the hero of the Hindu epic *Ramayana* and the five Pandava brothers, Yudhishtira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva "enjoy among the population of Java as great a popularity as in the land of their origin." Indeed the legends narrated in the two epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, have become so popular in Java and the stories have been so completely assimilated by the Javanese that their foreign origin has been forgotten, and "for the great mass of the population the Pandava and Rama are truly national heroes, born and bred in the isle of Java."

Congress and the Masses

Professor C. N. Vakil writes in *The New World* on the Congress and the working classes. In course of this article he says:

Two alternatives could be imagined: the masses may be crushed out of existence by sheer want in course of time; or they may grow desperate and

become the powerful instrument of a revolution, the like of which the world has not yet witnessed. One who desires steady and substantial progress must necessarily be conscious of such possibilities, irrespective of the fact whether he is a leader of the people or a representative of the British Government. History repeats itself: it is not wise to presume that the huge population of India will not struggle for a better and freer existence even by means which may be condemned by social and moral thinkers, provided the existing consciousness for such progress is not directed in time in the right channel.

From this point of view, the resolution of the Congress on Fundamental Rights and Duties and the economic programme may be considered to be the most important effort on the part of the Congress to direct the attention of the masses on certain benefit for the realization of which the Congress undertakes to work. Whatever form the political constitution of the country may take in the near future, we are justified in assuming that fundamental changes in the life of people are likely to be made in the next decade by the future Government of India. In the gigantic effort to lay down new foundations on which to build the structure of the Indian society of the future, the best minds in the country must work in the closest harmony, with the greatest foresight, and with a proper grasp of the complex problems that must be solved. If we further assume that the economic ideas contained in the Congress resolution are bound to be pressed for adoption in connection with this effort, we are provided with a basis for reflection. . . .

So far as the fundamental basis of economic life is concerned, we have on the one hand forms of extreme capitalistic organization, and on the other, forms of extreme socialistic organization. Most countries have felt the evils of the former; but they have also found it difficult to adopt in practice the socialistic doctrine. By force of circumstances, they have been inevitably led to steer a middle course, which may be described either as enlightened capitalism or modified socialism in which society continues to be organized on the existing basis, with the acceptance of the right to private property and its natural corollaries, but in which adequate steps are taken to see that the evils of such a system are minimized by various forms of State action. This experience of other countries is a valuable guide to us at this critical juncture in our history. Whatever our individual predilection, we can not get away from the fact that the future will have to be built on the present. In other words, the problem will have to be faced whether we are likely to progress with a silent, and therefore, non-violent revolution in our economic life by adopting a middle course referred to above, or whether we are likely to progress by adopting a more radical policy. . . .

The Congress outlook approximate to the middle course referred to above and does not contemplate a violent revolution. With non-violence as the basic creed of the Congress, it was obviously impossible for the Congress to think of sudden changes of a violent character in the economic life of the country.

Unemployment, and How to Prevent It.

"Retrenchment can not be an immediate remedy to trade depression. . . . It is the uneven distribution that is the primary and the most outstanding cause of trade depression." Mr.

Jamnadas M. Metha, in his article "The Tragedy of Unemployment" published in *The Indian Labour Journal*, proposing the subject matter in the above vein, proves to the hilt the bane of capitalism:

If a factory employing 200,000 men produces Rs. 5 crores worth of goods and if the wealth is evenly distributed between the workers and the 10,000 shareholders interested in the concern, all the goods produced will ultimately find buyers. But if on the other hand, the share-holders take away the larger slice of the 5 crores and the smaller portion is paid as wages to the 200,000 workers, goods will not be completely consumed. The ten thousand share-holders have no need to consume more than a certain quantity and the workers numbering 200,000 have the need to purchase but cannot afford to do so owing to lower purchasing power available to them. The ten thousand share-holders in spite of their extravagant life, find a surplus left, as their income is much more than what is necessary for their needs and they invest the surplus amount in some enterprise. The results in the new investment are nearly the same *viz.*, a disproportionate distribution fetching surplus to the few and leaving the many in want. Year after year, this process repeats and reaches a point when the world's market is glutted with commodities which cannot be sold away for some time. Thus comes trade depression followed by unemployment.

This state of affairs continues until the goods dumped in the market are cleared at uncompetitive prices and the trade again revives. It is therefore a vicious circle and the cycle of boom and slump in trade repeats almost at regular intervals. So much so that, in European countries which are supposed to be free from superstition it is believed that the slump in trade is due to spots in the Sun which come once in 7 years or so. Even the educated are inclined to believe in this superstition rather than recognize the defects of the economic system. Then prices decline, factories either close down or the employers resort to retrenchment of hands or introduction of short time. This gives relief after a few years; trade again revives only to be caught in another glut after a few years; the unemployment problem can never be solved. The perennial tragedy continues.

He then proceeds to seek a remedy:

It is high time that India seriously took to the question of re-organization of society. Re-organization is not advocated with a view to rationalize through the best machinery and regulate prices according to demand but to eliminate private profiteering and to place at the disposal of the nation all means of production; in plain language, all staple industries nationalized and special services rendered.

The fight for Swaraj and nationalization of industries should go side by side. Swaraj without nationalisation and without a socialist programme will not carry us any farther than we are at present. The malady of unemployment can only be cured by socialism actually accomplished.

Laughter.

The nature of laughter has baffled analysis. But there is no doubt about its utility, says a writer in *The Indian Ladies Magazine*:

The world will be in misery without laughter, a graveyard, with men in it as ghosts. Laughter is the supreme sign of contentment and happiness, the ever full reservoir of all earthly felicity and rejoicing. God in His mercy created this world, so that His children might not brood over their troubles, but live and yet laugh. The choleric man, who frets and fumes and wastes his lungs in mad ravings, can find peace in its tender caress. The weary soul, the aching head and the careworn spirit can gain fresh vigour from its bubbling fountain. The crying child, whose obstinacy can wear out all human patience, can be soothed by its honied drops. The weary official finds life freshened by its welcome sounds from the lips of a loved one. The man at the counter, maddened by the monotony of the day, awaits its luring call at every step. Laughter indeed is an asset to eternal happiness. To live with it, nay to live in it, should be the aim of all. Yet, it must be remembered, that with laughter go other things; true laughter really being the outcome of a rare combination of happy qualities.

Of all poetic creations, none have ever been so endeared to us as the immortal Falstaff, the "King of Clowns", invoked by that "immortal bard of Avon," Shakespeare. How enchanting, and how lively his wit is! How simple and how crisp! Falstaff seems to be the embodiment of all humour and laughter. Falstaff is a type for all times, a rare specimen of human felicity, rid of all the complicated fabric of intellectual monstrosities and ethical incongruities. With his wonderful gift of ready and harmless humour, his power of expression as harmless and appealing too, his manner curiously winning and endearing, he is indeed a most pleasing creation of the immortal poet's imagination. A friend like Falstaff, free from Philistine sentiments and bovine stupidity, may prove a friend indeed!

But unfortunately enough, Shakespeare has cast a gloom upon the lively career of Falstaff by the sad aspect he has given to the end of the big "horse-back-breaker." Quite contrary to the optimistic expectations of the reader, Falstaff dies of a broken heart, indeed a most sad end for such a merry soul. It is indeed most painful that a whole career spent in Wassail-revelry, in drinking and bottle-emptying, in lively wit and vociferous laughter, should end in this manner.

When his dear chum, his loved Prince Hal, assumed sovereignty, and put on feigned appearance to be rid of his old play-fellow and his boon companion, Falstaff should have laughed first and then given up the ghost. Indeed, he ought to have laughed and laughed and laughed, till the vapour of life passed out of his huge carcase!

Origin of Urdu Literature

Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh describes the origin of Urdu Literature in *The Muslim University Journal*. He says that while Urdu poetry originated in South India, Urdu prose was born in the Fort William College, Calcutta.

The first impulse to literary composition in Urdu is given not by Delhi, but by the Muslim Courts of Golkonda and Bijapur. The newly-risen literature, it is to be noted however, is neither the literature of the people nor a revealer of their ideas, for the people at Golkonda spoke Telugu, and at Bijapur

Kanarese—both Dravidian languages, poles apart from the Aryan tongues of the North. From its very inception this literature was modelled upon Persian. Indeed, it borrowed wholesale from it; it borrowed forms and conventions of poetic diction; the *Qasida* or laudatory ode; *Ghazal* or love-sonnet; the *Marsiya* or dirge; the *Masnari* or narrative-poem with coupled rhymes; the *Ilija* or satire; the *Ruba'i* or epigram.

Golkonda became a literary focus. Quli Qutb Shah and his successor Abdulah Quli were both poets of distinction. During the reign of Qutb Shah, Ibn Nishati composed two works, still regarded as models in Dakkhni dialect; the *Tutnamah* and *Phul-ban*. The Court of Bijapur was a brilliant literary centre too. Ibrahim Adil Shah (1599-1626) wrote the *Nau-ras* or 'nine savours.' The court poet of his successor, Ali Adil Shah, was a Brahman, poetically known as Nu-rati, author of *Gulshan-i-Ishq*, a *Masnari* of rare note and distinction. These were the heralds and pioneers. It was, however, reserved for Wali of Aurangabad (circa 1680-1720) and his contemporary and townsman Siraj to fix the poetical standard which received the homage of their countrymen for nearly a couple of centuries. Indeed, competent judges are unanimous in their verdict that the development of Urdu poetry in Northern India in the XVIIIth century was pre-eminently due to Wali's initiative and influence.

Urdu Prose was taken in hand and forged at the school of the Fort William College in Calcutta. There eminent scholars were summoned to prepare vernacular text-books for officials. Momentous was this step, for it not only developed the vernaculars, but, with the introduction of lithography about 1817, brought books within the reach of the reading public. But the light that illumined and brightened the British capital was the light that came from Delhi, the deserted abode of Moghul Imperialism.

Mir Asad Khan (d. 1809), Javan, all natives of Delhi, blessed the cradle of our language, moulded its style, carved its destiny. They gave to it simplicity and suppleness; stripped it of its Persian plume, florid ornamentation; made it clear, effective, crisp. And thus a literary style was evolved capable of the highest development. Up to the first half of the XIXth century this style retained its supremacy unbroken.

The Inhabitants of New Guinea

The people of New Guinea have no native culture, no written symbols, no legends of a historical nature, only a few fairy tales, says Miss Isabel Robertson in her "New Guinea," published in *The Scholar*. In Arithmetic they count on their fingers, one, two, three, two and two (4), one hand finished (5), and so on upto 20, which, being the full number of fingers and toes, has the cheerful designation "one man dead." Though they are a primitive people, the author proceeds:

Yet primitive as they are, they have a polity of their own, and quite a good one it is, a form of village communism. The land is mostly very mountainous, but along the beach and at the river mouths is a narrow strip of rich garden land. This belongs to the village. About one-sixth of it is enough to supply their needs in any one year, so after a season's tillage the ground lies fallow for four or five years, while other land is used in turn. The village itself is placed near some spring, close beside the beach, the thatched houses nestling beneath the shade of beautiful tropical trees, each house surrounded by the owner's coconut palms. The houses are not close together as in Indian villages, but are about ten yards apart. Primitive life like this is never monotonous; the varying seasons of the year bring their varying occupations. In the wet season, Christmas to Easter, every one has influenza and malaria, and the fishing nets are mended, weak places being taken out and replaced by new string. The old string is used for playing cat's cradles, which they weave on fingers and toes in a bewildering variety of fascinating patterns. When the rains are over, garden work begins for the new season, and in the sea whitebait throng the mouths of the streams for a week or two. During those weeks all the coastal Papuans (so called from their frizzy hair) are busy netting them and tying them up in leaves ready for cooking. The mountain Papuans then descend to the beaches and barter their goods for a share of the fish. At all times during the year, a certain amount of hunting and fishing goes on. Sometimes all the women go fishing for a day, and with the catch they next day prepare a feast of fish for the men. Another day the men will go hunting and next day return the women's hospitality. As the dry season is drawing to a close, towards the end of September, the long, coarse grass of the lower hills is fired, the lizards, snakes, birds and bandicoots flee in terror before the flames, round the edge of which the villagers stand waiting to spear them. Now, too, the river has sunk to a narrow trickle in its wide stony bed, so one day the whole village turns out and builds a low stone dam across the shallow river turning it to the other side of its bed. Below the dam the fish are left flopping in the dry river bed but are not left flopping long. Lastly, the dry monsoon dies down and a magical stillness descends on sea and land. This is the season when the flying fish lays her eggs fastening them to drifting twigs and sea-weed. All the men and boys, taking branches to support them, swim out to sea collecting the eggs (gelaruru). So calm is the sea that they do not hesitate to venture a couple of miles from the shore, and they come back with good store of gelaruru for the evening meal. Then the fire is lighted before the doorway beneath the dark mystery of the night-hidden trees, the cooking pot is filled with daintily prepared food, and while it cooks, the family gather round enjoying the cool, soft air of evening and the near approach of the evening meal. Then is the time to descend to the village, join a group of one's friends round their fire, add one's food to the common stock and when the meal is over, listen to fairy stories, or, stories of the cannibal days of their youth, while the moonlight silvers the coconut fronds and the phosphorescent wavelets lap the creamy coral sands.



Mahatma Gandhi's Visit to the United States

Mahatma Gandhi, it is finally settled of course, is not going to America. But it is interesting to learn what the effect of his visit would have been had he actually gone there. *The New Republic* has an interesting editorial note on this subject:

Mahatma Gandhi has announced that he is willing to visit the United States, at the conclusion of the London Round-Table conferences on Indian independence. Pressing invitations have come to him from prominent Americans such as Adolph S. Ochs, John Dewey. Jane Addams and many others. He hesitates to come here, however, on account of warnings that he may be turned into a laughing stock. The Reverend John Haynes Holmes, a trusted friend of Mr. Gandhi, has assured him that he would be exploited, ridiculed and misinterpreted. Like Einstein, the leader of India will, it is claimed, find his privacy violated by the mobs of blockheads who will gather to gape and laugh at him. And Mr. Gandhi states that though he feels great affection for the American people, he will not come "unless they are willing to listen to my message rather than regard me as a curiosity." To this, one can only answer that many thousands of Americans who are neither exploiters nor curiosity seekers, Americans of whom foreigners know too little, are deeply in favour of his visit to this country.

To be sure, barbarous scenes will follow his arrival in New York. He will be given an official welcome by Jimmie Walker; tickertape will be showered upon him from the sky-scrapers of lower Broadway; a regiment of camera men will hound his steps; reporters for the tabloid press will besiege him for his opinions on everything under the sun, from the phallic turret of the Empire State Building to the fox-hunting hats of our stenographers. In short, all the idiotic, profane and mercenary aspects of American life will be the first to be thrust upon him. But should Mr. Gandhi shrink from visiting us because of inevitable vexations? In the service of an idea, which has broken British power in the Orient, he has faced much worse things than ridicule: hunger and pain and sickness and death. For all thoughtful Americans, Mr. Gandhi is the man who has summoned up prodigious forces in the Orient, stronger than all arms of war; forces which must deeply affect the future course of humanity. Facing the nation which epitomizes the Western industrialism that he opposes, the leader of insurgent India might help immensely to dissipate ignorance with regard to his own country. The value of such human exchanges may be incalculable. Mr. Gandhi himself might suffer while in the United States, but his visit would do Americans enormous good.

Maxim Gorky on Primary Education in Russia

The third or the decisive year of the Five-Year Plan in Russia is marked by a series of achievements in different spheres of national activity. One of the most important of these is what has been termed in the picturesque phraseology employed by the Soviet workers, liquidation of illiteracy. *The Soviet Culture Bulletin* publishes the summary of an article published by Maxim Gorky on the anniversary of the introduction of universal education in Russia:

On the anniversary of the introduction of universal elementary education in the Soviet Union, Maxim Gorky published an article on universal education. Widening the limits of social analysis Gorky gives practically an estimate of the fate of culture and of the situation of intellectuals in capitalist countries, turning after this to the problems of cultural revolution in the USSR. Gorky shows on fact that the actual situation of capitalism induces it to fear an accumulation of intellectual power not only among the workers, but among the intelligentsia as well. This is the fear of an over-production of intellectuals.

Capitalism is afraid that intellectual power, which it is no more in a position to absorb and exploit for its own interests, may take sides with its enemy, the working class, and will then serve the great goal of the latter as conscientiously, as it has served the construction of the capitalist State's iron cage. Capitalism no more needs the intellectual creator, the inventor, unless he invents new models of guns and machine-guns, new war-gases and all other commodities of the future war against the proletariat. Because every new blood-bath, whatever capitalist country will start it, will inevitably result in a mass destruction of proletarians.

And the future war of the capitalist against the Soviet Union in particular will be nothing else but an attempt to strengthen, even though for a short period, their power over the workers.

Capitalism needs the intellectual only in the quality of an obedient servant, executing without murmur the orders of the ruling class, which gives him a more or less satisfactory living. A proletarian intellectual is dangerous for capitalism, and this danger is the greater, the more talented he is. After this M. Gorky turns to the question of cultural constructive work in the USSR in connection with the anniversary of the introduction of universal elementary education.

The working class and peasantry of the USSR stand in extreme need of intellectual power. They need an immense amount of this power for the execution of their great historic task. A year ago, just at the moment when the German press was trying to persuade German youths not to yearn for university education, the XVth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party and its Central Committee

passed a decision, providing for the introduction of compulsory universal education in the USSR.

After quoting the reports of A. Bubnov and N. Skrypnik, Gorky proceeds: "These reports need no further explanations. They stress once more and sharply enough the difference between the State system of the USSR and that of capitalist countries. At the same time they tell us upon what, besides the industrial equipping of the country, is expended the bit of meat, or of butter of which you, the reader, are short at this moment.

The Soviets have made a great and necessary from the revolutionary point of view stride along the road leading towards arming intellectually the millions of the young people of this country. "A seven-year school for everyone" is a task of greatest historic importance.

Of course, we cannot stop at the seven year elementary school. The 160 millions strong population of our country need hundreds of thousands of highly qualified workers of science, technics, arts. We have much to learn, we only begin to acquaint ourselves with our country, to discover its natural resources, to study them.

Concluding his article Gorky writes: Our natural resources are the cause of the capitalists' envy, our political system is the cause of their hatred; every young pioneer is familiar with this. And he asks: Will the capitalists resolve themselves to organize a war against the USSR?

Bringing further statistics on the growth of armaments in capitalist States Gorky comes to the conclusion, that capitalists have resolved themselves for everything (i. e. for a war against the USSR), and that they think of nothing else, when they are arming themselves continuously, hypocritically talking peace and disarmaments meanwhile.

Gorky appeals to the toilers of the whole world asking them to fight against war preparations, directed against the country showing the road to the regeneration of toiling humanity.

A Query About Universal Education

After reading about the superhuman efforts made by the leaders of the Soviet Union to remove illiteracy in Russia, it may be something in the nature of a shock to come across a very expression of doubt regarding the value of universal literacy. But Mr. Heseltine's query cannot be cavalierly brushed aside. He writes in *America*:

Here, looking at the thing called education in a general way, it seems to me that the first and greatest modern blunder is to consider "letters" as essential to education. The first step in modern education is apparently to teach children to read and write. As evidence of advance in education and civilization we are told that in the days of our grandparents only five, or ten, or some other small percentage, could read and write. Now every child is taught to read and write, thought it would be an exaggeration to say that every child learns to read and write.

The modern educational expert imagines that this trick of letters is a step towards education, whereas it is a mere trick like any other such as teaching children to stand on their heads or palm playing cards. The result of two or three generations of

education on this basis is not a population that can even read and write. The small proportion of the population in the professional classes may read and write tolerably well. The rest rarely have occasion to do either and any teacher who has to read father's or mother's written excuse for Tommy's non-attendance or lateness at school, must weep to think what the production of that piece of illiteracy has cost.

The maximum result that is obtained by teaching the masses to read and write is that most of them can read the newspapers, though they cannot, indeed, understand them. The masses learn just enough to be able to read and swallow whatever dope the press prepares for them. They know just enough letters to be able to read a lying advertisement (perhaps there are none in America—England is full of them), but they do not know enough to realize when an advertisement is lying.

This business of teaching every child indiscriminately to read and write result in nothing more than mass illiteracy. The man who reads and writes very badly, as the great majority do today, is more illiterate than the man who does not read or write at all. Nobody would have dreamed of reproaching the craftsman of the pre-machine age with being illiterate because they could not read or write any more than one would reproach the editor of *America* for not being able to weave cloth. The tasks are quite distinct and were never in themselves essential to the process of education. But it is quite true that more than one modern captain of industry can neither read nor write—there is in London a rich theatre magnate who must have his letters read to him and sign his name with a cross. Yet it would be dangerous on that account to call him uneducated.

Women Workers in Japan

The *Japan Magazine* has an interesting note on the increase of women workers in Japan:

An interesting if not disturbing feature of Japanese civilization at present is the rate at which women are supplanting men in various occupations formerly served by male workers. This is especially true of such callings as clerks, bus and tram conductors and so on. The wages which women command are so much lower than what men receive, that the present economic depression gives them preference. At present the lowest wage is for a young housemaid of 15 who will get 5 yen a month and food, while the highest wage will be 200 yen for an expert lady secretary to a prosperous business man. Housemaids over 20 years of age, with good experience, get over 15 yen a month and food. Women bus conductors get from 50 to 80 yen a month according to age and experience, with pay for over time. Barbers' assistants get from 10 to 20 yen a month with food; while booking clerks are paid from 20 to 30 yen a month, and have to make up any deficits in the day's sales of tickets, through their own mistakes in accounting. Such mistakes are frequent. The girl at the gasoline stand gets an average salary and a bonus on the amount of petrol sold. Elevator girls get about 30 yen a month, and waitresses at restaurants about 20 yen a month with a commission of ten per cent on sales. Girls are also employed for collecting assessments for insurance companies and charity associations, going about on bicycles all day. Most of the above workers do eight hours a day. The number of unemployed among women is quite large.

and of course among men the unemployed are still larger. Yet, as in England, if a housewife wants a good maid she has some difficulty in finding one, and foreign housewives have still greater difficulty in obtaining suitable servants; and when they do find a good housemaid, she asks about 50 yen a month.

Two Roads to Disarmament

The latest issue to hand of *The World Tomorrow* is a disarmament number, containing a symposium on the different aspects of that important subject from such well-known writers as Professor Sidney B. Fay, Norman Thomas, Hamilton Fyfe, Kirby Page and others. In one of the articles Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick points out that there are two roads to disarmament. He says:

There are two suggested methods of achieving disarmament. One is gun-for-gun reduction, a mathematical scaling down of existing forces and equipment. The other is the creation of definite machinery for ordered peace, as a result of which armaments fall because the reasons that led to them have ceased to exist. The first method is dramatic, negative, and narrow. It leaves untouched basic suspicions between nations. It provides no technique for the settlement of disputes. It does not interest itself in the causes which lead nations to wage war. It proceeds on the questionable thesis that if you substitute pistols for rifles, or black-jacks for machine guns, men will not fight.

The second method is infinitely more difficult, far less dramatic, and promises no quick results. On the other hand it is sounder, more positive and more permanent. It looks to the future rather than to the present. It is concerned with concrete substitutes for war as a method of settling international difficulties. It seeks to lessen friction between countries, to ease tension, to probe the economic and social rivalries that tempt nations to war-like preparations. It believes that men will stop fighting only when they are convinced that there are more effective methods of settling their disputes.

For that reason this second method concerns itself with a Court of International Justice. It builds a League of Nations. It creates a General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. It develops an Optional Clause to further the work of the Court. Its whole emphasis is on the creation of institutions that will represent the collective judgments of the whole world.

It is a pity that the United States should neglect the second and better method of disarmament and concentrate its attentions upon the first. This lack of perspective, this national astigmatism, will not easily be understood by the historians of the future. If a decade ago we had thrown the weight of our prestige and power wholeheartedly behind the collective principle we should doubtless be far nearer the real goal of disarmament than we are today or are likely to be as a result of the forthcoming conference. Certainly a better and more permanent basis for peace could have been laid during these last ten years if our strength had been added to the strength of fifty-four other nations.

I have no hope that the mechanical method of disarmament will stop war. If the causes of war are not removed, or at least minimized, and if in the

meantime we develop no acceptable institutions to which resort can be had in time of friction, nations will fight with whatever weapons they have at hand. Under such circumstances to scale down from twelve-inch guns to eight-inch guns, or to impose a ten per cent or a twenty per cent cut in army personnel, is to dodge the very essence of the problem. Indeed such a solution is infinitely dangerous. It lulls us into a sense of security. We are led to believe that we have done something significant to make the future safe. The dynamite is still in the box, but we feel secure because we have painted out the danger sign on the cover.

Another View of Disarmament

While *The World Tomorrow* is an enthusiastic believer in pacifism, the *Scientific American* can be regarded as belonging more or less to the opposite camp. It strikes a more cautious and sceptical note on the subject:

In a recent appeal to the scientists of the world, Professor Albert Einstein asked them to discontinue their research for the creation of new instruments of war. Those who believe that the danger of war is past," he is quoted as saying, "are living in a fool's paradise. We face today a militarism far more powerful and destructive than that which brought on the World War disaster."

We shall, for the moment pass, over the apparent inconsistency between Professor Einstein's request and his explanation (quoted) of the reasons for it, and will agree, in part with him. The signs do point to the danger of war to come; there is evidence of the existence of more selfish, Nietzschean nationalism than ever before felt a superiority over and sought to dominate other nations. Professor Einstein is, however, a world-famed a physicist, not a sociologist; and he apparently does not accept the fact that this "militarism," this contempt or hatred for other nations is in men, not in their accumulated trappings of war. Those who desire war, who see it as their destiny, who like Alexander, weep when they can not tread the war path of the conqueror, will continue to rattle their sharpened sabres. Others then, peacefully inclined but chary nevertheless, are forced to perfect their engines of destruction simply in self defence. The man who goes out in a boat does not expect to drown but he carries a life preserver just the same; and the mere fact that he has it does not bring on a storm!

We hope some day to see the abolition of war for all time, but we know that only a change in human nature will make this wish come true. Armament is the effect, not the cause of the warlike aspect of the world; and while disarmament is a laudable aim, it must have a reasonable minimal limit until national animosities have ceased to exist and the long-heralded and hoped for brotherhood of man becomes a fact.

Enforcement of Labour Legislation in India

Dr. Rajanikanta Das, one of our valued contributors, writes on woman labour in India in the *International Labour Review*. In course of his article he deals with the question of the enforcement of labour legislation in India:

The most important question of labour legislation, however, is administration, which differs for different industries in India. The enactment of plantation legislation lies within the power of provincial Governments, subject to the approval of the Central Government. When the indenture system existed, plantation legislation made specific provision for the forwarding of the recruits from the place of residence to the place of work, and also for health and sanitation on the plantations themselves. With the abolition of the indenture system, administration has been greatly simplified. The enforcement of the law is left mostly to the *ex-officio* inspectors, consisting of deputy commissioners, assistant commissioners, civil servants and other agents. Mining legislation is within the competence of the Central Government, and inspection is carried on under the supervision of the Chief Inspector of Mines all over British India, which, for convenience, is divided into two circuits. The staff consists of a Chief Inspector, three inspectors, and four junior inspectors. The administration of factory legislation is different from both kinds of legislation mentioned above. While the enactment of the legislation is the concern of the Central Government, its administration is left to provincial Governments, which make special rules, subject to the approval of Central Government, to give effect to the law. The inspecting staff differs in different provinces, the largest being eleven in Bombay, one of whom is a woman.

Some idea of the efficiency of the inspection may be had from the proportion of industrial establishment, annually inspected as compared with their total number. As far as the inspection of the Assam tea gardens is concerned, it must be mentioned that under the Act of 1882 as modified in 1904-1905 and 1915, tea gardens employing 50 persons or more are liable to inspection only every two years. A few gardens are also specially selected for inspection in a particular year because of their health conditions in previous years. According to these rules, out of 863 Assam tea gardens, employing 50 persons or more, in 1929-1930 only 434 were liable to inspection, consisting of 411 which were not inspected in the preceding year and 23 which were specially selected for annual inspection. Out of this number, 421 were inspected. In other words, over 52 per cent. of the larger tea gardens were left uninspected during the year. Similarly, out of 1,732 mines in 1929, only 1,016, or 59 per cent., were inspected, although some of them were inspected more than once. The system of factory inspection, however, is much more satisfactory. Out of 7,863 factories in 1928, 7,093 or 90 per cent., were inspected during the year. As a rule, permanent factories are inspected once a year and even more. It is only some of the seasonal factories and out-of-the-way factories that escape annual inspection.

Another important question in connection with the administration of the law is enforcement. This involves prosecution and conviction for contraventions of the law, and the infliction of penalties. The number of persons convicted increased from 72 in 1924 to 99 in 1929 in the mines, and from 223 in 1923 to 419 in 1928 in the factories. This increase in the number of convictions is mostly due to the strict enforcement of the law.

The Cancer Discovery

Few discoveries in the field of medicine have aroused more public interest in recent years than

the new method of diagnosing cancer evolved by Dr. Bendien, a Dutch scientist. A contributor of *Discovery* discusses the investigations of Dr. Bendien:

Dr. Bendien has discovered a method of diagnosing cancer in the laboratory by the use of a specimen of blood drawn from the patient. These specimens are submitted in the first instance to the action of certain chemical reagents, for example, acetic acid and sodium vanadate. This causes a precipitation. The precipitate is next dissolved in a two per cent solution of bicarbonate of sodium. It is then submitted to spectro-photometric examination, a series of spectrograms are made and a curve is plotted from which the diagnosis is made. Underlying this highly technical procedure is the view that cancer is a local disease which, however, cannot develop unless a specific abnormality of the serum is present. His test is directed towards the detection of the specific abnormality, not of the actual cancer.

It was subjected recently to a test at the instance of the British Empire Cancer Campaign, which body invited Dr. Alfred Pacey, Secretary of the Investigation Committee of the Campaign, to visit Holland on its behalf. Dr. Pacey took with him thirty-eight tubes of blood serum which had been collected by an independent physician from patients in normal health and from patients suffering from various diseases, among them cancer. The question was: Could Dr. Bendien, by means of his test, pick out the cases of cancer from the other cases? Accompanying the tubes was a sealed envelope in which was a list of the diagnoses already arrived at.

Dr. Bendien was able to examine only twenty-one of the specimens. He arrived at the conclusion that in five instances cancer was present. These findings were subsequently, by reference to the sealed list, proved to be correct. In one instance a tentative diagnosis of cancer was made. This patient had undergone an operation for the removal of the prostate gland, but it was not found possible to obtain absolute confirmation or disproof of Dr. Bendien's view.

Here, as elsewhere in the field of cancer research, a curious exception has been met with. Dr. Bendien's test is directed to the discovery of the form of cancer known as carcinoma; it will not pick out the other form of cancer known as sarcoma. There would seem to be no very clear reason for this difference, but the very fact of the difference suggests a merit rather than a demerit. It is entirely in the tradition of cancer research.

Naturally further tests of Dr. Bendien's work are about to be undertaken. For if it is established that cancer represents merely a local expression of a general state a new view of the disease will have been arrived at and a new hope of treatment obtained. Dr. Bendien himself cherishes such a hope, and looks forward to the possession of a therapeutic method capable of causing the abnormal serum to become normal again and so, as it were, cutting off the necessary supplies, or rather perhaps abolishing the essential environment of the cancer. Recent criticisms of Dr. Bendien's work suggest that the test may not be specific for carcinoma as is claimed; time must elapse before final conclusions can be reached.

It will be seen that Bendien's hope is different from that cherished by Dr. Lumsden, but is, in some sort, analogous to it. Dr. Lumsden aims at increasing a natural power and producing a solid immunity. (He has found that in the cases in which cancers in micro-

disappear it is no longer possible to implant fresh cancers). Dr. Bendien aims at changing an abnormal state of the blood into a normal state. Possibly the normal state is the state of high-resistance. In that event the object of both workers is the same. The importance of the cancer-resisting substance, whatever its nature may be, is thus, clearly, very great; the new synthetic cancer-producing substance acquires from that importance an additional importance of its own. For if students of cancer are armed with weapons capable of originating the disease and of, in some cases at any rate, abolishing it, their opportunities of observation are greatly increased.

It should be added that the work at the Cancer Hospital and the work of Dr. Lumsden is entirely experimental and is, so far, inapplicable to human cases. Dr. Bendien's work, on the other hand, may prove an immediate boon if it enables the presence of cancer to be detected at an earlier stage than is now possible. For experience has shown that very early removal of a cancer is frequently attended by permanent cure.

Chinese Boycott of Japanese Goods

The Japan Weekly Chronicle publishes a statement of the Japanese Consul at Shanghai describing the effect of the boycott on Japanese trade in China:

Japan and China have now practically severed economic relations. Mr. Murai, Japanese Consul-General in Shanghai, in his report dated October 19th states that with the aggravation of the boycott movement, all merchants except retailers who are patronized exclusively by Japanese residents, are unable to carry on business, and that many small merchants have had to either reduce their business, or close their shops altogether.

Japanese spinning mills, Mr. Murai continues, are still going. Chinese workers are interested in the anti-Japanese movement but are apprehensive of lock-outs and work so diligently that production has actually been increasing. Japanese spinners, however, are unable to sell their product in China. They are shipping about 20 per cent. to other markets but 80 per cent. is kept in stock. They may not experience any difficulty in their working funds, but have no ware-house facilities to keep stock which continues to increase. They may not be able to continue production after the end of November.

Cotton yarn, cotton cloth, sugar, paper and sundry goods shipped from Japan do not move at all. Buyers refuse to take delivery. Marine product suppliers are in difficulties, with goods returned by buyers. Coal and chemicals have so far not been affected much by the boycott. The Chinese Army has approached Japanese merchants for sulphuric acid and hydrochloric acid, but the latter refused to meet the demand.

Wheat bran, rape seed, cotton seed cake and similar Chinese products find buyers only in Japan, but threatened by the anti-Japanese Society suppliers are not approaching their Japanese customers.

Japanese bankers and steamship companies are experiencing much inconvenience by the resignation of Chinese employees, particularly compradores. Bankers, indeed, are unable to discharge their daily business without compradores, the banking system being quite different from that in other

countries. Further the Bank of China and other banks refuse to pay domestic exchanges or to sell dollar silver, so that Japanese banks are greatly hampered in their business. The Nisshin Kisen Kaisha has been obliged to suspend some of its regular lines owing to the sharp decrease in passengers and cargoes.

Chinese workers in various Japanese factories other than spinning mills have been indulging in sabotage, instigated by anti-Japanese agitators. Many small Japanese factories have been obliged to close.

Japanese retail merchants with Chinese customers report a complete stoppage of business.

New York City Administration

Petty shortcomings of any Indian administration have often been put forward by interested Britishers as a justification of British rule in India. It may, therefore, be not absolutely without interest to read the following account, published by *The New Republic*, of the mismanagement of the affairs of New York by its administrative authorities:

The exposures being made from day to day concerning the New York City administration by Judge Samuel Seabury and his assistants have piled up a tremendous total of unaccountable sums of money which have been handled privately by city officials. One estimate has placed the amounts banked during six years by officials, who were at the same time Tammany district leaders, at \$1,835,875. There is also the \$2,000,000 taken by the famous horse doctor, Doyle. But the culminating scandal has been the discovery that a certain Russell T. Sherwood, whom Judge Seabury has described as Mayor Walker's financial and business agents, has had bank and brokerage accounts of over \$1,000,000. Sherwood, who was to be subpoenaed, fled to Mexico, while Mayor Walker has done nothing toward getting him to return and has had "nothing to say." Little is heard of the "new" or reformed Tammany Hall which, according to rumour, was to deal only in "polite graft. As one instance after another of suspiciously large cash jugglings is uncovered, the clamour rises for the ousting of the city officials involved. In the meantime of cynical indifference preserved by New York's Democratic leaders leads to the worst possible interpretation of the known facts. Indeed, former Governor Smith, in a Tammany speech on October 14, completely ignored the Seabury revelations. If Tammany believes that he can lead them respectability by these tactics, it is deceiving itself. The effect is rather to lower Mr. Smith's prestige in the eyes of all those who had regarded him as one who had risen above the corruption of his organization.

Economic Nationalism

Professor T. E. Gregory explains what he means by economic nationalism in *International Affairs*, the journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs:

I understand by economic nationalism the point of view that it ought to be the object of statesmanship in economic matters to increase the power rather than the economic well-being of a given society.

As I understand it, economic nationalism regards it as the duty of the State to foster the economic power of the *State* rather than the economic *welfare* of the individuals composing of the State. Of course, it is necessary in democratic communities to reconcile the welfare of individuals with the ends of the State itself, and, therefore, it is sometimes argued that policies which further the economic power of the State are also policies which further the economic welfare of individuals. There is a certain concurrence of ends, but there may also be opposition, and if there is opposition, the upholders of economic nationalism hold that the ideal of the world as it is—not an ideal world—should be power and not well-being.

The first question to be considered is this: How is it possible to imagine a policy of economic nationalism arising? What are the circumstances and environment in which doctrines of this sort appear natural and desirable? There are three quite different sets of considerations which make policies of economic nationalism appear almost obviously desirable.

The first is this: Economic nationalism fits into that particular kind of State system which is based upon race. It so happens that in the modern world, both in Asia and in Eastern Europe, you have the emergence of political idealism which are disfigured forms of racial feeling, and under these circumstances, wherever you have the emergence of racial nationalism, you also have the emergence of economic nationalism. Economic nationalism is, therefore, part of the policy of racial ascendancy. The whole psychology of nationalism, is coloured with considerations of this kind; you have to keep the political minority economically weak in order that you may dominate it politically. The whole of Eastern Europe and a large part of Asia is violently and morbidly conscious of race, and racialism in politics inevitably leads to a policy which consists in ruining political opponents and justifying this by an appeal to economic arguments.

The second set of circumstances which provides a soil in which economic nationalism flourishes is an atmosphere in which war is either potentially possible or actually expected. Whenever you have fear of war—and the nearer the fear the more attractive the doctrine becomes—you will certainly find in the mind of some people the belief that it is necessary to adapt economic policy to what will then be the dominant consideration in the minds of statesmen.

The third breeding ground for economic nationalism is found in an intensification of commercial rivalry. One of the reasons why economic nationalism is popular in every part of the world today, even in nations which, like our own, are not homogeneous, is that the world economic situation is of such a character that it has definitely and quite perceptibly intensified the commercial rivalry between the various Powers. Whenever and for whatever reason international competition becomes acute, you have a resurgence and revival of nationalist ideas in the sphere of economics.

A Criticism of the League

Dr. A. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy is one of the most eminent publicists of Germany. Writing on the question whether Germany should remain in the League of Nations or not in the *Schweizerische Monatshefte* (translated in *The International Digest*), he offers the following criticism of that organization:

How do the past, present and future of the League present themselves? For the past, we have the records to fall back on. What was organized at Versailles was a league, not a union. It does not matter what brought about this result, whether it was the Senate of the United States and its people supporting the Senate against Wilson, or the shortsightedness of intriguers who believed they could organize a peace body by blackballing undesirable candidates, or the faulty construction and formation of the Secretariat's office or the rules of procedure—in 1919 the League could not, by the widest stretch of imagination, be called a union. The first step towards a union was the decision of the Swiss people to become members; the character as a union grew when Austria and Germany were admitted, and Sweden, Holland, Switzerland and Norway worked in that sense. It was hoped that the United States might become a member. But we well know the forces at work against such a move.

But even should we decide to let bygones be bygones, we could not forget one fact which ruled the early years of the League. There was one great Power which again and again declared that the League did not guarantee peace and security. And this was not Germany—at that time not even a member of the League and probably for that very reason suspicious of the value of the Geneva institution; that great Power was France. We have the world of France, of all French Governments since 1919, that peace was not guaranteed; that there was no real security and that France was moved to enter the illusory security of the League only because England and the United States did not keep their promise for triple alliance with France.

If the League does not give to its own members, the security of peace, what then, we ask, is its reason for existence? A union should have other aims and purposes than to separate states by ever higher tariff walls and ever deepened ditches, walls of such thickness that no idea or eye may penetrate them. But a league? What is the purpose of a league except just that formal security which, according to French views, does not exist? The "character" of the League is not quite clear, and by "character" we do not mean certain meetings, not German success or failure, but the present status of the tasks of the League and how its tasks have been met.

The Modern Press

M. Daniel Halévy, the distinguished French writer, has written a book in which he has pointed out what he considers one of the symptoms of the decay of French greatness—the passing away of great figures (the title of his book is *La Fin des Notables*). In this book he points another feature of the present day political life which is almost as significant as the passing away of great political figures—the triviality of the contemporary Press. His remarks on this point, which are summarized by a critic in *L'Opinion* and translated in *The Living Age*, apply not only to the Press of France but to that of all countries:

The same thing is even more true of the Press. Let us compare, as M. Halévy does, a political newspaper of thirty or forty years ago with a modern

journal of information. In the former we find doctrinal articles, political studies, complete reports of parliamentary debates, and miscellanies. To-day none of these things remain. What good are doctrinal articles when there are no doctrines any more? What good are complete reports of parliamentary debates when only the results are important and when only gamblers on the stock exchange are interested? What good are miscellanies which nobody reads?

Here we touch on the explanation of the phenomenon. Modern newspapers are made for people who do not read. The so-called readers are kept in their present state of debility by being provided with news that they can easily grasp at once, with crimes, go-sip, and descriptions of sporting events. Anything that has to do with real information, anything that is of importance to the life of the country is closely censored, either by the government or by the industrial groups that hand out publicity. Such are our free newspapers, read by a public that is free-free to buy or not to buy.

Are n't we face to face here with a psychological law that might be formulated as follows? As soon as material progress of any kind favours the expansion of thought, the powers that be must assure themselves of its control. M. Hulery gives two more examples in support of this thesis, the cinema and the radio. He says that the film manufacturers themselves were the ones who demanded censorship for their new industry. They had a confused premonition of the danger of spreading ideas through pictures and believed that they could work more peacefully if the State would set its seal of approval on their product. As for radio, if it were not closely supervised how easily and quickly it could become the unconscious instrument of a thousand different kinds of propaganda.

Thus by a malicious element in his own nature man loses on the one hand the freedom that he gains on the other. By creating new method of communicating with his fellow he believes that he has won his independence. But as soon as these conquests are made they are compromised. There is only one kind of free thought, the kind that is expressed in a cellar for the sole benefit of a small group. Depend on the wireless waves or the rotary presses of a big newspaper and your ideas will be slashed and diluted. One must submit to many restrictions in order to gain the right to reach the masses. I don't claim that this is always a mis-

fortune, but let us admit it as a fact that may remove some of our illusions about the progress we are making.

Basic English

The Living Age quotes the following extract from the *Manchester Guardian* on Basic English:

In a day when any two people of the two thousand million inhabitants of the earth can get in touch with each other in less than a second, argues a British scientific writer in the *Manchester Guardian*, somewhat speciously, there is surely a pressing need for a common language. The particular tongue that he backs for the job is not a synthetic article, but Mr. C. K. Ogden's 'Basic English'—on the theory that since some 500,000 people already have at least a hazy acquaintance with the English language, English has a tremendous head start over other living languages and over artificial languages as well. He goes on to say:

"Mr. Ogden has made the discovery that 850 words are enough for normal purposes if his system of rules and word order is used. For example, Leonard Frank's much-talked-of story, 'Carl and Anna,' was put into Basic English with a little over seven hundred of these words. It is surprising to see how little has been changed, and how natural it seems to the reader. For special fields a greater number of words is needed, but this increase takes place only among the names. An exchange of ideas would be possible for an international group on any science with an addition of about fifty names to the Basic List of 850 words.

By turning his attention to the behaviour of the things that words are used to give an account of, and taking little interest in the forms of language as such, Mr. Ogden makes one see what a number of complex and delicate questions may be talked of by putting simple words together. The effect is sometimes a bit long-winded and not very pleasing to the ear, but the reader has no trouble over the sense. In Mr. Ogden's view, Jeremy Bentham's strange way of writing was caused by his use of a sort of Basic English and not by the fact that he was a bad writer."

For the details of the system the reader must turn to Mr. Ogden's books on the subject, but some idea of the general effect may be obtained from the above quotation, which is itself written in Basic English.





MISS SWARNALATA GHOSH who was awarded a scholarship by the Bihar and Orissa Government for studying education has recently come back from the United Kingdom after taking her degree.

MRS. NANDARANI SARKAR, who during the Civil Disobedience Movement organized a no-tax campaign in Bankura, Bengal and led five hundred women volunteers



Miss Swarnalata Ghosh



Mrs. Nandarani Sarkar



Miss Ahsee Majid B.A.

MISS AHSEE MAJID B.A. is the eldest daughter of Mr. A. Majid, who now lives in Akyah, Burma. She belongs to Chittagong and is one of the very few Muslim girls of Bengal who have received a liberal education. She has passed her B.A. examination from the Calcutta University with Economics and Mathematics.



NOTES

Mahatma Gandhi in England

Many of us had never expected that the so-called Round Table Conference would result in freedom for India, though hope, born perhaps of original and sub-conscious faith in human nature and based on 'accidental' combination of circumstances, would often peep in. But even to those who were more sanguine, it has long been evident that failure was writ large over the deliberations of its sub-committees, the informal talks, and the more or less secret wire-pulling and intrigues connected with it.

Throughout all these happenings Mahatma Gandhi has held high the flag of Indian freedom. We have not been able in all cases to support his views and methods. But we have never had any doubts as to his motive. Even when he has gone against the principles of democracy, he has done so in order to free India from foreign control and subjection.

His ceaseless labours have been phenomenal. That his frail frame could bear so much strain is due to the strength of his nerves born of *brahmacharya* and the calmness of his spirit born of faith and *sadhana*.

He has been very patient and accommodating in negotiations. Even the most absurd and irritating pretensions of some minorities and of some small men on whom prominence has been thrust by designing British patrons acting upon the welcome suggestions of an evil genius of two successive Viceroy, have not made him 'walk out' of the Conference. Firm and uncompromising in his enunciation of the essentials of Indian independence, his language has been as little irritating as could be expected under the circumstances.

It has been announced that the plenary session of the Conference will probably come to a close on December 1, the day of publication of this issue of the *Review*, and that the Prime Minister will announce the intentions of the Government at that sitting. Our readers and ourselves will read the report of the proceedings of that day in the dailies of succeeding days.

Whatever the results of the R. T. C., Mr. Gandhi's visit has served the purpose of acquainting the people of Great Britain and, indirectly, of other countries, with the political demands of India and some of her spiritual and social ideals. His bodily presence and his activities, along with those of some other Indians, have shown the British people the kind of men India produces. It has also to be admitted, not with pride, that Britain has seen also the kind of selfish slaves and sneaks and intriguers on whom imperialists may depend for help.

Mr. Gandhi and Europe

As it would be of some advantage to India and the world if Mr. Gandhi could tell the principal countries of Europe personally what he has said in Britain about the political, social and spiritual ideals of India, we did not agree with the Working Committee of the Congress that the Mahatma should return to India direct from England without touring in Europe as he had intended to do. It is something, however, that he would be able to spend a few days on the continent, visiting Switzerland and perhaps France, Germany and Italy also, on his way back.

Other Indian Delegates at R. T. C.

Besides the Mahatma, some other Indian delegates have done good work at the R. T. C. Without intending in the least to give an exhaustive list, we may mention Dr. Moonje, Sir T. B. Sapru, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani at the last Conference and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at the recent one. Sir P. Thakurdas has made notable contributions to the financial discussions, and Mrs. Subharayan to those relating to Indian women's rights and views.

Some had hoped that Sir Ali Imam would do some work. But that hope has not been fulfilled, and he has returned to India before the conclusion of the Conference. Like the majority of the delegates, he has visited England at the cost of the Indian tax-payer without rendering any service in return.

'A Moslem Estimate of Moslem Delegates

The following appeal over the signatures of Md. Shamshul Huda, President, Golam Kader Chowdhury, Secretary, District Muslim Nationalist Party, Hedayet-ul-Islam, M.A., L.L.B., Pleader, Naimuddin Ahmed, M.A., B.L., Abeduddin Ahmed, M.B., Choudhury Md. Kasem, B.A., Zemindar, Waliulla Sufyani, Member B. P. S. A., Md. Yesin, B.L., Pleader, A. J. Golam Samdani, B.L., Pleader, A. K. Golam Jilani, B.A., Saffulla, Khalilur Rahaman, Mainuddin Ahmed, Md. Kalimulla, B.A., Chand Mia, and Mahtabuddin Ahmed, Gaisuddin Ahmed, Md. Yakub Ali Mia, Md. Reazuddin, Abdul Majid, S. M. Hossain and Abdul Monnaf University students has been issued to the younger section of the Muslim Community:—

Ye Young Muslim Brethren, the incidents at the R.T.C. are before you. They need no analysis. You cannot say it has not failed, and you know

why it has failed. Freedom, liberty and independence are the birth-rights of the creation of God. But we never knew that our so-called representatives would forget them. That is our great misfortune. They were callous to the interests of the country, why, to the interests of the community. If they without prejudice, made a united stand with others the result would have been otherwise. Great Britain would have swallowed the bitter pill and left us free to manage our own business. The country would have been grateful to her and to her children at London. But our estimate has failed. Personal interests, chronic whims and sense of self-aggrandizement have led our so-called leaders to the external pit of slavishness. If the Muslim world should be proud of its achievements both in the past and in the present, we Indian Mussalmans certainly fall far from that category. We have lost our self-respect and it is a pity that we don't even want to regain it.

The present world is a world of competition. It is the time for the survival of the fittest. The Mussalmans were never the mediocre; they ruled and were never ruled. Why should we then cry for safe-guards clamour for protection and lament for reservation. If we cannot thrive in the competition it is better we die out.

We know our alleged leaders—you know them perfectly well. Can you claim them as your well-wishers? Their look-out is narrow and limited to the interests of their own family. You cannot—the community must not own these traitors. Its ideal, its ambition, its everything now rests with you. You are to be the pioneers and you are to fulfil the great mission of Islam. It is you who can strive to regain its lost glories. We appeal to you, young brethren, to form that divine brotherhood, with new zeal and courage, and make your sister community believe that you can stand equal by their side.—*Free Press*

"Blunder" by Muslims

In a debate meeting held last month in the Salimullah Muslim Hall, the Muslim students of the Dacca University accepted the motion that Muslims had committed a great blunder by keeping themselves aloof from the Congress movement. The same debate was held again and some of the Muslim luminaries of Bengal, who chanced to visit Dacca, spoke for and against the motion. The debate had to be adjourned then, and although less enthusiasm prevailed in the later meeting, the motion secured an overwhelming majority of votes in its favour.

Repression Anticipated

Mr. Gandhi and many others anticipate that there would be repression in India in the near future and that it would be ten times as severe as it was in 1930. It would not be welcome. But large numbers of men and women are ready to meet it.

Signs of the coming repression are evident in Bengal and from the arrangements announced for Bengal or rumoured to be intended for this province. The appointment of Mr. Anderson, with Irish experience, to the governorship of Bengal is believed to be an omen. The old jail at Dum Dum has been repaired. During the civil disobedience movement the mental hospital at Berhampur in Bengal was converted into a jail. It is again being repaired. The Delhi correspondent of *The Pioneer* has written that the Bengal Government is expected shortly to take quick and drastic action to stamp out anarchism, and that action may include extermination of suspects to Aden, for example. Whatever the intention of the higher authorities may be, the actual work would be entrusted to officers of lower rank, and considerable numbers of persons who never had in thought and action anything to do with terrorism would be victimized; that is to say, it is apprehended that in order to suppress anarchism and terrorism there would be some amount of official anarchy and terrorism.

Liberty gives publicity to the report that another Ordinance for Bengal will soon be promulgated. It is said that the new Ordinance will be brought into being in the course of a week and that it is based on the model of the Irish Coercion Act. It will provide for a military tribunal and summary trial of certain political offenders. "The New Ordinance, it is said, will not apply to Moslems."

The existing Bengal Ordinance has already led to the arrest and detention of very many persons, mostly connected with the Congress. House searches and arrests are the order of the day. In Dacca in the house searches in connection with the attack on Mr. Durno, it has been alleged that non-official Europeans took part with the police in assaulting the inmates of the houses raided and damaging their property. Mr. Villiers, president of the European Association and other non-official Europeans, have been fulminating. Mr. Villiers has boasted of having received threatening letters and of being unmoved by them. That is not a unique or peculiarly European achievement. The authorship of these alleged threatening letters will never be ascertained. We wish it could—at least its racial and official or non-official character.

The punishment of persons proved guilty in open court according to the ordinary processes of law, is not objected to. It is necessary. But even such procedure would not be enough for the cure of political discontent, distemper and unrest. Remedial measures calculated to fully remove the causes of discontent would also require to be adopted.

When repression means the punishment of large numbers of men on suspicion, without any trial, or any open trial according to the ordinary processes of law, such procedure has never been known to succeed. But, nevertheless, men in

power do not learn by old experience of themselves or of others. The reason is, when political discontent arises afresh, the new malcontents are presumed or assumed to be more crushable than any former malcontents, or any malcontents in other countries. To be more particular, it is presumed that, though coercion and repression failed in Ireland and though these methods produced a revolution in Russia, they would succeed in India and particularly in Bengal, as Indians are not Irishmen or Russians, and Bengalis are more timid and cowardly than any other section of Indians. But history always keeps an inexhaustible supply of surprises in store for strong rulers, and the recovery and resilience of buoyant human nature under repression are not confined to any particular continent, country, province, race or period of history.

That so many persons may have to suffer cannot be anything but an unhappy anticipation. But if we must suffer, it is best that the worst may come to pass early, so that the country may see the dawn of happier days as early as possible. That such days will dawn is a certainty.

R. T. C. Plenary Session Opens

London, Nov. 28.

The plenary session of the Indian Round Table Conference opened at 10-30 A.M., the Premier Presiding. There was full attendance.

After it was formally opened Lord Sankey submitted the reports of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee dealing with legislative powers and reserved subjects and moved their adoption.

The Premier submitted the Minorities Committee's report simultaneously informing the Conference that his offer to give the decision and the conditions attached to it had not been accepted. A general debate was then begun by the Raja of Korea.

The delegates from Burma who had attended the last session of the Conference were also present. —Reuter.

As the Bengali delegates have not been much in evidence at the Conference, Mr. Narendranath Law perhaps the least of all, it has to be noted that at this sitting Mr. Law declared that the problem of anarchism in Bengal was largely economic, which is true, and said that unless a responsible Government was established with adequate finances [we hope, for Bengal! Ed., M. R.], the problem would not be attacked at the root. That also is true.

Burma R. T. C. Opens

London, Nov. 27.

After performing the formal inauguration ceremony of the Burma Round Table Conference the Prince of Wales retired from the Conference, acknowledging salutations of the assembled delegates, as he left, and the Prime Minister took the chair.

Chit Hlaing moved and Tharrawaddy Pu seconded the election of Lord Peel to the Chair, which was carried.

The Premier welcoming the delegates said that he desired to take the opportunity of wishing the Conference success. He hoped that when they returned to Burma they would be fully satisfied that His Majesty's Government meant to deal fairly and help the Burmese people to advance the political prestige of their country.

U. Ni said that the Government's declarations had been interpreted in Burma to mean only one thing, namely, the establishment of full responsible self-government in Burma.

Tharrawaddy U. Pu hoped that as a result of their deliberations Burma would receive Home Rule, as enjoyed by Ireland and the Dominions and said that no lesser form of self-government would satisfy their aspirations.

The separation of Burma from India has been decided upon not only without the support of the opinion of the vast majority of the people of Burma but against their wishes. This has been done by setting up a few proteges of the official and non-official Britishers in Burma as the real representatives of the people and by gagging Burmese public opinion by declaring the really representative Burmese public bodies as unlawful associations. The motive behind the policy of separation is the more unhampered future European exploitation of Burma, the preservation of the practical British monopoly of the ocean traffic between India and Burma, and the making of that country a military outpost of the British Empire in the East.

Let us, however, see whether the separatist Burmese delegates can return to their country with Dominion Status or responsible government in their pockets! From what has happened to India, intelligent Burmans can form their own anticipations.

Mr. Lloyd George to Gandhiji

A Free Press special message runs as follows:

London, Nov. 24.

According to informed circles it is significant that Mr. Lloyd George telegraphed to Gandhiji that Mr. MacDonald's excuse of the obstruction by the Conservative majority is unsound, since the Premier is certain to be able to face in the House of Commons any proposals with only 150 Tories supporting, which Mr. MacDonald can surely command.

Mr. Lloyd George further advised Mahatmaji not to expect the Conference to produce any results, and to return to India to revive the struggle as the only way to teach Government a lesson.

But would India have got freedom if Mr. Lloyd George's party had been in power with himself as premier? Who prescribed the Civil Service "steel frame" for India for an indefinite period? It is funny that men should cherish the bad habit of blaming the other fellow.

Detention of Postal Packets

The Calcutta Gazette notifies:

In exercise of the power conferred by Section 20 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931

(Act XXIII of 1931), the Governor in Council has authorized the District Magistrate in each district in the Presidency of Bengal and the Chief Presidency Magistrate in the town of Calcutta, to detain any package brought, whether by land, sea or air, into British India, which he suspects to contain any newspapers, books or other documents of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1) of the said Act.

In exercise of the further power conferred by the same section of the said Act, the Governor in Council is pleased to appoint the Superintendent or Additional Superintendent of Police in each district, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Special Branch, in the town of Calcutta and the Deputy Commissioner in the Chittagong Hill Tracts as the officers to whom copies of newspapers, books or other documents found in any such package shall be forwarded.

The officers authorized to detain packets cannot examine all postal articles—they have no time to do so. Some underlings will do so. Neither the officers nor their underlings are infallible. Can Government guarantee that perfectly innocuous literary matter and pictures, and cheques and postal orders etc., will not be withheld from addressees?

General Smuts' Advice

“London, Nov. 20.

“The Indian position at present was by far the most important and perhaps the most dangerous problem facing the country, declared General Smuts before leaving for South Africa to-day. Great Britain must make up their mind to go pretty far in satisfying India, and the sooner the better, as the present favourable situation for settlement might not last long.

“He was convinced that Mr. Gandhi was sincerely anxious to come to a fair settlement, and his power, while it lasted, would be an enormous asset to Britain in her efforts to arrive at a settlement. Mr. Gandhi spoke for a large part of India and could deliver the goods as no other Indian leader could. Every effort should be made to prevent further misunderstanding and recrudescence of disorder in India, with all the misery to which it might lead.

“Force was no remedy, and neither the modern spirit nor the British temper would permit application of a real policy of repression.”

But the people, particularly of Bengal, have been already suffering from a policy of repression.

“The Conference, if it was unable to come to the conclusion of its labours now, should adjourn at such a stage and in such a spirit of mutual understanding and good-will that its work could almost immediately be resumed and pressed to a conclusion.

“Neither the communal question nor reservations appeared to him to form an insuperable bar to the early grant of an Indian Constitution, but perhaps even more important at present was the spirit of mutual trust and understanding and avoidance of any action which might create suspicion between Indian and British India and British leaders. He

was convinced that both sides honestly meant to come to a settlement and that was a priceless asset in dealing with an extremely difficult situation. He was sure that the British people would regard with good will every effort to accelerate a settlement and keep India a contented member of the Commonwealth.”

We do not know what kind of settlement the British people want to accelerate. Some of their notables want to banish Mr. Gandhi and his co-workers to some island in the Indian Ocean. Many British organs demand “firm rule” in India. The British people as a whole have returned to power a Government which does not want India to be free, for it wants to keep the Army, Finance and Foreign Relations under its control.

Governor with Irish Experience for Bengal

A round table special service telegram runs as follows :

LONDON, November 26.

Heated passages occurred in the Federal Structure Sub-Committee this morning while Pt. Malaviya was urging the Government to take the course which would not leave it open for the critics of those who attended the Round Table Conference to claim that their strictures were justified.

Pt. Malaviya declared, “You have made a recent appointment which is an indication of the policy which might possibly be pursued.”

Sir Samuel Hoare rose and asked what the Pandit meant.

Pt. Malaviya replied.—I am speaking of an appointment which has been announced.

Sir Samuel Hoare: In the interests of a public servant, I must ask Pt. Malaviya to be precise.

Pt. Malaviya replied that he would be very precise. It was said that a particular gentleman whose name had been announced had been in Ireland in connection with the administration of the Black and Tans.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that Pt. Malaviya was making a very unfair charge against one of the most respected public servants in Britain.

Pt. Malaviya denied that he had brought the charge.

Sir Samuel Hoare rejoined—You have merely made insinuation, which is worse.

Pt. Malaviya affirmed that he was saying nothing against the gentleman, but only suggested that if that was an indication of policy to be pursued, he wished to protest against it. “I do not know the gentleman and I have nothing to say against him. I mentioned what is mentioned in the public Press of your country, and I say that if that is going to be the policy which is going to be pursued, it will be a bad day for India and a bad day for England.”

On the same subject Reuter has sent the following message :

London, Nov. 26.

In view of the prominence attaching recently to Bengal, great interest is taken in the appointment of the new Governor.

Mr. Ghuznavi expressed the opinion that Mr.

Anderson's career and personality were such as to inspire confidence and said that he would receive solid and continuous support for any policy calculated to maintain and improve the stability of the administration.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq thought that there was difficult time ahead, but hoped that he would be able to bring peace and tranquillity to Bengal.

Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta considered that the personality of the Governor made little difference, since the problem could be solved only by recognition of Indians' right to rule their own country.

It is to be presumed that Mr. Ghuznavi and Mr. Anderson have been lifelong chums.

The ancients knew of men who made a desert and called it peace. It is to be hoped Mr. Fazlul Huq's idea of peace is different.

"The Times" on Encouraging Lawlessness in Kashmir

LONDON, Nov. 23.

Nothing could be less helpful to the cause it ostensibly defends than the Moslem Conference Working Committee resolutions on Kashmir, says the "Times" and adds: The cause of Indian Islam has been admirably defended by the able body of Round Table Conference delegates but it will suffer if the second line of politicians temporarily in charge of Moslem interests at Delhi continue the policy of encouraging lawlessness and keeping open the Kashmir sore. British sympathy for the Moslem minority will inevitably diminish if the impression is allowed to get abroad that the All India Moslem Conference has fallen into the hands of demagogues whose main object is to score points at the expense of the Government in an endless communal conflict.—Reuter.

Dr. Kitchlew on Kashmir

Dr. Shaifuddin Kitchlew, the nationalist leader of Lahore, who is himself a Kashmiri Musalman, says in a published statement that the problem of the Indian States is very intricate. In Kashmir it has assumed a communal form. The majority of Kashmir subjects are Musalmans. If they have any grievance against the Maharaja, they ought not to have carried on the agitation in the way they have done. If there be similar agitation in other Indian States, the atmosphere will be poisoned. The Moslem subjects of Kashmir ought to have submitted their joint demands with the Hindu subjects after consultation with them. These views of Dr. Kitchlew are entitled to the serious attention of Musalmans in and outside Kashmir. He believes that there is a terrible conspiracy at the back of the Kashmir outbreaks.

Progressive Bihar Women

The Bihar Women's Constituent Conference held last month approved of co-education in

primary schools as well as at University stages and strongly recommended to parents to send their daughters to the boy's schools or colleges, where there were no educational institutions for girls.

It condemned the agitation started by certain classes against the Child Marriage Restraint Act, and condemned the proposed Bills asking for exemptions from the operation of this law. It called upon His Excellency the Viceroy, the Central Legislatures and local Governments to keep the Sarda Act intact and strictly to enforce the provisions of the Act.

It also condemned the custom of enforced seclusion of women, and entreated all Hindus, Musalmans and other communities, which still observed this custom, to take practical steps to educate public opinion in favour of its abolition as soon as possible.

Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations

The Working Committee of the Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations Committee had requested the Government to permit the use of the Eden Gardens to hold an Exhibition of Arts and Crafts of India and of countries culturally connected with it and a *Mela* of artistic handicrafts primarily of Bengal during the last week of this month. The Government has decided "that the Gardens cannot be made available for the proposed exhibition and *Mela*." It has taken the Government more than a month to arrive at this decision. Games and lighter festivities take place in the Eden Gardens. An exhibition, too, was held there twelve years ago. All, of course, under European auspices. Every cold season a dog-show is held there. But then Europeans are more interested in their canine pets than in indigenous arts and crafts. There were perhaps other insuperable difficulties. How could anything be allowed to be done in the Eden Gardens under Indian auspices and in connection with celebrations in honour of an Indian who is not a *jo-hukam*?

In view of the Government's reply in the negative, the Committee have decided to hold the *Mela* and the exhibition in the Town Hall and the adjoining grounds, though these would be too small for them. But there is no help for it.

The Committee have provisionally fixed the dates and principal items of the programme of celebrations as follows:

Friday 25th December—

Morning: opening of the Exhibition.

Afternoon: Bengali Literary Conference under the presidency of S. J. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee.

Evening: Music Jalsa.

Saturday 26th December—

Afternoon: English Conference under the presidency of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan.

Evening: Music Jalsa.

Sunday 27th December—

The main function (presentation of address to the poet).

December 28, 29 and 30—

Evenings: Dramatic Performances.

Afternoons of these days have been kept free for suitable arrangements, such as Folk-songs, and Folk-dances in a suitable public park, "Ladies and Children Day" and "Students Day," as may be arranged.

A Sub-committee to arrange for the Folk-songs and Folk-dances and other arrangements and Sports has been formed.

On the 31st December, the last day of the Tagore Week, it is under contemplation to arrange, if possible, a garden party or some such social function to meet the Poet. Among the public bodies who may present address to the Poet at the main function are the Corporation of Calcutta and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, who, it is understood, are already moving in the matter.

The Exhibition and the Mela will remain open for a fortnight from December 25.

Accused to Blame for Protracted Meerut Trial !

LONDON, Nov. 23.

Replying to Mr. Kirkwood (Lab.) in the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare, said that the date when the Meerut trial was likely to end mainly depended on the time taken by the accused in presenting their defence. He was therefore unable to estimate its probable duration.—

Replying to Mr. Lansbury (Leader of the Opposition), who suggested the discharge of the Meerut prisoners, Sir Samuel said that his predecessor and he had been constantly communicating with the Government of India in regard to the trial. The delay was in no way due to the Government but was entirely due to the protracted course of the defence and it was quite impossible for him to intervene at this stage.

If even before the late Mr. Langford James had made his opening speech the accused had voluntarily pleaded guilty with nooses round their necks, the trial would have concluded very quickly. Even now it can end quickly if the accused forgo their right of defence. That would evidently please Sir Samuel Hoare, though it may not please either the Goddess of Justice or the prosecuting counsel.

But is it not a plain terminological inexactitude to say that "the delay was in no way due to the Government"? How many witnesses for the prosecution have been examined? How much time has been taken by prosecuting counsel? Is it only due to the defence that Government has already spent more than 12 lakhs?

Wanted Fiscal and Financial Autonomy for India

The tying of the rupee to sterling has made foreign goods other than British dearer in India

than before. This has made non-British foreign manufacturers exporters to angry. Again, the recent British anti-dumping law, according to which Britain has imposed prohibitory duties on certain foreign goods, has made the manufacturers of these articles angry. Hence a tariff war has begun between Britain and some other countries. But India, too, has to suffer owing to the British connection. Already France has imposed a 7 per cent. duty on Indian goods, though India is not free to be either friendly or unfriendly to any nation. India badly needs fiscal and financial autonomy.

"Those Friends of India"

On the 8th November last the special correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* telegraphed to it from London that "Lord Sankey and Lord Irwin who have earned the reputation of being 'friends of India' have been canvassing support in favour of grant of provincial autonomy and deferring the questions of responsibility and federation. They are strengthened in this attitude by the reactionary leanings of the Muslims and the lesser minorities."

Bernard Shaw on Home Rule

In the preface to his drama, *John Bull's Other Island*, written in 1904, Bernard Shaw has something very wise to say on Irish Home Rule. He says that Martial Law is only a technical name for Lynch Law, and that the truth formulated by William Morris, that "no man is good enough to be another man's master" is true also of nations. Here are some extracts from the Preface:

IRISH LOYALTY

"The Irish soldier takes the King's shilling and drinks the King's health; and the Irish squire takes the title-deeds of the English settlement and rises uncovered to the strains of the English national anthem. But do not mistake this cupboard loyalty for anything deeper. It gains a broad base from the normal attachment of every reasonable man to the established government as long as it is bearable; for we all, after a certain age, prefer peace to revolution and order to chaos, other things being equal. Such considerations produce loyal Irishmen as they produce loyal Poles and Finns, loyal Hindus, loyal Filipinos, and faithful slaves. But there is nothing more in it than that."

FEAR THE BEST GUARANTEE OF REASONABLENESS

"Let me halt a moment here to impress on you, O English reader, that no fact has been more deeply stamped into us? [Irishmen] than that we can do nothing with an English Government unless we frighten it, any more than you can yourself."

BRITISH JUSTICE IN INDIA

"The Englishman in India, for example, stands a very statue of Justice. [But does he really?]

between two natives. He says, in effect, "I am impartial in your religious disputes because I believe in neither of your religions. I am impartial in your conflicts of custom and sentiment, because your customs and sentiments are different from, and abysmally inferior to, my own. Finally, I am impartial as to your interests, because they are both equally opposed to mine, which is to keep you both equally powerless against me in order that I may extract money from you to pay salaries and pensions to myself and my fellow Englishmen as judges and rulers over you. In return for which you get the inestimable benefit of a government that does absolute justice as between Indian and Indian [Does it?—*ride Chittagong*], being wholly preoccupied with the maintenance of absolute injustice as between India and England." It will be observed that no Englishman, without making himself ridiculous, could pretend to be perfectly just or disinterested in English affairs, or would tolerate a proposal to establish the Indian or Irish system in Great Britain. Yet if the justice of the Englishman is sufficient to ensure the welfare of India or Ireland, it ought to suffice equally for England. But the English are wise enough to refuse to trust to English justice themselves, preferring democracy. They can hardly blame the Irish for taking the same view."

NATIONALISM BOUND TO BE AN OBSESSION WITH SLAVE NATIONS

"A healthy nation is as unconscious of its nationality as a healthy man of his bones. But if you break a nation's nationality, it will think of nothing else but getting it set again. It will listen to no reformer, to no philosopher, to no preacher, until the demand of the nationalist is granted. It will attend to no business, however vital, except the business of unification and liberation. That is why everything is in abeyance in Ireland pending the achievement of Home Rule. The great movements of the human spirit which sweep in waves over Europe are stopped on the Irish coast by the English guns of the Pigeon House Fort. Conquered nations lose their place in the world's march because they can do nothing but strive to get rid of their nationalist movement by recovering their national liberty. All demonstrations of the virtues of a foreign government, though often conclusive, are as useless as demonstrations of the superiority of artificial teeth, glass eyes, silver windpipes, and patent wooden legs to the natural products. Like democracy, national self-government is not for the good of the people: it is for the satisfaction of the people. One Antonine emperor, one St. Louis, one Richelieu, may be worth ten democracies in point of what is called good government; but there is no satisfaction of the people in them. To deprive a dyspeptic of his dinner and hand it over to a man who can digest it better is a highly logical proceeding; but it is not a sensible one. To take the government of Ireland away from the Irish and hand it over to the English on the ground that they can govern better would be a precisely parallel case if the English had managed their affairs so well as to place their superior faculty for governing beyond question. But as the English are avowed muddlers—rather proud of it, in fact—even the logic of that case against Home Rule is not complete."

SELF-GOVERNMENT A NATURAL RIGHT

"Acquired rights are deduced from political constitutions; but political constitutions are deduced from natural rights. When a man insists on certain liberties without the slightest regard to demonstrations that they are not for his own good, nor for the public good, nor moral, nor reasonable, nor decent, nor compatible with the existing constitution of society, then he is said to claim a natural right to that liberty. When, for instance, he insists, in spite of the irrefutable demonstrations of many able pessimists, from the author of the book of Ecclesiasts to Schopenhauer, that life is an evil, on living, he is asserting a natural right to live. When he insists on a vote in order that his country may be governed according to his ignorance instead of the wisdom of the Privy Council, he is asserting a natural right to self-government. When he insists on guiding himself at 21 by his own inexperience and folly and immaturity instead of by the experience and sagacity of his father, or the well-stored mind of his grand-mother, he is asserting a natural right to independence. . . . We have learnt that nations insist on being governed by their own consent—or, as they put it, by themselves and for themselves—and that they will finally upset a good government which denies them this, even if the alternative be a bad government which at least creates and maintains an illusion of democracy. . . . And the final reason why Ireland must have Home Rule is that she has a natural right to it."

MILITARY TYRANNY DEFEATS ITSELF.

"Now for England's share of warning. Let her look to her Empire; for unless she makes it such a Federation for civil strength and defence that all free peoples will cling to it voluntarily, it will inevitably become a military tyranny to prevent them from abandoning it; and such a tyranny will drain the English taxpayer of his money more effectually than its worst cruelties can ever drain its victims of their liberty. A political scheme that cannot be carried on except by soldiers will not be a permanent one."

Mr. Nehru on Bengal's Part in Satyagraha

It is a truism that every province of India could and ought to have done more and better than it did in last year's *Satyagraha* campaign. And it is also true that some parts of India did better than some other parts. But it is not quite easy to definitely condemn any province for not having done its duty. For, owing to differing degrees of vigour in the enforcement of the press ordinance of 1930 and to greater or less desire and means of propaganda, Congress work in different provinces did not obtain the same degree of publicity. Some provinces were also more handicapped than others.

In any case, if the shortcomings of any province have to be pointed out, it is best that it should be done by its inhabitants themselves. The reason is obvious.

During his recent visit to Calcutta Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have indulged

in depreciatory comparative criticism of Bengal's part in the last civil disobedience campaign. Being Bengalis, we have been aware of our shortcomings. But we have found it difficult to ascertain how far we have fallen short of the achievement of the other provinces.

One criterion is the sum total of the sufferings of a province. But how is this sum total to be found? One item may be given here.

On the 26th January this year Sir James Crerar, the Home Member, said in reply to a question in the Assembly that, up to the end of December 1930, 54,049 persons had been punished in the whole of British India for taking part in civil disobedience. The number of persons punished in each province is given below.

Province.	No. of persons punished.
Bengal	11,463
Bihar and Orissa	10,899
Bombay	9,732
U. P.	7,606
Madras	3,998
C. P. and Berar	3,861
Panjab	3,561
Assam	1,088
Delhi	1,073
N.-W. F. Province	761
Coorg	6

But according to a list of civil disobedience prisoners in the districts of Bengal published by the Bengal Government, their total number was 12,293. We do not know which figure is correct, 11,463 or 12,293. But whichever may be correct, as Bengal's population is greater than that of every other province, the mere fact that civil disobedience prisoners were larger here in number than in any other province would not show that Bengal did comparatively better than all the other provinces. If the number of civil disobedience prisoners be accepted as a standard of achievement, the place of the provinces in proportion to their population can be determined from the following table:

Province.	Population.	No. of C. D. Prisoners.
Bengal	50,122,550	11,463
Bihar and Orissa	37,590,356	10,899
Bombay	22,259,977	9,732
U. P.	48,408,763	7,606
Madras	46,748,644	3,998
C. P. and Berar	15,472,628	3,861
Panjab	23,593,851	3,561
Assam	8,622,251	1,088
Delhi	6,362,246	1,073
N.-W. F. Province	24,250,761	761
Coorg	163,089	6

It would not be quite correct, however, to judge by the total population of each province. Whilst it is true that no religious community refrained absolutely from joining the movement, it is also true that it was an overwhelmingly Hindu movement, except perhaps in the N.-W. F. Province. Therefore, a more correct idea of the place of each province in the movement can be obtained, if we judge by the total Hindu population of each province. The subjoined table

will help one in forming such an idea. If the number of Hindu civil disobedience prisoners in each province could be found, that would have enabled one to form a still more accurate idea. But such figures are not available.

Province.	No. of Hindus	No. of C. D. Prisoners.
Bengal	21,537,021	11,463
Bihar & Orissa	31,010,660	10,899
Bombay	16,619,866	9,732
U. P.	40,905,532	7,606
Madras	40,392,900	3,998
C. P. & Berar	13,460,105	3,861
Panjab	63,285,888	3,561
Assam	4,931,760	1,088
Delhi	3,998,653	1,073
N.-W. F. Province	14,297,761	761
Coorg	146,007	6

By taking into consideration only the Hindu population, we do not mean any slur on the *satyagrahis* of other communities, least of all on Moslem *satyagrahis*. On the contrary, we consider the participation of the Musalmans in the movement a proof of greater zeal, as they had to do so against the opinion of a large section of their co-religionists. Another criterion could be the value of the property destroyed, damaged, or lost, because of the participation of the people in civil disobedience. But one has no means to ascertain this value for all or any of the provinces.

In judging of the achievement of Bengal, one should also take into account the hundred of her youth deprived of their liberty for indefinite periods without trial, and some of these detenus of their life also, directly or indirectly. There is no proof of their having been confined for unlawful violent deeds or even intention. Large numbers of them are Congress workers pledged to non-violence. That Bengal has not been politically lukewarm or inactive is shown, among other things, by the large number of her detenus. The special London correspondent of *Advance* cabled on November 25 last that Mahatma Gandhi made special reference in that day's sitting of the Federal Structure sub-committee to the Bengal detenus, saying:

"Mr. Sen-Gupta's case is that, since the signing of the Delhi Agreement Bengal has been placed beyond the pale of the truce terms and non-violent Congress workers are being victimized under the plea of suppressing terrorism."

Such victimization is believed to have taken place in many cases even when *satyagraha* was going on.

We do not want to boast, nor have we any reason to do so. But neither do we want that the ardour of our political workers should be damped by criticism unsupported by facts and figures.

Indian Students' Conference in London

Indian Students' Central Association of London, which has its permanent headquarters at

2. Beaufort Gardens, Brompton Road, London, has taken steps to convene a Conference of Indian students abroad in London on 28th, 29th, 30th December 1931, at which many interesting subjects of importance will be discussed. Some of the topics are as follows: (i) Desirability of a single co-ordinating body, and how and on which line it should be formed. (ii) Various problems and difficulties that confront Indian students abroad and means of overcoming them. (iii) Educational opportunities for Indian students in various countries. (iv) The welfare of Indian students by representing, safeguarding and furthering their interests.

The largest number of Indian students abroad reside in Great Britain. They have various organisations in various university centres. But these organisations are not even centralised or federalised. To be sure it is necessary to have a co-ordinating body, such as World Federation of Indian Students Abroad, so that Indian student activities in various countries may become effective. It is also desirable that the various student organisations in Great Britain should form a Central Organisation to co-ordinate the activities of Indian students in British universities. This is not a very difficult thing to accomplish, provided the leaders of Indian students in various university centres in Great Britain agree to form a Federation of Indian Students' Clubs or a central association in Great Britain.

We hope the proposed conference of Indian students abroad will be a great success and strengthen India's cultural endeavour.

Indian Students in Europe and C. I. D. Activities

The World's Student Christian Federation and the International Student Service in Geneva have organised a Reception Service for students at various ports of Europe. According to a report published by Mr P. D. Ranganathan, who worked for the interest of Indian students at the ports of Marseilles, Genoa and Venice during the months of August, September and October, 1931, in two and a half months the Reception Service welcomed 350 Indian students, of whom about 275 landed at Marseilles and about 80 in the ports of Venice and Genoa. It is expected that this Reception Service will develop and be of very great help to Indian students in Europe.

Mr. Ranganathan's report contains certain interesting facts which should be carefully noted by our people:

"It is an entertaining Indian superstition that no good thing is complete without something going wrong somewhere in the course of its achievement, and in our case this helpful factor has been India's ever-watchful guardian—the C. I. D. friend—(detective in plain

clothes). I do not know if it is so with other student communities, but certainly the Indian student has no better trailer of his steps than this companion of old! This was never so evident as in the two or three days preceding Mr. Gandhi's arrival at Marseilles,..."

It is a fact that the Government of India spends a considerable sum on its C. I. D. service in foreign lands to keep track of the activities of Indian students. We are inclined to think that this is a waste of money. The amount now spent for the C. I. D., whose object is to shadow Indian students in foreign lands, would be better spent in scholarships for deserving Indian scholars in foreign universities. It will be still better if the amount be spent in India for the spread of scientific and industrial education, so that Indian students may not have to go to foreign countries in such large numbers.

Wisdom of Insisting on League Solution of Minority Problems

It has been shown repeatedly in this *Review* that the League of Nations solution of the Minority Problems in various countries embodies the political wisdom of the statesmen of almost all the nations of the world; that it has been applied in some twenty countries of the world, including Turkey; that it is binding on Great Britain and India, as they were among the member states of the League who have accepted and were signatories to it; and that, according to no less an authority than Mr. Henderson, who represented Great Britain in the League, it has become part of the international law of the world. It is the only solution which is truly democratic in spirit and principle, as it prevents the disintegrating growth of states within states and promotes the fusion of majorities and minorities for the formation of one compact nation. For these reasons the League solution ought to have been applied to India. Indian nationalist "delegates" to the R. T. C. ought to have insisted on such application, failing, of course, a communal settlement by their own efforts. But many of them thought it derogatory to national self-respect to seek outside help or to avail themselves of any non-Indian, foreign, solution, such as the League's. But some had no objection to even the Aga Khan's arbitration! And others would accept Mr. J. R. MacDonald's arbitration or the arbitration of some other Britishers! And this, in the face of the fact that imperialist Britishers have all along been intriguing with the Aga Khan's party and other minorities against the attainment of freedom by India as a united nation. Mr. MacDonald may or may not be among these intriguers, but it ought to be clear to the meanest understanding that he has been astutely trying to play off the minorities against the Congress and the Indian Liberals.

In this connection let this be noted that India spends abnormally large sums for foreign experts and professors without increasing national efficiency. For instance, for the maintenance of the Roorkee Engineering College, India spends annually a sum of £ 30,000 or more. This college may be the best engineering college in India but it is no better than a third-rate college when we compare it with such institutions as the first class Engineering Universities of the West. Yet Roorkee Engineering College does not admit even 50 new students annually, and the professors live in luxury and do not carry on any scientific research. I have found that many German professors of great eminence, as Prof. Sommerfeld, Prof. Wieland and others, do not draw half the salary of that of some third-rate British "expert" of the educational service in India.

Italy has become a first-class power within a few years, and what is it that prevents India from attaining the position of Italy in national efficiency, especially in aviation? Is it merely foreign rule or something else?

T. D.

Military Education among Western Women

Modern science has revolutionized the mode of warfare. Hand-to-hand fights are not going to be the determining factors in future wars. On the contrary, poison gas, bombs from aeroplanes, tanks, machine guns and other weapons will play a more important part in deciding the final outcome. A woman pilot with her endurance and coolness of mind would bombard cities from the air as a man. Women chemists will aid in making poison gases, as woman workers made ammunitions during the World War. (*Not an inspiring prospect!* Ed., M. R.)

The Soviet Russian military authorities recognize the fact that women will play a significant rôle in the next war, and therefore they have inaugurated a system of training for women who wish to become officers. There are women officers in the Soviet Army, even in the General Staff. In India women like Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi have led armies in battle with skill and courage.

In Great Britain and France women can get certain kinds of training which have military value. In the U. S. A., the War Department has inaugurated a policy of giving training in rifle shooting and pistol practices for young women. In India even men are not given the opportunity to master the art of national defence.

T. D.

Modern world tendencies should be taken note of. There are men who are working sincerely in the cause of disarmament and outlawry of war. There are others who, under the guise of co-operating with the workers for peace,

are merely trying to weaken their neighbours or to keep them weak: as all the while, direct or indirect work in the direction of preparedness for war has been going on. Far from wishing that India's women should learn to kill, we would welcome the day when even men would cease to shed blood. But that day is not yet. And hence even Mahatma Gandhi has to say, not that the Indian army should be disbanded, but that it should be completely under India's control. And that defence force should consist of all Indians of fighting age.

Coasting Trade in Britain and India

Mr. Sarabhai N. Haji's Bill wants to reserve Indian coasting traffic for Indian vessels. This has been opposed by Britishers in Britain and India. But when British shippers are themselves hit, they want their coasting trade to be reserved for themselves. This will be clear from what the British Journal *Fair Play* wrote some time ago:

One bull point in favour of British shipowners, should Conservatives be returned at the next election, would be that the British imperial coasting trade, will, we are told, be restricted to British ships—that is to say, only British ship will be allowed to carry passengers or cargo from one British port in any part of the world to another.

There is no doubt that it will force more cargoes to be sent by British ships than at present. It is interesting that at this juncture the League of Nations should publish (price 1s.) the results of an inquiry concerning the meaning attached to the terms "coasting trade" in the various countries, and whether this trade is reserved for the national flag.

The following list shows in brief the result of the League of Nations inquiry:

Albania: Reserved.
Belgium: Not reserved.
Brazil: Reserved.
Bulgaria: Reserved.
Chile: Reserved.
Costa Rica: Reserved.
Denmark: Not reserved.

Egypt: Reserved for craft of 400 tons gross and under.

Estonia: Reserved.
Finland: Reserved.
France: Reserved.

Germany: Exclusively reserved to German ships, but a number of countries are authorised by decree to engage in it.

Greece: Reserved.
Haiti: Not reserved.

Italy: Reserved, but it is provided that foreign vessels can engage in it by virtue of special treaties or conventions.

Japan: Reserved.
Latvia: Reserved.
Lithuania: Reserved.
Mexico: Reserved.

Netherlands : The coasting trade in the Netherlands Indies between ports not open to general traffic, or between a port open to general traffic, is reserved for Netherlands vessels. Between ports open to general traffic foreign vessels can carry cargo.

Norway : Not reserved.

Panama : Reserved.

Poland : Reserved.

Portugal : Reserved.

Roumania : Reserved.

Siam : Not reserved

Spain : Reserved

Sweden : Reserved, but under convention foreign vessels are admitted.

Turkey : Reserved.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics : Reserved.

United States : Reserved.

Uruguay : Reserved

Fair Play comments as follows on this list :

It will be seen from the above that every nation having coasting trade of any importance reserves it for itself. If the English conservative party gets into power, it will do the same for this country.

The move for making British officers serving in India travel only by British ships with their free passes is also significant.

Some Matters for the Bengal Provincial Conference

How to prevent in future outrages like those at Dacca, Chittagong and Hijli, what answer Bengal will give to the increasing number of house-searches, arrests, detentions without trial for indefinite periods, and the trial of accused by special tribunals; what steps should be taken to prevent the further dismemberment of Bengal in its southern border and to bring back within the administrative province of Bengal the Bengali-speaking areas now included in Assam, Bihar and Chota-nagpur; what should be done to promote industries in Bengal and thereby to partly solve the unemployment problem in the province;—these are perhaps some of the matters which may be taken up for consideration at the special session of the Bengal provincial conference at Berhampore without any suspicion of disloyalty to the Congress.

Outrages on Women

Congressmen in Bengal and elsewhere have all along been afraid of facing another problem, though we do not see any just reason for such an attitude. Outrages on women are a disgrace to the nation. Even the Police department, perhaps at the behest of the Government, has issued instructions to its officers to pay particular attention to such cases. But Congressmen, and even Congress women, continue to seem to see

nothing wrong in such a state of society. They should take their courage in both hands and pass at least a paper resolution by way of gesture, seeing that not only Hindu women but Muslim women also fall victims to such outrages.

There are certain other matters which ought, in our opinion, to be taken up for consideration at the Conference. One is—

Statutory Communal Majority in Legislatures

It has been demanded that majority communities in Bengal and the Punjab professing Islam, should have the majority of seats in the legislatures of these provinces secured to them by the coming constitution of the country. We have shown in our Notes in the last issue that communal majorities in legislatures fixed by statute are a negation of both self-rule and democracy. Our information is that a very large volume of opinion in Bengal, including that of prominent and other Congressmen, is against such fixed statutory majorities. Will those in the Bengal Congress camp who are for real self-rule and democracy speak out?

Revenue from Jute

Another question is whether the proceeds from the duty on jute should continue to be appropriated by the Central Government or should come to the public treasury of Bengal. Though Bengal is, all sources considered, the greatest revenue-producing province, the Bengal Government is allowed to spend per head of its population very much less than some other provincial governments. Bengali opinion has always been unanimous that Bengal should benefit by what is practically its monopoly. Up to date the Central Government has got some 50 crores of rupees from jute and Bengal nothing. The federal finance sub-committee of the round table conference has proposed to perpetuate this iniquity. Against this proposal both Sir P. C. Mitter and Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi have protested. Their politics are not those of the Congress, nor of ours. But in this matter their voice is the voice of Bengal. The Berhampore Conference should, in our opinion, declare that if the jute duty continues to be levied, its proceeds should be given to Bengal.

Bengal's Share of Seats in Central Legislature

It well known that, though the population of Bengal is more than double that of Bombay, the number of members which Bengal is entitled to send to the Legislative Assembly is at present about the same as that of Bombay. We have repeatedly pointed out the injustice of this arrangement, without being able to catch the

ear of our contemporaries or of the Congress;—that Government would lend its ear we never expected.

It has been now suggested by Lord Sankey that Bengal should not have an adequate advantage of its numbers in the Central Legislature. For example, in its lower chamber we do not want a bi-cameral legislature, though we will not discuss that question here) it has been suggested that Bengal, U. P. and Madras should have 32 seats each and Bombay and the Panjab 26 seats each. We will leave the doughty champions of U. P. and Madras to fight their own battles, if they think fit. We wish to speak a few humble words for Bengal, as she has for years fallen on evil days. The population of Bengal continues to be more than double that of either the Panjab and Bombay and greater than that of every other single province. On the basis of population Bombay and Panjab would have less than 16 seats each against Bengal's 32. But weightage has been suggested to be given to Bombay because of her superiority in business, and to the Panjab on account of her general importance—which perhaps means in less cryptic language that the British Government recruit more mercenary soldiers from there than from any other single province, and perhaps also because it is a wheat and cotton exporting province. Among the British and Indian R.T.C. delegates only Mr. Gavin Jones protested against giving weightage to Bombay, as he asserted that Bengal's volume of business was not smaller than that of Bombay. That may be literally true. But it is also true that the people of Bombay do a greater volume of business than the people of Bengal. As for the Panjab, it is not the fault of the other provinces that soldiers are, for political reasons, not recruited from the latter in adequate numbers. And if the Panjab exports wheat and cotton, other provinces export jute, coal, tea, etc.

But our objection to giving weightage to any province on the ground of business enterprise, mercenary soldiering, or production of raw materials for export, is more fundamental. The Congress stands for adult suffrage, which means that every adult man or woman is to have equal political rights—no matter whether they are literate or illiterate, educated or uneducated, rich or poor, peasant or factory labourer, capitalist or wage-earner, urban or rural, "martial", or "non-martial." Even if there be no adult suffrage, a millionaire will not surely be allowed to give a thousand votes and a man possessing a thousand rupees one vote, and a soldier 5 or 10 votes as against the pacific man's single vote. Such being the case so far as individual voters are concerned, what justification would there be to give to a collection of individuals, which constitutes the population of a province, the right to return a larger number of representatives to the legislature than to another provincial collection of individuals on the ground that the former was

wealthier than the latter or produced more raw material of particular sorts than the latter, or was made the recruiting ground for mercenary fighters to the neglect or exclusion of the latter?

And are business enterprise, raw materials, and mercenary soldiers the only things that count? Do achievements in literature, art, science and education, and initiative in spiritual and social reform and endeavour count for nothing? Do the former entitle some provinces to special consideration and the latter qualify others for slight?

We suggest that the special session of the Bengal provincial conference should consider the question of Bengal's share of seats in the central legislature and voice Bengal's opinion, while there is yet time.

—

Benares Museum of Fine Arts

On our return journey from Sarnath, we had the pleasure of seeing the Museum of Fine Art at Benares, known as Bharat Kala Bhavan. It is housed at the Nagari Pracharini Sabha buildings. The collector, organizer and donor of the sculptures and paintings kept in this museum, Rai Krihnadasa, kindly took us round and explained to us all the different specimens. We were glad to learn from him that a piece of land has been purchased for the Kala Bhavan and when the edifice is ready, the sculptures and paintings would be removed there. He has more paintings than are exhibited on the panels. These will be properly arranged gradually. Even as it is at present the collection is magnificent and instructive. It is not a haphazard assemblage of paintings and sculptures acquired somehow, but a collection made with care and taste.

Among the sculptures there are specimens of the Mathura School and of different epochs of the Gupta School. There are many examples of mediæval Brahminical and Jaina sculptures.

The paintings are more numerous, the most notable being those of the Mughal and Kangra schools. There are portraits of the Persian and Indo-Persian schools also.

Calligraphy as an art flourished in the Mughal as in other Moslem courts. There are in the collection some beautiful specimens of this art. There is a complete illustrated Bhagavata in Nagari characters in the form of a roll.

Rai Krihnadasa has given proof of his fine taste and critical acumen by including in his collection specimens of paintings of the modern Indian school founded by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore.

—

Opening of a New Vihara at Sarnath

In ordinary times Sarnath, near Benares, has very few inhabitants. But on the occasion of the consecration of the new Vihara, named

Mahagalla Jutu Vihara, it presented a very animated appearance with its vast gathering of sight-seers, mostly people from the neighborhood, and of pilgrims from Sikkim, Darjeeling, Tibet, Chittagong, Ceylon, China, Japan, Burma, etc. There was one British Buddhist, Mr. B. L. Broughton, vice-president of the British Mahabodhi Society and a German Buddhist, who has adopted the name of Brahmachari Govinda, with his mother.

The sundries presented by the Govern-



Anantika Dharmapala Going to the Vihara

ment of India were received at the Sarnath Museum by Mr. Justice Mammatha Nath Mukerji and handed over to Mr. Rajanatha Devatiratne, who mounted an elephant with the casket of relics in his hands. A procession was formed with the elephant at its head, the Tibetan musicians playing music. On reaching the *vihara* the relics were placed on the altar.

Another ceremony was the planting of three *bodhi* saplings brought from Anuradhapura in Ceylon.

On the occasion of the first ceremony messages were read from the venerable Anagarika Devamitra Dharmapala, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Canadian section of the Theosophical Society, the Marquis of Zetland, the Hindu Mahasabha, and others.

In the course of the message of the Anagarika Dharmapala, to whose untiring zeal and efforts more than to those of any other person the founding of the *vihara* and the bringing back of Buddhism to Sarnath are due, it was said:—

The time has now come to elevate India to a state of progress. No progress is possible if internecine quarrels continue. The ancient Buddhist Bhikkhus followed the path of renunciation when they carried the sociological ethics of Aryan civilization to Japan, Korea, China, Siam, Cambodia, Burma

and Ceylon. What happened to the wonderfully sublime literature that existed in India in the Buddhist period? No trace of it is found in India, but fortunately the whole literature exists in its fulness in Buddhist lands. Europeans study Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, Mongolian Tibetan in the hope of re-discovering the forgotten teachings of the Summa Sum Buddha, which saw the light first in India 2,500 years ago. But the sons of India have no idea of the wealth that exists in the wonderful Buddhist literature and very few sons of the soil think of discovering the gems that are imbedded therein.

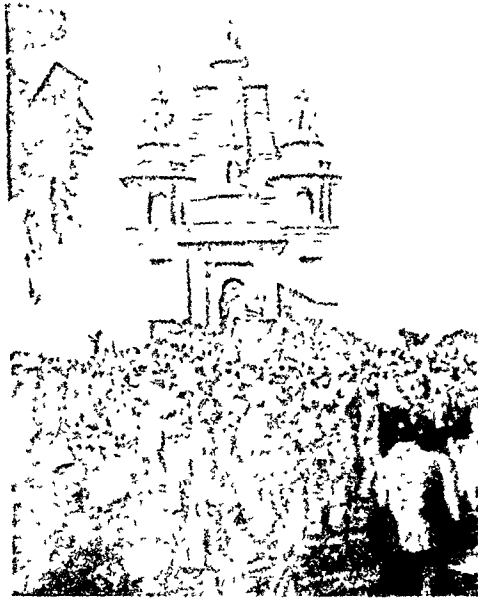


General View Of the Ruins of Sarnath



Part of the Procession

What today the teeming millions of India need is the sublime ethics and wisdom of the Aryan eightfold path. The 45 volumes of the Pali texts which contain the Buddha *saiana* and the 45 volumes of the Commentaries in Pali belong to India, and these volumes must be brought back, form Buddhist land rehabilitated in India. Similarly the Sanskrit Buddhist texts of Asvago-sa Santideva, Vasubandhu, Asanga, Parmatha Aryadeva, Nagarjuna, Dharmapala, Candragomi, Candrakirti



View of the Procession

Yasomitra Khemendra, must be rediscovered and and brought back to their birth place. In Europe Burnouf, Max Müller, Turnour, Bopp Stenislus, Julien, Westergaard, Wassiljew, Childers, Böhtlingk, Spiegel, Kuhn, Minayeff, Schart, Neumann, Weber, Fausboll, Ebel, Foucaux, Rhys David, Oldenburg, Trenkner, Feer, Cowell, Chalmers and others laboured to translate Buddhist texts which exist in different Oriental languages.

We heartily support Rev. Dharmapala's desire for the cessation of internecine quarrels. We also desire that Indians should undertake research in and about Buddhist literature. That they have not yet done their duty in this matter to an adequate extent is true. But the impression likely to be produced by what the reverend gentleman said in this connection would not be quite correct. Probably he did not mean it and, if he had been well and at leisure to make a more considered and informed pronouncement, he would most probably have recognized that some work has been done by Indian scholars like Rajendra Lala Mitra, Sarat Chandra Das, Sati-h Chandra Vidyabhusan, some Chittagong Buddhists and others.

Rabindranath Tagore's message, reproduced elsewhere in his own handwriting, runs thus:

The spiritual illumination in India, which ages ago shed its radiance over the continent of Asia, raised its memorial on the sacred spot near Benares where Lord Buddha had proclaimed to his disciples his message of love's supreme fulfilment.



Before the Gate of the Vihara

Though this monument representing the final hope of liberation for all peoples was buried under dust and forgotten in India, the voice of her greatest son still waits in the heart of silent centuries for a new awakening to hearken to his call.

Today when in spite of a physical closeness of all nations a universal moral alienation between races has become a fateful menace to all humanity, let us, in this threatening gloom of a militant savagery, before the widening jaws of an organized greed, still rejoice in the fact that the reopening of the ancient monastery of Sarnath is being celebrated by pilgrims from the West and the East.



View of the Vihara

Numerous are the triumphal towers built to perpetuate the memories of injuries and indignities inflicted by one murdering race upon another, but let us once for all, for the sake of humanity restore to its full significance this great memorial of a generous past to remind us of an ancient meeting of nations in India for the exchange of love, for the establishment of spiritual comradeship among races separated by distance and historical

Tagore's Message On-The Opening of Saranath Vihara

The spiritual illumination in India which ages ago shed its radiance over the Continent of Asia, raised its memorial on the sacred spot near Benares where Lord Buddha had proclaimed to his disciples his message of love's supreme fulfilment. Though this monument representing the final hope of liberation for all peoples was buried under dust and forgotten in India the voice of her greatest son still waits in the heart of silent centuries

for a new awakening to hearken to his call.

Today when in spite of a physical closeness of all nations a universal moral alienation between races has become a fearful menace to all humanity, let us in this threatening gloom of a militant savagery, before the widening jaws of an organised greed, still rejoice in the fact that the reopening of the

ancient monastery of Saranath is being celebrated by pilgrims from the West and the East.

Numerous are the triumphal towers built to perpetuate the memories of injuries and indignities inflicted by one murdering race upon another, but let us once for all, for the sake of humanity restore to its full significance this great memorial of a generous past to remind us of an ancient meeting of nations in India for the exchange of love, for the establishment of spiritual comradeship among races separated by distance and historical tradition, for the offering of the treasure of immortal wisdom left to the world by the Blessed one to whom we dedicate our united homage.

Rabindranath Tagore

Nov. 11,
1931

traditions, for the offering of the treasure of immortal wisdom left to the world by the Blessed One to whom we dedicate our united homage.

Sir J. C. Bose's words of welcome to the Buddhist Pilgrims are reproduced below.

India welcomes the pilgrims that are gathering from all corners of the earth to be present at the opening of the Mulazandhakuti Vihara where Gautama Buddha, more than twenty-five centuries ago, proclaimed his great message of love and compassion for alleviation of the sorrow and suffering of all living beings.

It teaches us that man is not dependent on external powers, but by his own persistent efforts alone can he win his highest freedom. It is the realization of this freedom that greatly exalts all his powers, including that of inquiry in advancement of knowledge.

He then realises—in the spiritual triumph of the martyr, in the ecstasy of the saint—the higher and higher expression of that evolutionary process by which man rises above and beyond all circumstances of the environment, and fortifies himself to control them.

His message was

Not in matter, but in thought, not in possessions nor even in attainments, but in ideals, is to be found the seed of immortality.

The other messages were not available to us. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee on behalf of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha read out the resolution of the Working Committee held at Delhi on November 7 expressing their cordial felicitations to their Buddhist brethren of India and abroad on the auspicious occasion of the re-establishment of the Gandhakuti Vihara. The committee hoped that the temple would be a bond of union between the followers of the sister faiths of Hinduism and Buddhism and urged upon the Hindus of India the necessity of a closer cooperation and communion between themselves and the Buddhists of other lands.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who was requested to address the gathering, spoke a few words and said it was a great honour and privilege to be associated in however humble a way with that solemn ceremony. They had had messages of goodwill from great men, men of religion, from organisations and from the representatives of great religions. He was not a man of religion but he wished to say a few words as a humble representative of the great organisation, the Indian National Congress. He wished to convey to them a warm welcome on behalf of the Congress. Religions came and went but the great eternal truths remained. They could not be distorted or twisted. The Congress had made an experiment with the principle of *Ahimsa* and it had succeeded. He promised on behalf of the Congress to present a national flag in silver and gold as a token of goodwill and homage to the Great One



The Tibetan Procession

Buddhist Convention at Sarnath

In connection with the opening of the new *vihara* at Sarnath, there was a Buddhist convention presided over by Dr. Suendranath Das Gupta, principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. He read a learned paper, of which the religious and philosophical portions may form subjects of controversy which are beyond our province. Some extracts from other parts of his address, as reported in the *Leader*, are given below.

After referring to the life of the Buddha and the spread of Buddhism in other lands, the president said that nowhere in the history of the world before Lord Buddha did they hear of any teacher of religion who was ever filled with such an all-absorbing sympathy and love for the suffering humanity. He wished that in these days of communal and minority dissensions Lord Buddha had once more appeared and had shown them the way how a man could meet his fellow-brother and embrace him with love.

In conclusion, the president said that only one man in India seemed to have been convinced of the truth of Buddhism that violence would not be stopped by violence. All would have seen what power such a conviction had given to this great man. He in his lion cloth had brought about the unification of the masses of India and was trying to dictate his terms to the greatest military power of the world. In no other country was such an experiment conducted and with so much success.

Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri, principal of the research department of Visvabharati, read a thoughtful and learned paper. Reports of his and other papers have not, to our knowledge, appeared in any newspaper. A gentleman from Tibet and another from Sikkim made sensible speeches in good English. It was a pleasure to find that among the Buddhist monks present at the convention who spoke, there were some, who were distinguished for independent thinking. One of them said that they should not pass from slavery to the Vedas to slavery to the Tripitaka.

The editor of this *Review* was called upon to speak. As he had little knowledge of Buddhist doctrines and philosophy and Buddhist history, he made a few remarks embodying his inferences from facts. There was an impression, he said, that Buddhism was a religion of passivity and pessimism. But such an impression did not square with facts. The greatest expansion of India took place in the Buddhist age of Indian history, during which Indian culture was carried to foreign lands. Buddhist missionaries and other Buddhists scaled snow-capped mountains, threaded their way through dense forests tenanted by wild animals, passed through uncivilized lands inhabited by man not less wild, wended their way through burning deserts and crossed storm-tossed oceans to convey to other lands the teachings of Buddha and the culture of India. That could not be the record of the followers of a religion of passivity. As regards pessimism, pessimists could not feel the joy of life or derive any aesthetic enjoyment from Nature and human society. But without such joy and enjoyment, Art was not possible. It is found, however, that the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture flourished in India and Greater India under Buddhist auspices, as Ajanta, and parts of Greater India like Java bear witness. Buddhism had to teach them religious neighborliness and sympathy and compassion for all sentient beings. More than two thousand years ago the Emperor Asoka taught and practised religious neighborliness, which goes by the name of religious toleration and which even in our so-called enlightened days is not practised in any country. Asoka opened and maintained hospitals even for the lower animals.

Importance of the New Buddhist Centre

There is a small institution at Sarnath known as the Buddhist International Institute. We hope it will develop into a Buddhist University for the study of and research in Buddhist scriptures, Buddhist history and polity, Buddhist art, etc. Buddhists from all countries will worship in the new *Vihara* according to their beliefs. On such worship we have no desire to say anything.

What India would be greatly benefited by is the advent of great embodiments of loving self-sacrifice, if Buddhism can produce such personalities in our age. Such are needed to raise the lowly and to eradicate sectarian hatred and strife.

Human intercourse is valuable. Hence, Sarnath as the meeting-ground of Buddhists from Mongolia, Manchuria and other parts of China, from Korea and Japan, Burma and Siam, from Ceylon, Java and other islands, from Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan and from Chittagong and Arakan, as well as of neo-Buddhists from

western lands, cannot but have a special importance. This contact of men of many races and cultures with the people of India will bear intellectual and spiritual fruit—and may have political importance also—if we Indians have some precious immaterial gifts to offer to our visitors and if they, in their turn, have such gifts to offer to us. Otherwise, if we be to one another mere objects of curiosity, the promise of Sarnath will not be fulfilled. A great intellectual and spiritual awakening is, therefore, needed all round.

China and Japan

The disagreement between China and Japan have already led to much bloodshed. If they develop into a great war, the result cannot be foreseen. Soviet Russia may be drawn into it. If Japan has to fight China alone, the advantage may be on the side of the former, as China is exhausted after years of civil war and the recent extensive and devastating floods.

Sanguinary conflict between these two great Asiatic nations is greatly to be regretted—particularly as both have been for centuries under the influence of Buddhism, of which *ahimsa* is a cardinal doctrine. But such conflict cannot be regarded as a condemnation of Buddhism, any more than wars between nations professing Christianity is a reflexion upon Christ whom they call the Prince of Peace. Such fights among co-religionists only show that the religious profession of nations is only a profession, not a conviction which shapes conduct and governs life.

The League of Nations has been trying to bring about a peaceful settlement. On some occasions its arbitration has been successful when the parties to the quarrel were comparatively small and weak nations. Its success or failure in the case of China and Japan will be a more real test of its influence, power and usefulness.

If on the occasion of the opening of the new *vihara* at Sarnath, the vast assemblage of Hindus and Buddhists had cabled an exhortation in the name of Lord Buddha to the two warring nations to cease from strife, it would have been a reminder to them—and also to the world at large—of what is expected of Asiatic peoples professing the pacific Aryan faith, though it might not have borne the fruit wished for. But the idea did not at that time occur to the organizers of the function, nor to any of those who like us assisted at it.

Work of Indian Artists at India House, London

In our Note in the last (November) issue, p. 606, on "Consecration of a New Vihara at Sarnath," we referred to Principal Sir William Rothenstein's praise of the frescoes done by Indian artists to decorate India House in London.

We are now in a position to quote his exact words. Writing recently to Rabindranath Tagore, that eminent artist expressed the opinion: "Your old pupil Bauman has done his work at India House admirably. He is a charming fellow and very gifted. I hope, when he returns, work of a like kind will be found for him. Indeed all the young artists have done their work well and they should prove useful servants to India."

Russian Query and Indian Reply

About a month ago, a cable, sent by Professor Petroff of V. O. K. S., Moscow, was delivered to Rabindranath Tagore, *censored*. Evidently the Censor, who is a universal guardian, was very anxious to prevent any harm befalling those eternal minors, Rabindranath Tagore and his countrymen, from the receipt and reading of the uncensored Russian telegram, which ran as follows in its censored form:

"What is your explanation of the gigantic growth of U. S. S. R. industry; its high tempo of development; setting up of extensive collectivized, mechanized agriculture; liquidation of illiteracy; tremendous increase in the number of scientific institutions, universities, schools; and cultural upheaval of U. S. S. R. in general?"

"What problems will confront you in your work during next five years and what obstacles?"

"Please telegraph for Soviet press, Moscow Kultura."

Rabindranath Tagore replied by cable:

"Your success is due to tuning the tide of wealth from the individual to collective humanity. Our obstacles are social and political inanity, bigotry and illiteracy."

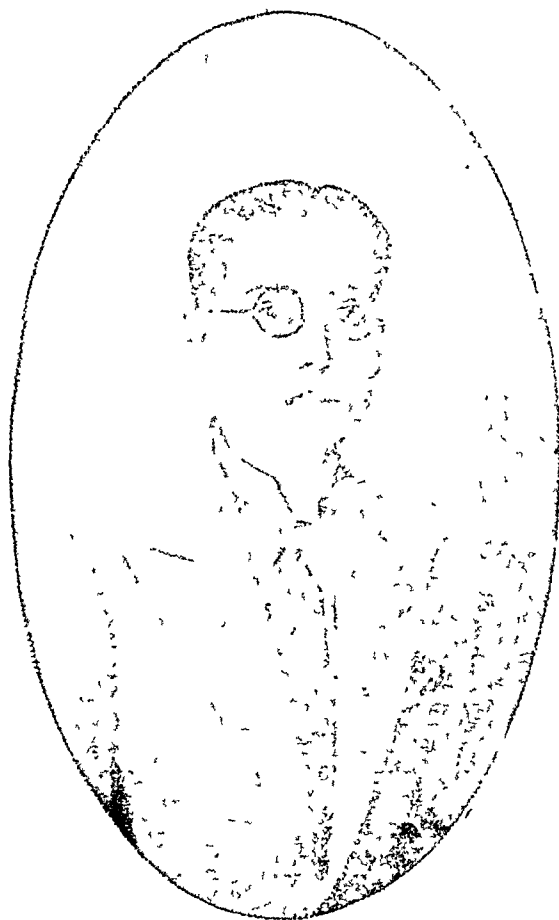
Promotion of Swadeshim

In order to promote the cause of Swadeshim, production and marketing should receive attention simultaneously. If countrymade articles be not available in sufficient quantities, the rousing of a desire to use Swadeshi goods exclusively would not bear full fruit. On the other hand, the production of goods without securing an adequate market for them would be futile.

For the sale of Swadeshi goods, the picketing of shops keeping foreign goods for sale is necessary. But what is more necessary, though more arduous, is the visiting of all dwelling houses in town and country to bring to their doors the news that countrymade goods are available and the request that all should use them. The manufacturers of such goods spend some money in advertising them. The method suggested above would be very effective as advertisement and, hence, would deserve the pecuniary support of all producers of Swadeshi goods.

Dr. Qudrat-i-Khuda

Dr. Qudrat-i-Khuda, who took his D.Sc. from the University of London, has recently been appointed professor of Chemistry in the Presidency College, Calcutta. Dr. Khuda is the only Bengali



Dr. Qudrat-i-Khuda

Muslim who has stood first in Chemistry in his M. Sc. in the University of Calcutta, and is also the first Indian Muslim to get a D. Sc. from London University. His appointment, therefore, is to be commended.

Congress withdraws from Bardoli Enquiry

The following telegram sent to Mahatma Gandhi by Sudar Vallabhbhai Patel explains why Congress has withdrawn from the Bardoli inquiry:

"Examined 62 Khatedars and 71 witnesses belonging to seven out of eleven villages allowed. Five villages disallowed as not falling within terms of reference. After important admissions in part cross-examination of the Mamlatdar, first Government witness, Inquiry officer held we were not entitled to production and inspection of Government documents of any kind relating to the issues in the inquiry. Trend of inquiry distinctly hostile and one-sided. In agreement with Bhulabhai withdrew from inquiry today."

Mr. Bhulabhai D. Desai was counsel for the Congress and the Khatedars of several villages concerned. The reference to the cross-examination of the Mamlatdar and the refusal of the production and inspection of Government documents relating to the issues will be better understood from the following passages in the Sardar's manifesto to the Bardoli farmers, printed in the Congress publication named "Case for Bardoli-1931" (to be had of the All-India Congress Committee, Ahmedabad at ten annas per copy)

"The Mamlatdar, the first Government witness, was under cross-examination of our Counsel for two days. You have had before you a verbatim report of the questions and the answers and you have seen how the Government case on the first village as well as generally began to crumble.

"During the course of that cross-examination, our Counsel applied for the production and inspection of all Government documents relating to the issues in the case because objection was taken during the cross-examination to the production and inspection of even counterfoils of revenue receipts or of which counterparts were issued to the Khatedars.

"The application was resisted on behalf of the Government on purely technical grounds and that resistance has been upheld by the Enquiry Officer. This shows that the Government is fully conscious that our case would be amply borne out if the relevant documents were allowed to be produced.

"In so far as you are concerned, the purpose of the inquiry has been amply fulfilled. In so far as the Government is concerned they stand self-condemned by resistance of the application.

"One salutary check on the cross-examination of the Government witnesses having been withdrawn as the result of the order refusing the production and inspection of documents in the possession of the Government, it was realised that such mutilated Enquiry was worse than useless."

Kashmir

In connection with Kashmir affairs we draw our readers' attention to an historical article on that state by one who has the right to speak with authority.

Equality of Rights in Trade and Industry

Britishers want that in India they and other foreigners should have equal manufacturing and

trading rights with Indians. Will they draw up a list of the countries where natives and foreigners have in actual practice equal earning facilities? In Germany, no foreigner is allowed to engage in any gainful occupation, which may actually or possibly displace a German. In U. S. A., and in Canada, South Africa and other dominions Indians are discriminated against. In Britain, no doubt, there is no such statutory discrimination against Indians and other foreigners. But the real point is, is there in Britain any opening for Indian skilled and unskilled labour and for the investment of Indian capital, supposing that these can be spared after meeting India's needs?

It is a mockery to say that Indians may trade and manufacture in Britain equally with Britons, after India's indigenous trade and industries had been ruined in the 18th and 19th centuries and foreign traders and industrialists have occupied the field of commerce and industry.

England became a free trader after making her position secure by boycotting Indian and other foreign goods by using legal and extra-legal weapons. India has exactly the same right to safeguard her manufacturing and trading interests by all legitimate and honourable means. She does not want to adopt unrighteous methods, which Britain did.

The following letter which Herbert Spencer wrote to Baron Kaneko of Japan should never be forgotten:

"Respecting the further questions you ask, let me, in the first place, answer generally that the Japanese policy should, I think, be that of *keeping Americans and Europeans as much as possible at arm's length*. In presence of more powerful races your position is one of chronic danger, and you should take every precaution to give as little foothold as possible to foreigners.

"It seems to me that the only forms of intercourse which we may with advantage permit are those which are indispensable for the exchange of commodities—importation and exportation of physical and mental products. No further privileges should be allowed to people of other races, than is absolutely needful for the achievement of these ends. Apparently you are proposing by revision of the treaty with the Powers of Europe and America to open the whole Empire to foreigners and foreign capital. I regret this as a fatal policy. If you wish to see what is likely to happen, study the history of India."

With reference to the above letter of Herbert Spencer we wrote ten years ago (November, 1921, pp. 619-620):

"It was a very sane advice given to a Japanese gentleman by Herbert Spencer that the Japanese government should not give any commercial or industrial concessions to any European nation in Japan. The Grant of such concession ultimately leads to the annexation or what the modern Europeans call conquest of the country, which grants them concessions. It is the introduction of the thin end of the wedge in the body politic of

the concession-giving country, which brings about its subversion and ruin."

Continuance of the commercial and industrial concessions granted to or seized by Britishers would be tantamount to maintaining the position of Britishers as masters and Indians as their subjects. That would be a mockery of swaraj.

Gandhiji's Provincial Autonomy

The People of Lahore writes :

Reuter is responsible for the report that Provincial Autonomy to be acceptable to Mahatma Gandhi must mean not only the 'transference' of all provincial subjects and the cancellation of the Governor's autocratic powers, but also that the Central Government may not have even the power to intervene for the restoration of internal order, and that every province must have the power to refuse the Central Government all contributions if it so chooses. If this report is true—and it is not all unlikely that it expresses Mahatma Gandhi's views fairly accurately though we doubt he would express them at the Conference where he represents the Congress—we can think of very few things indeed that might be more dangerous for our country than 'provincial autonomy.' We do not agree with the definition, because it puts too much strain on both 'autonomy' and 'province.' A 'province' is usually supposed to be something much less independent than a 'state.' 'Autonomy' also generally falls short of 'independence.' Mahatma Gandhi's autonomous provinces are really independent states with a very modest designation. Mahatma Gandhi may have a right to offer his own definition of provincial autonomy, but surely his mandate does not contemplate the acceptance of such an 'autonomy.' In voting for it he can speak only for himself, and not in the name of the Congress. If such 'autonomy' were granted to-day, India forthwith becomes a congress of independent states. India would be cut up alive into so many pieces, with too little of relationship with each other to form one healthy organism, and they might easily tempt the avarice of predatory neighbours. The rivisection would be no less disastrous than the one against which Mahatma Gandhi has stood up at the Round Table Committees.

This is quite a reasonable view of the matter. That Mahatmaji and the Indian Liberal delegates do not want any kind of provincial autonomy without responsibility in the Centre was only to be expected. What the late Major B. D. Basu has written in his book on *Consolidation of the Christian Power in India*, pp. 76-77, should not be forgotten :

One of the proposals for the consolidation of the Christian Power in India, after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, was what was euphemistically called "provincial autonomy," but which was really the policy of "Divide and rule." Before the Parliamentary Committee on the Colonization and Settlement of the Britishers in India, Major G. Wingate, who appeared as a witness on 13th July, 1858, on being asked,

"771. You speak of the dangers that arise from a central government and you say that it leads to a community of aims and feelings that

might be dangerous?" answered: "Yes, I think if there be any one subject in which the whole population of India would be interested, that is more likely to be dangerous to the foreign authority than if a question were simply agitated in one division of the empire; if a question were agitated throughout the length and breadth of the empire, it would surely be much more dangerous to the foreign authority than a question which interested one Presidency only."

"772. Mr. Damby Seymour.

'Is what you mean this, that all the people of India might be excited about the same thing, at the same time?' 'Yes.'

He gave expression to the feeling which was uppermost in the minds of the Britishers at that time, not to do anything which might "amalgamate" the different creeds and castes and provinces of India. So everything was being done to prevent the growing up of a community of feelings and interests throughout India which would make the peoples of India politically a nation. Of course, they have been a nation in a different sense since antiquity.

Moslem Governor for Jammu

Mr. Reza Khan Afzal Khan, an official in the revenue department of the Panjab has been appointed governor of Jammu, forming part of Kashmir State, in place of Chaudhuri Chhatr Singh. It is not stated whether the Musalman gentleman is a native of Kashmir.

There is no objection to the appointment of a Musalman as such to the post. What requires to be known is, why the former incumbent has been displaced. Was he superannuated, incompetent, negligent, or guilty of any offence? or has the Maharaja of Kashmir been obliged to part with his services under pressure, in order to make room for a Musalman? Several Anglo-Indians (old style) have already recently got fat jobs in Kashmir. That was one object of the agitation against the Maharaja. Is the Jammu appointment part of the same game?

Goethe Centenary

Goethe died on March 22, 1832. A few months hence the centenary of his death will be celebrated with due solemnity in Germany and many other lands. In India Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar has been trying to get up such a celebration, which ought to receive support. As part of the world celebration of the event a standard edition of Goethe's works will be published in 50 volumes, the price fixed being 500 marks. It is announced by the publishers of this edition that "Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has kindly become one of the patrons of the World-Goethe-Honouring." Those who want this edition may write to Oberbürgermeister der Stadt Mainz, Mainz, Germany.

British Domination through Minorities

The British support to the absurd pretensions of the minorities is only a device to continue to domineer over India by making them the cat's paw. The minorities in question are not possessed of such superior capacity as to be able to rule themselves and the majority without British support.

It is not necessary to notice in detail the scheme prepared under the auspices of the Aga Khan, it is so absurd on the face of it. Half a century's fight for freedom has been mainly a Hindu fight and a fight mainly by the so-called caste Hindus, though they fought for the whole nation, not for themselves alone. And yet when the object of the fight seems to be within reach, some lotus-eating intriguer who had nothing to do with the struggle, had in fact opposed it and had been guided all along by the supreme desire to save their skin and to please the powers that be, rush in to monopolize the prize and convert the Hindus into a powerless entity by vivisectioning the community into caste Hindus and the depressed classes.

And mark how the duped depressed classes are to be treated by the intriguer. From before this year's census, the latter and their British patrons had been repeating (what is not a fact) that the depressed classes numbered 60 millions in British India, according to the census of 1921. Now, according to that census, the Muslims in British India numbered 59,441,331—less than the depressed classes. Let us assume they and the Muslims are equal in number. Hence, if Muslims are to have one-third of the seat in the Central Legislature, the depressed classes ought to have the same proportion. But in the scheme manufactured by Aga Khan and Company, they are not assigned any such place!

If the minorities wanted a free and independent India and the right to rule it, we would have agreed to their ruling it until such time as we could convince them somehow or other that their exclusive rule was neither practicable nor good for themselves and others in the country. But we cannot vote for the continued government of the country by foreigners through a majority or minority of Indians.

The Finance Bill

Apparently, as the Governor-General could have all the money by certification, the protracted debate on the finance bill was a waste of time, energy and money, and a solemn farce. But it was not all a farce. Government want to keep up the show of rule by consent of the people and hence wish to have as much of the grinding taxation and wasteful expenditure sanctioned by the representatives of the people as possible.

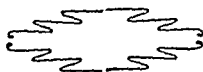
As for the Council of State, it is a gramophone.

One-Third Share of the Services

Lord Willingdon's promise to the Muslims that one-third of the appointments in the public service will not have to be competed for is a bait which will be readily swallowed by those for whom it is meant. But they ought to remember that competition makes for the growth of capacity, its absence makes for the decrease of capacity.

The Late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri

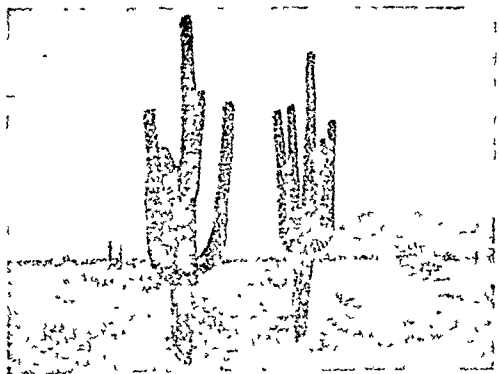
At another page of this issue appears an article on the late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri by Professor Chintabaran Chakravarti who was his close associate in research for some years before his death. By the death of the Mahamahopadhyaya, India has lost one of the greatest Orientalists that has ever been born in this or any other country, and the world of learning sustains an irreparable loss. On this aspect of Haraprasad Sastri's work Professor Chakravarti has dwelt at some length. But Haraprasad was also one of the most distinguished authors in his own mother-tongue. He began his literary career in an age whose memory is already growing dim among the younger generation, and he was the only link for many a year between the heroic age of Bengali literature and its present phase. With his death the living continuity between the age of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and that of the writers of today is broken at last.





Turning Deserts into Gardens

Where there's a will there's a way America has proved this in the matter of making deserts yield harvests of oranges and apples. The two pictures show the "before and after" of a now flourishing orange orchard.



Making deserts yield harvests

India has thousands and thousands of acres of such arid soil. Could not anything be done with these dry areas of our country? The population of India is fast increasing and the more land we can bring under cultivation the better for us: What about emulating America?

Henry Ford in his first Ford

The picture shows, not a new style "bath chair" but an old style Ford. Henry Ford himself is seated in it with John Boroughs. Cars have since made great strides, same as buildings have since cottages yielded place to sky scrapers.



Henry Ford in the First Ford

Wrestling for Gentlemen

American colleges are now taking up amateur wrestling in all seriousness. Formerly it was the game of heavy and bulky professionals only. Young America is now taking to wrestling as it has done with boxing and field sports etc.

India is the land of Wrestlers. Our wrestlers have time and again beaten so called world's champions with the greatest ease. But in the amateur tournaments Indian Gentlemen have not shined so well. Reason being that wrestling has not been so far a Gentleman's game in India. If Indian Universities and Student organisations take up wrestling seriously we may

yet dominate the Mat in the Olympics and elsewhere. Moreover it, is productive of great Stamina, Strength and good health. It is an ideal sport if properly done.

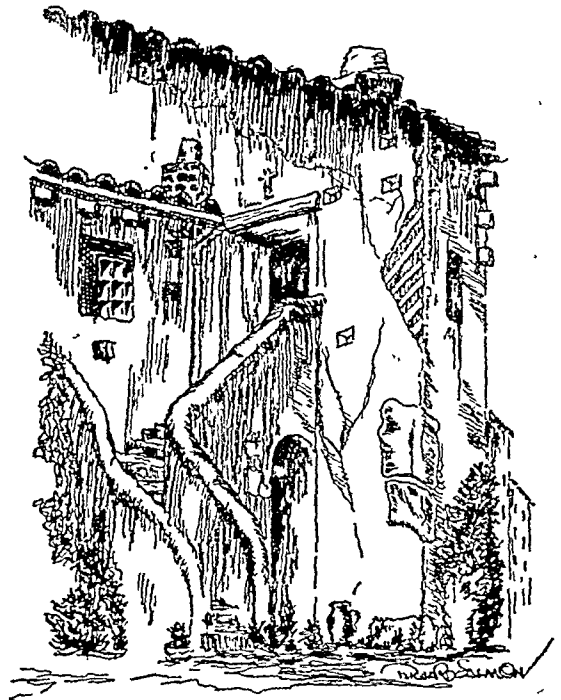


American Student Wrestlers



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An Italian House



An Italian House—artistic and obsolete